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(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

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Contents of Volume LX 53

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER, 1954

Articles

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: A RE-EVALUATION	<i>Frederick B. Tolles</i>	I
ICONOCLASM DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	<i>Stanley J. Idzerda</i>	13
HISTORY AND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848	<i>Theodore S. Hamerow</i>	27

Notes and Suggestions

MADISON, THE "NORTH AMERICAN," ON FEDERAL POWER	<i>Irving Brant</i>	45
MEN OF LETTERS AND <i>LETTRES DE CACHET</i> IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF CARDINAL FLEURY	<i>Arthur M. Wilson</i>	55
<i>Reviews of Books</i>		56
<i>Other Recent Publications</i>		140
<i>Historical News</i>		241

NUMBER 2. JANUARY, 1955

Presidential Address

INTELLECTUALS AND OTHER PEOPLE .	<i>Merle Curti</i>	259
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Articles

THE TREASON OF SIR ROGER CASEMENT	<i>Giovanni Costigan</i>	283
THE TEAPOT DOME SCANDAL AND THE ELECTION OF 1924	<i>J. Leonard Bates</i>	303

Notes and Suggestions

THE FEDERAL CONVENTION: MADISON AND YATES	<i>Arnold A. Rogow</i>	323
<i>Reviews of Books</i>		336
<i>Other Recent Publications</i>		398
<i>Historical News</i>		478

NUMBER 3. APRIL, 1955

Articles

- EUROPEAN LIBERALISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *David Harris* 501
- THE DISTINGUISHED NEGRO IN AMERICA, 1770-1936
Richard Bardolph 527
- BISMARCK AND GERMAN NATIONALISM . *Otto Pflanze* 548

Notes and Suggestions

- WOODROW WILSON, A THIRD TERM, AND THE SOLEMN REFERENDUM *Wesley M. Bagby* 567
- Reviews of Books* 576
- Other Recent Publications* 637
- Historical News: Annual Meeting* 720

NUMBER 4. JULY, 1955

Articles

- ANARCHISM AND THE ASSASSINATION OF McKINLEY
Sidney Fine 777
- THE ETHICAL REVOLT AGAINST CHRISTIAN ORTHODOXY IN EARLY VICTORIAN ENGLAND
Howard R. Murphy 800
- JAPANESE NATIONALISM AND EXPANSIONISM
Hilary Conroy 818

Notes and Suggestions

- ADOLF HITLER: TAXPAYER *Oron James Hale* 830
- HENRY CLAY, THE BANK, AND THE WEST IN 1824
Harry R. Stevens 843
- Reviews of Books* 849
- Other Recent Publications* 931
- Historical News* 1024
- Index* 1037



The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LX, No. 1

October, 1954

The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement: A Re-Evaluation*

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

SOMETIMES a single essay, a monograph, or a series of lectures makes historiographical history. It was so in 1893 when Frederick Jackson Turner read his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." It was so again in 1913 when Charles A. Beard published his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. And it was so in 1925 when J. Franklin Jameson delivered his four lectures at Princeton on "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement."

At first glance the comparison with Turner and Beard may seem strained. We are accustomed to think of Jameson as a scholar's scholar, a kind of indispensable historical midwife—curator and editor of manuscripts, director of other men's research, editor of the *American Historical Review*—not as a path-breaker, an innovator. But this is to do him less than justice. *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* stands as a landmark in recent American historiography, a slender but unmistakable signpost, pointing a new direction for historical research and interpretation. Before Jameson, the

* Read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, held at the University of California at Davis, December 28-30, 1953.

American Revolution had been a chapter in political, diplomatic, and military history, a story of Faneuil Hall and Lexington, Independence Hall and Valley Forge, Versailles and Yorktown. After Jameson, it became something different, something greater—a seismic disturbance in American society, a sudden quickening in the American mind.

The American Revolution, like the French, Jameson believed, was accompanied by social and cultural changes of profound significance.

The stream of revolution, once started, could not be confined within narrow banks, but spread abroad upon the land. Many economic desires, many social aspirations were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of colonial society profoundly altered by the forces thus let loose. The relations of social classes to each other, the institution of slavery, the system of landholding, the course of business, the forms and spirit of the intellectual and religious life, all felt the transforming hand of revolution, all emerged from under it in shapes advanced many degrees nearer to those we know.¹

No more than Turner's or Beard's was Jameson's notion wholly new. Just a year earlier, in his massive volume on *The American States during and after the Revolution*, Allan Nevins had devoted fifty pages to the task of demonstrating in impressive detail that "a social and intellectual revolution" occurred between Lexington and Yorktown.² Nearly twenty years before, Carl Becker had described the Revolution as a twofold contest: for home-rule on the one hand, for "the democratization of American politics and society" on the other.³ As far back as 1787, Benjamin Rush had perceived that the American revolution was bigger than the American war, that the real revolution was in "the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens," and that, far from being over, that revolution had only begun.⁴

Jameson's view of the Revolution was not new, but no one hitherto had marshaled the evidence so compactly, conveyed it so lucidly, or argued from it so persuasively. Perceptive historians immediately greeted his little volume as a gem of historical writing—"a truly notable book," Charles A. Beard called it, "... cut with a diamond point to a finish, studded with novel illustrative materials, gleaming with new illumination, serenely engaging in style, and sparingly garnished with genial humor."⁵

¹ *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1926), p. 11.

² New York, 1924, chap. x.

³ *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York* (Madison, Wis., 1909), p. 5.

⁴ *American Museum*, I (1787), 9. Jameson quoted part of this well-known passage but ascribed it, for some reason, to "a writer in South Carolina." *American Revolution*, p. 29.

⁵ *New Republic*, XLVII (Aug. 11, 1926), 344. In the *American Historical Review* discussion of the book was relegated to the "Minor Notices," perhaps because of its brevity, more likely because of the modesty of the managing editor—J. Franklin Jameson. The reviewer, Allan Nevins, called its scholarship "impeccable," its style "polished," its outlook "broad and thoughtful." XXXII (1926-27), 167-68.

The influence of this little book with the long title has grown steadily. A year after its publication, the Beards summarized its thesis in their widely read *Rise of American Civilization*.⁶ Jameson's emphasis on social factors harmonized perfectly with the intellectual and political climate of the 1930's. In 1940, after the author's death, a second edition appeared, and in 1950 a third—an unusual tribute to a set of academic lectures. With the passage of a quarter-century, the book has achieved the standing of a minor classic.⁷ One will find hardly a textbook that does not paraphrase or quote Jameson's words, borrow his illustrations, cite him in its bibliography. The notion of the Revolution as a social upheaval has achieved the final seal of acceptance: it has been taken over by the historical novelists—by such writers as Kenneth Roberts and Howard Fast, to name two rather unlikely bedfellows.

Jameson, one suspects, had no idea he was writing a classic. His aim was simply to challenge American historians by opening new windows on the Revolutionary era, suggesting new directions for future research, throwing out tentative hypotheses for others to test. Over the past quarter-century historians have risen to his challenge with a flood of articles, monographs, academic dissertations, and full-dress histories bearing on one or another of his propositions. But the average textbook-writer, one is tempted to believe, has not got beyond Jameson. The time has come to go back and ask how Jameson's original thesis stands up in the light of all this detailed research; what modifications, if any, must be made; what further extensions, if any, are possible.

Jameson disposed his arguments under four rubrics—the status of persons, the land, industry and commerce, thought and feeling. If we recognize, as he did, that such divisions are purely arbitrary, we may adopt his procedure.

American society, he suggested, was measurably democratized during the Revolution. The upper stratum, the old colonial aristocracy, was largely liquidated—by banishment, voluntary exile, or impoverishment. New groups rose to the surface to take their places. "In most states the strength of the revolutionary party lay most largely in the plain people," and the social changes which they brought about naturally tended "in the direction of level-

⁶ New York, 1927, I, 291-96.

⁷ In a recent poll, in which 103 historians were asked to name the ten best historical works published between 1920 and 1935, Jameson's *American Revolution* got twenty-six votes. The pollster, analyzing the returns, observed that a brief book stood at a disadvantage in the poll but offered the comment, for whatever it might be worth, that Jameson's book showed "the best vote-getting record per word." John Walton Caughey, "Historians' Choice: Results of a Poll on Recently Published American History and Biography," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX (September, 1952), 293, 299. W. Stull Holt's figures on the number of copies sold—only 1,356 in the quarter-century since first publication—suggest that the book may deserve the name of classic in a Pickwickian sense—a work that everyone knows about but few read. "Who Reads the Best Histories?" *Ibid.*, XL (1954), 617.

ling democracy." Broadening of the suffrage elevated "whole classes of people . . . in their social status," and the revolutionary philosophy of liberty wrought improvements in the condition of the most debased class in America—the Negro slaves.⁸

Recent studies of individual states and regions seem to suggest that Jameson was too sweeping when he equated colonial aristocrats with Loyalists and implied that this group was erased from American society. In eastern Massachusetts it was perhaps true that "a majority of the old aristocracy" emigrated.⁹ But in the central and western part of the state the oldest, most respected families chose the Whig side and remained to perpetuate their local rule in the days of the early Republic.¹⁰ In New Hampshire, except around Portsmouth, society had never been highly stratified, and the Tory emigration bore away few outstanding individuals.¹¹ In Connecticut, where "the native aristocracy of culture, wealth, religion, and politics" tended to be loyal to the crown, at least half of the Tories never left the state. Others were welcomed back even before the war was over. Within six months of the peace treaty, New Haven was openly extending an invitation to former Loyalists to return, and President Ezra Stiles of Yale College was grumbling about efforts "silently to bring the Tories into an Equality and Supremacy among the Whigs."¹² In New York and Philadelphia, many prominent merchants—perhaps the majority—were Loyalists, or at least "neutralists," and they stayed on in such numbers as to give a definite tone to postwar society, politics, and business in these important centers.¹³ In Maryland, the "internal" Revolution turns out to have been a struggle between one group of aristocrats—planters, merchants, lawyers—and another; the "plain people" took little part in the conflict and the resultant social shifts were minimal.¹⁴ In Virginia, of course, most of the "F.F.V.'s" were Whigs, and their control of politics was to continue through the days of the

⁸ Jameson, pp. 25, 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰ In the inland counties, finds Lee N. Newcomer, "no internal upheaval" accompanied the Revolution. *The Embattled Farmers: A Massachusetts Countryside in the American Revolution* (New York, 1953), pp. 86–87. Nor do the Tories of this region "fit readily into any definite categories or groups." In Ashfield, for instance, the Baptists, whom historians are accustomed to lump among the Whigs, tended to remain loyal because they had found royal authority friendly in their fight against the "standing order." *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹¹ Richard F. Upton, *Revolutionary New Hampshire* (Hanover, N.H., 1936), p. 130.

¹² Oscar Zeichner, "The Rehabilitation of Loyalists in Connecticut," *New England Quarterly*, XI (1938), 308–30. Stiles's comment is found in his *Literary Diary*, ed. F. B. Dexter (New York, 1901), III, 111.

¹³ "The return of former Loyalists to participation in the life and politics of [New York City] was comparatively rapid," concludes Sidney I. Pomerantz, *New York: An American City, 1783–1803* (New York, 1938), p. 90. The early relaxation of the Pennsylvania test laws, originally designed to exclude Loyalists from voting and holding office, undoubtedly hastened the conservative triumph in that state. Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Harrisburg, 1942), pp. 179–80.

¹⁴ Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1943), chap. 1.

"Virginia dynasty."¹⁵ In the North Carolina back country it was the "plain people"—the old Regulators—who were most stubbornly Loyalist.¹⁶ Clearly Jameson's generalizations about the fate of the old aristocracy must be qualified.¹⁷

What about the new democracy of the Revolutionary period? Unquestionably a sense of dignity and importance came to the common man—the small farmer, the town artisan—as a result of his revolutionary activities and the limited extension of the suffrage. But before we can say with assurance how democratic the new society was, we must answer the prior question: how undemocratic was the old? No one will dispute the fact that provincial society was stratified, that class distinctions existed, that political and social equality were hardly dreamed of. A recent brilliant study of electoral practices in colonial Massachusetts raises, however, some questions. By means of ingenious statistical methods and samplings of contemporary opinion, the author of this study has shown rather convincingly that, in the Bay Colony at least, practically all adult males had the vote. Massachusetts society before 1776, he concludes, was "very close to a complete democracy." And he hints of further revisions to come. "As for the 'internal revolution' in other colonies," he says, "—perhaps we should take another look. There is more than a hint in the records that what applies to Massachusetts applies without too much change to other colonies as well."¹⁸

Though the Negro slave received some indirect benefits from the Revolution, the indentured servant, Jameson found, received none. Nor has subsequent research uncovered any important evidence that he overlooked.¹⁹ While he was dwelling on the negative side, Jameson might have mentioned another large dependent class that gained nothing in status as a result of the Revolution. Even before independence was declared, that doughty feminist Abigail Adams was writing to her husband in Congress: "By the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than

¹⁵ See Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1952), chap. 1.

¹⁶ Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution* (Durham, N. C., 1940), pp. 34-50.

¹⁷ For a recent summary of the postwar status of Loyalists see Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), pp. 265-81. For a more subtle social analysis of the Tory group than Jameson was able to give in his limited space see Everts B. Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation* (New York, 1943), pp. 211-30.

¹⁸ Robert E. Brown, "Democracy in Colonial Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly*, XXV (1952), 291-313.

¹⁹ William Miller, "The Effects of the American Revolution on Indentured Servitude," *Pennsylvania History*, VII (1940), 131-41; Samuel McKee, Jr., *Labor in Colonial New York* (New York, 1935), pp. 175-78.

your ancestors." Her husband wrote back, as much in earnest as in jest: "Depend on it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems."²⁰ It was to be nearly three quarters of a century before the Declaration of Independence would be revised by a group of determined ladies at Seneca Falls to read: "All men and women are created equal." Both negative and positive evidence, then, suggests that the Revolution made less difference in the status of persons in America than Jameson believed.

The doctrine that underlies Jameson's second lecture is, quite explicitly, economic determinism: "political democracy," he says flatly, "came to the United States as a result of economic democracy." The movement for manhood suffrage which reached its fruition in Jacksonian America, he maintains, was rooted in a peculiarly American type of land tenure—the system of small holdings or what he chooses to call "peasant proprietorship." This system the Revolution fixed upon the nation when it swept away the royal restrictions, the archaic manorial laws and usages which had encumbered the land throughout the colonial period. There was, he makes clear, "no violent outbreak," no bloody massacre of landlords as in France a decade later. Still, "in a quiet, sober, Anglo-Saxon way a great change was effected in the land-system of America between the years 1775 and 1795."²¹ Specifically, the changes were of three sorts: the discontinuance of quitrents and of the king's right to mast-trees, the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the confiscation and distribution of the Tory estates.

The importance of the quitrents and the king's "broad arrow" was probably more symbolic than real. Jameson himself admitted this: payment of quitrents, he pointed out, was "largely evaded"; the law giving the king's surveyors the right to reserve the tallest, straightest pine trees for the Royal Navy "was not rigorously enforced."²² Still, no historian will deny the importance of an emotion-laden symbol, and Jameson insists, quite rightly, that the quitrent and the king's "broad arrow" were symbols of an obsolete and alien feudalism, that until they were done away with, private property was not private property.

There is high authority, of course, for attaching great significance to the abolition of primogeniture and entail in Virginia—the authority of Thomas Jefferson. But these gestures too, it now appears, were more important in the

²⁰ Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams during the Revolution* (New York, 1876), pp. 149, 155. Mary Beard points out that the legal subjection of women to men was actually buttressed after the Revolution by the steadily growing weight of Blackstone's authority in the United States. *Woman as Force in History* (New York, 1946), chaps. v, vi. See also Elizabeth Cometti, "Women in the American Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, XX (1947), 329-46.

²¹ Jameson, pp. 41, 42, 48-49.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

realm of symbol than of economic reality. In point of fact, neither primogeniture nor entail operated to any important degree in Virginia. Recent research has shown that most estates in the Old Dominion were not entailed but could be freely alienated. And primogeniture was mandatory only if the property-owner died intestate. Most Virginia planters were careful to make wills. By their wills they often distributed their property among all their sons, and sometimes even their daughters. So Jefferson, in the words of his most authoritative biographer, "did not destroy the country gentry as a group with the blows of his mighty ax, and there is insufficient reason to believe that he wanted to." What he did was merely to "remove legal vestiges of Old World aristocracy." The sweeping conclusion reached by a recent student of this problem in Virginia may well apply to other colonies: "No radical change of custom in devising estates resulted from the abolition of primogeniture and entail."²³

On the confiscation of Loyalist lands much has been written of late years. The evidence has not been canvassed for all the states, but a definite conclusion seems to be emerging: that considerably less diffusion and democratization of landownership resulted from the breakup of these estates and their disposition in small parcels than Jameson supposed.

The most intensive study has been centered on the southern counties of New York, where the DeLanceys, the Bayards, the Philipses held sway in colonial times over their vast baronies. When the revolutionary New York government seized the estates and sold them off, some of the land, to be sure, went to former tenants and other landless individuals. But the bulk of it was bought up by wealthy patriots and merely augmented the domains of rival families like the Livingstons, Schuylers, and Roosevelts. "While it is true," concludes the author of this study, "that the disposal of the loyalist estates effected a greater diffusion of ownership, it is questionable whether it went far toward a radical redistribution of landed wealth and a new social and economic order."²⁴

The same thing seems to have been true in Maryland, where wealthy Whig planters and speculators bought up a large proportion of the desirable Tory lands in Baltimore and Frederick counties. Nor is the story greatly different in western Massachusetts or New Hampshire. The South Carolina confiscation

²³ Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Boston, 1948), pp. 252-57; Clarence R. Keim, "Influence of Primogeniture and Entail in the Development of Virginia," University of Chicago, *Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series*, V (1928), 289-92.

²⁴ Harry B. Yoshpe, *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York* (New York, 1939), p. 60. Thomas C. Cochran earlier arrived at a similar conclusion in his *New York in the Confederation* (New York, 1932), p. 64. E. Wilder Spaulding, on the contrary, emphasizes the democratizing effects of the confiscations (*New York in the Critical Period* [New York, 1932], p. 70), and feels that Yoshpe's evidence really supports this thesis (see his review of Yoshpe in the *American Historical Review*, XLV [1939-40], 899-900).

law, in the opinion of a contemporary, was actually "so framed that a man who wants land has no chance to get any," for the state required security which only the wealthy landowner could provide.²⁵

The case of North Carolina is instructive. The authority on the Loyalists of that state, noting that the confiscated lands were sold in plots averaging two hundred acres, concludes with Jameson that the confiscations "tended to make the Revolution economic and social as well as political."²⁶ From his own evidence, however, one could draw the equally justified inference that many a wealthy patriot took advantage of the bargain prices to increase his holdings and consequently his social status. The largest Tory estate was that of the great speculator Henry McCulloh—some 40,000 acres. Of the ninety purchasers of McCulloh's lands thirty-four bought more than one tract. Some acquired as many as ten or fifteen, thereby creating estates as large as 5,000 acres. Robert Raiford purchased parcels from five different Tories and put together an estate of more than a thousand acres. The 3,600-acre estate of Thomas Hooper passed almost intact to John McKinsey. Before a final generalization can be made about the social effects of the confiscations in North Carolina, we need to know more about the previous economic status of the purchasers.²⁷

The largest estate to be confiscated in America, as Jameson pointed out, was that of the Penn family. By the Divesting Act of 1779 the Pennsylvania legislature assumed control of twenty-one and a half million acres—all the ungranted lands which by royal charter had belonged to the proprietors. But this proprietary land, from which the Penns had never received any income, was comparable, surely, to the ungranted crown lands which fell into the hands of the other commonwealths. Much more significant is the fact that the private manors, the "proprietary tenths," of the Penns, amounting to more than 500,000 acres, together with the quitrents on them, were specifically "confirmed, ratified and established for ever" in the hands of the Penn family—and this by the most "radical" of all the revolutionary legislatures!²⁸

Clearly, there are two ways of reading the evidence concerning the confiscation and sale of Loyalist lands. Jameson, who was arguing a thesis, chose to stress the "democratizing" effects. But there were other social consequences of an opposite tendency—the aggrandizement of certain individuals and

²⁵ Crowl, chap. II; Newcomer, p. 151; Upton, p. 172; Aedanus Burke to Arthur Middleton, July 6, 1782, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXVI (1925), 203.

²⁶ DeMond, p. 180.

²⁷ The list of real estate confiscated and sold is printed by DeMond in an appendix (pp. 240-50).

²⁸ *The Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1782), p. 260.

families already well entrenched, the opportunities opened for speculation—and we shall not understand all the social results of this great sequestration of lands until we assess these as well.

In particular, until someone has studied the social effects of land speculation in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era as Professor Paul W. Gates has done for a later period, we shall not know whether the operations of the speculators hastened or delayed settlement, encouraged or hindered the system of small holdings. Meanwhile, we may note that Professor Abernethy considers the Virginia land office act of 1779 (drafted, incidentally, by Thomas Jefferson) “a colossal mistake,” a blow to economic democracy, and a retarding influence on settlement because it played into the hands of speculators and thus *prevented* the diffusion of land in small holdings. By this act, he says, “democracy was defeated in Virginia at the moment when it might have had its birth.”²⁹

Land speculation was, of course, a form of business enterprise. And business enterprise, it is now clear, took a sharp spurt as a direct result of Revolutionary conditions. That Jameson should have perceived and stressed this in 1925 is sufficiently remarkable. His chapter on “Industry and Commerce” undoubtedly opened the eyes of many American historians to the economic facts which, as everyone now recognizes, are as crucial in the history of a war as the political, diplomatic, and military facts.

Some of the new economic paths which the Revolution opened, turned out to be blind alleys. Postwar interest in the improvement of agriculture, reflected in the sudden popularity of farmers’ societies, proved to be short-lived and relatively ineffectual.³⁰ In some regions the wartime growth of manufacturing, which Jameson noted, was choked off by the postwar flood of cheap British goods, which he neglected to mention.³¹

But in other ways enterprise burgeoned and flourished under wartime and postwar conditions. Opportunities for quick gains in privateering and profiteering, the opening of new markets, the expansion of the credit system, the injection of new supplies of specie into the economy as a result of foreign borrowing, the rise of new business groups around men like Jeremiah Wadsworth, William Duer, Robert Morris, the very idea (a new one for Ameri-

²⁹ Cf. Gates, “The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVI (1942), 314-33; Thomas P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

³⁰ Jameson implies (pp. 79-80) that French influence was chiefly responsible for this sudden burst of interest in scientific farming. Actually, the major inspiration came from England. See Frederick B. Tolles, “George Logan and the Agricultural Revolution,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (1951), 590.

³¹ Jensen holds, however, that there was no real collapse in manufacturing, only a temporary recession. *The New Nation*, pp. 219-27.

cans) of large-scale business association—all these were constructive economic forces generated by the Revolution.³² Especially important were the rise of banking and the spread of incorporation. In the words of one economic historian, the Bank of North America, which opened in Philadelphia in 1782, “was identified with the American Revolutionary ‘settlement,’—as the Bank of England was with that of the ‘Glorious Revolution.’”

The same scholar gives us some revealing statistics on the chartering of business corporations: “In contrast with the half-dozen American business charters granted in the entire colonial period, eleven were issued in the United States between 1781 and 1785, twenty-two between 1786 and 1790, and 114 between 1791 and 1795.”³³ Economic facts of this order have led one writer to treat the American Revolution as “the triumph of American mercantile capitalism.”³⁴ Whether or not one wishes to adopt this view, it is clear, as Jameson dimly perceived, that the Revolution loosed potent new forces in the American economy. How these forces were related to the social and political democracy which Jameson saw as products of the Revolution remains to be studied.

When he turned from the hard facts of economic history to the impalpable realm of “thought and feeling,” Jameson was less at home. Yet even here he opened vistas which a generation of intellectual and cultural historians have explored with profit. The greater part of his final lecture is concerned with the effect of independence on the churches—with disestablishment and the separation of church and state, with the reorganization of the churches on a national basis, with the wartime decline of religious life and the postwar spread of liberal theologies. Subsequent research has added little to Jameson’s account of these matters, except to fill in details.³⁵ What Jameson did—and it was no trifling achievement—was to bring American church history within the purview of American historians—to take, as it were, the first steps toward giving this neglected orphan child a home and a standing within the family of historical disciplines.

Certain of his insights, naturally, have proved more fruitful than others.

³² Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1938), chap. II.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 288.

³⁴ Louis Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York, 1940), chap. XIII.

³⁵ Here Jameson had the benefit of E. F. Humphrey’s solidly documented, probably little-read monograph on *Nationalism and Religion in America* (Boston, 1924). One added comment which he might have made—for it would have fitted his emphasis on French influences—was that the French alliance and the hope of enlisting Canadian support brought some improvement in the legal status of Roman Catholics and a more tolerant attitude toward them. See Evarts B. Greene, *Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition* (New York, 1941), pp. 76–78; Sister M. Augustana Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936), p. 348.

His *obiter dictum* to the effect that military men can never again play the part in public life that they played after the Revolution falls strangely on our ears, who have known the proconsulate of MacArthur, the foreign ministry of Marshall, the Presidency of Eisenhower. Curiously, Jameson found little evidence of educational advance in the Revolutionary era, except for the founding of new colleges. Had he taken a broader view of education, he might have recognized a number of important developments directly or indirectly related to wartime experience: the improvement of medicine (including dentistry) and of medical education;³⁶ the emergence of civil engineering from military engineering; the founding of Judge Tapping Reeve's "law school" at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1784; the diffusion of scientific knowledge through the revived activity of the American Philosophical Society and the founding of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the popularity of pamphleteering as a form of mass education; and—not least important—the informal education, the widening of horizons, that resulted from wartime mobility, from the fact that, for the first time, many Americans rubbed elbows—and minds—not only with Europeans but with other Americans.³⁷ The school of intellectual and cultural historians which has sprung up in the last quarter century has made much of the "intellectual democracy" and the "cultural nationalism" which Jameson vaguely perceived as concomitants, in the realm of "thought and feeling," of the American Revolution.³⁸

The danger here as elsewhere is that the historian, misled by his enthusiasm for the concept of "revolution," will posit too abrupt a set of changes, will pay too little attention to the evidences of historical continuity. Jameson himself did not altogether avoid this pitfall. For example, he wrote that "Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, or President Stiles's celebrated election sermon on *The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor*, could not possibly have been written twenty years earlier."³⁹ If he meant by this that the idea of the United States as an independent nation was not entertained in the 1760's, the statement is obviously correct, though hardly startling. If he meant that before 1775 no American felt or expressed love for the land, pride in its people, confidence in its future, he was just as obviously wrong. For one finds strong feelings of American patriotism in a pre-Revolutionary poem like Freneau and Brackenridge's "The Rising Glory of America," written in 1771, in the

³⁶ Fielding H. Garrison says flatly: "The War of Independence was the making of medicine in this country." *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (4th ed.; Philadelphia, 1929), p. 376.

³⁷ Dixon Ryan Fox ("Culture in Knapsacks," in *Ideas in Motion* [New York, 1935] pp. 37-76) emphasizes contacts with foreigners and foreign ideas; Evarts B. Greene ("Some Educational Values of the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXVIII [1929], 185-94) stresses the association of Americans with men from other states.

³⁸ See Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), chap. vi.

³⁹ P. 120.

sermons of Samuel Davies and Jonathan Mayhew in the 1750's, even in Judge Samuel Sewall's proud paean to his beloved Plum Island, Crane Pond, and Turkey Hill as far back as the last decade of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ Indeed the points at which the supports to Jameson's thesis seem weakest—where for example he argues for sharper changes in the political and social status of individuals than can be justified on the evidence—are precisely those points at which he overlooked or underestimated dynamic forces already present in the society of late colonial America.

Still, a historian who fashions so useful a conceptual tool, who popularizes so fruitful a hypothesis, who enlarges so notably our understanding of a significant era in American history, can be forgiven a few oversights, a few overstatements. Basically, the "Jameson thesis" is still sound, and, what is more important, still vital and suggestive, capable of still further life, still greater usefulness. Jameson, after all, did much more than give us a new approach to the American Revolution. He formulated and cogently applied to a particular period an important general thesis—"the thesis that all the varied activities of men in the same country and period have intimate relations with each other, and that one cannot obtain a satisfactory view of any one of them by considering it apart from the others."⁴¹ For this he deserves homage as one of the founders of American social and cultural history.

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⁴⁰ See the excellent chapter "Of Loyalties and of the British American Nation" in Max Savelle, *Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind* (New York, 1948), pp. 553-82; also Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946), chap. 1. For the Sewall passage, which appeared in his *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica ad Aspectum Novi Orbis configurata* (1697), see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 189-90.

⁴¹ Jameson, p. 158.

Iconoclasm during the French Revolution*

STANLEY J. IDZERDA

MY friend," wrote Diderot in 1765, "if we love truth more than the fine arts, let us pray God for some iconoclasts."¹ In this oracular statement from one of the tutelary deities of the Enlightenment there is the germ of a major dilemma for the men of the French Revolution. First, they realized that France was a treasure house of Western art, and that any French government wishing to justify itself in the eyes of contemporaries or of posterity would have to respect the French artistic inheritance. Second, the men of the Revolution knew that painting, sculpture, and architecture, in the years before 1789, had been used as instruments of social control, as textbooks in morals and politics. Both the *philosophes* and the royal art ministers had agreed that the chief function of the arts was didactic: "The governors of men have always made use of painting and sculpture in order to inspire in their subjects the religious or political sentiments they desire them to hold."² Most of the art criticism of the late eighteenth century confirms this view, and variations upon this refrain were constantly repeated during the Revolution itself.³

Here, then, is the painful dilemma of the revolutionaries: They had to demonstrate that the fine arts would not suffer under a revolutionary regime, but many of the social, political, and religious values expressed in the art of the pre-1789 era were, in revolutionary terms, "untrue," and had to be

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¹ *Magazin encyclopédique*, III (1795), 52-53. The passage is from Diderot's critique of the Salon of 1765.

² Diderot, *et al.*, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* . . . (Paris, 1751-65), article "Peinture," XII, 267.

³ See La Font de Saint-Yenne, *L'ombre du Grand Colbert, le Louvre, et la Ville de Paris, Dialogue. Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'Etat présent de la peinture en France* . . . (Paris, 1752), *passim*; M. L. — P. —, *Observations générales sur le salon de 1783, et sur l'état des arts en France* (Paris, 1783), p. 31; *Journal de Paris*, no. 279 (Oct. 6, 1787), pp. 1203-1204; Fernand Engerand, ed., *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des bâtiments du roi (1709-1792)* (Paris, 1900), p. xxix; Jean Locquin, *La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris, 1912), p. 51; David L. Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution* (Lincoln, 1948), chaps. 1, 2. For comment in a similar vein during the Revolution, see Jérôme Mavidal, Emile Laurent, *et al.*, eds., *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860* . . . (Paris, 1862-1913), Ser. 1 [hereafter cited as *Arch. parl.*], XVI, 541; XX, 293; XXII, 215; XXIV, 281-82; XXVI, 467-72; XXIX, 306; XLIV, 498. The philosophy of art common to the eighteenth century seems to have been derived from a vulgarization of sensationalist and associationist psychology prevalent during the era. See Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1951), chap. 3.

destroyed. The revolutionaries were cultivated men; they were proud of their artistic heritage; they were confident that the visual arts were a school for both the illiterate and the literate, but they were also positive that the values of the *ancien régime* were false and had to be eradicated. If Diderot had been alive, they might well have replied to him, "We love the truth *and* the fine arts. What shall we do?"

Although both horns of the dilemma were clearly in view from the first days of the Revolution, the general tendency up to 1792 seemed to be to favor the preservation of the arts. This tendency was accurately reflected in the newspaper *L'Année littéraire* when it noticed an art exhibition in August, 1789. "France has always been *la patrie* of art and talent. One hopes that, in the astonishing revolution now under way, the Muses will not quit their customary asylum."⁴ But it was not only "hoped" that the arts would continue to flourish; definite efforts were made to preserve the French art heritage—efforts made necessary by the nationalization of church property in November, 1789.

The sale of many church buildings to private individuals raised fears that the mosaics, stained-glass windows, statues, and paintings in these buildings would be either destroyed or dispersed.⁵ To avoid the danger of such an artistic loss to the nation, the Constituent Assembly in 1790 created a Monuments Commission composed of members of several royal academies.⁶ The chief duty of this group was to inventory and collect in various depots those works of art thought worthy of preservation by the state. The members lacked funds necessary for travel but attempted to reach departmental officials by publishing a brochure entitled, "Instructions concerning the conservation of manuscripts, charters . . . monuments of antiquity, statues, paintings, and other objects relating to the fine arts found in churches."⁷ The Monuments Commission had some success in collecting, from the churches in the region around Paris, the funerary monuments of the former rulers of France and the princes and princesses of the royal blood. These monuments were then displayed in the abbey church at St. Denis, in the hope that both records of the past and the fine arts would be preserved at the same time.⁸ The commission won high praise in the Constituent Assembly,⁹ for such activity as this seemed to confirm the attitude expressed in a speech by Barère in May,

⁴ *L'Année littéraire*, VI (September, 1789), 281.

⁵ *Arch. parl.*, XIX, 434-35, 472, 603.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX, 603; Louis Tuetey, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments, 1790-4* (Paris, 1902, 1903), I, i-vii.

⁷ *Arch. parl.*, XXI, 490 ff.

⁸ *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, I, 30.

⁹ *Arch. parl.*, XXXI, 346.

1791. "The revolutions of a barbarous people," Barère said, "destroy all monuments, and the very trace of the arts seems to be effaced. The revolutions of an enlightened people conserve the fine arts, and embellish them, while the fruitful concern of the legislator causes the arts to be reborn as an ornament of the empire."¹⁰

For all this, there was an ominous undercurrent which boded ill for the arts. In the same month that the writer for *L'Année littéraire* was praying for the preservation of art and a continuation of artistic activity, the more radical *Révolutions de Paris* observed that

the statues of kings in our cities are not the work of the people, but of courtesan ministers. . . . The recent events in the districts have doubtless impressed themselves upon everyone's memory, but Time will soon efface those memories. . . . for those who cannot read, it will be as though these names and ceremonies had never existed. We should speak to the people of their glory by means of a public monument, for we must not forget in this revolution the powerful language of symbols. . . . If it is objected that such a statue is too costly, then let us take the marble and bronze from the statue erected to the iniquitous Louis XIII which is an insult to both reason and humanity. From the debris of this monument we may raise one to the defenders of liberty and *la patrie*.¹¹

To remind Frenchmen of the "powerful language of symbols" was a work of supererogation. Early in 1790 a group of artists, in a petition to the National Assembly, requested that the king "order the destruction of all monuments created during the feudal regime."¹² A short time later Quatremère de Quincy, a member of the Assembly, recalled to his fellow legislators Plato's fears for the people in the presence of corrupting art. While agreeing with Plato, De Quincy gave the philosopher's ideas a peculiar twist. "Under tyranny the arts turned the people from their true interests and caressed them to sleep," he wrote, but, "place the arts in the hands of the people, and they will become the flail of tyrants. The arts are only instruments, which will produce good or evil depending upon the hand that uses them."¹³

While these reminders of the necessity of legislative concern for the arts continued, the attitude of legislators remained ambivalent. For example, during the debate on the abolition of noble titles in June, 1790, a motion was passed which ordered the destruction of some bas-reliefs at the foot of Desjardins' statue of Louis XIV in the Place Victoire because they represented four French provinces in chains.¹⁴ Within a week this destruction was accom-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 471-72.

¹¹ *Révolutions de Paris* . . . , IX (Sept. 9, 1789), 25-26.

¹² M. Deltufo, *Discours prononcé à la barre de l'Assemblée Nationale*, par M. Deltufo, directeur de la Société Polytechnique (Paris, 1790), p. 5.

¹³ Antoine C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France, suivies d'un plan d'Académie* . . . (Paris, 1791), pp. 56-57.

¹⁴ *Arch. parl.*, XVI, 374.

plished, yet nobody seemed to notice that the decree which abolished noble titles contained an article which specifically forbade destruction of monuments pertaining to the old order.¹⁵

This attitude of hesitation between the preservation and destruction of art seemed swept away after the uprising of the Paris Commune in 1792. August 10, 1792, marked the collapse of the monarchy and the beginning of a torrent of iconoclasm which was to last for three years. Mobs stirred by the tocsin on August 10 roamed the city and tore down the monuments which had immortalized the "Capetian line." Accompanied by the cheers of excited crowds, the statues of Henry IV, Louis XIII, XIV, and XV crashed to the ground.¹⁶ During the session of the Legislative Assembly on August 11 this destruction was noted with some dismay, but the legislators agreed that "nothing could be done to stop the wrath of the people." It was decided to "uproot all royal prejudice," and to "demonstrate to the people that the Assembly was aware of their regard for liberty," by decreeing that all statues in Paris "erected in honor of despotism" be destroyed.¹⁷

Three days later a definitive law applicable to the whole nation was passed without opposition. The preamble to the decree made its general purpose—iconoclasm—quite clear; if the monarchy was to disappear, it was necessary that all its symbols disappear as well.

Whereas, the sacred principles of liberty and equality will not permit the existence of monuments raised to ostentation, prejudice, and tyranny to continue to offend the eyes of the French people; whereas, the bronze in these monuments can be converted into cannon for the defense of *la patrie*, it is decreed; I. All statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and other monuments made of bronze or other metals, which exist in public squares, gardens, parks, public buildings . . . will be removed by the communes. [The second article provided for the conversion of this metal into cannon.] III. All monuments containing traces of feudalism, of whatever nature, that still remain in churches, or other public places, and even those in private homes, shall, without the slightest delay, be destroyed by the communes.

Having directed some twenty-five million people to destroy feudal monuments without delay, the government remembered its responsibilities to the arts and turned to the thirty-three members of the Monuments Commission.

¹⁵ Johann Georg Wille, *Mémoires et Journal* (Paris, 1857), II, 217. Wille recorded the destruction in his journal entry for July 4, 1790. For the text of the decree abolishing titles of nobility, see *Arch. parl.*, XVIII, 104-10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 2, 115; *Moniteur*, no. 226 (Aug. 12, 1792), p. 948; no. 229 (Aug. 15, 1792), p. 962; Bertrand Barère, *Mémoires . . .* (London, 1896), II, 16-17; Edouard Lockroy, ed., *The Great French Revolution, 1785-1793. Narrated in the Letters of Madame [Julien] of the Jacobin Party* (London, 1881), p. 212.

¹⁷ *Arch. parl.*, XLVIII, 2.

The last article of the decree read: "IV. The Monuments Commission is expressly charged with the conservation of those items which have a particular interest for the arts. . . ."¹⁸

With this legal sanction, the destruction of symbols of the Old Regime went on apace. Within a month the minister of the interior was expressing concern because he could not possibly keep records of, or control the upsurge of, iconoclastic activity set in motion by the decree of August 14.¹⁹ Perhaps the minister did not realize that haste was of the essence. Granting a common belief in an identity between the object perceived and the idea in the mind of the percipient, those visual objects which possessed a dangerous ideological content had to be destroyed at once.²⁰ As one member of the Convention warned his fellows, "When a horse has the glanders he must be killed, and his harness and stall must be burned to avoid the spread of the pestilence."²¹

The "harness and stall" in this crude analogy seemed at first to refer only to the social and political symbols of the *ancien régime*. But the assassination and apotheosis of Marat and the "dechristianization" movement in 1793 brought religious symbols also under the hammer or to the pyre. Public lamentation for the death of Marat and hatred of "non-juring" clergy and an ultramontane church were often combined in a ceremony with three main features: a church would be inaugurated as a Temple of Reason, a bust of Marat would be unveiled, and a bonfire composed of statues, paintings, charters, and armorial bearings would be lit. The fete held at Fontainebleau was typical of many. "To appease the spirit of Marat," all the pictures of kings and nobles were taken from the chateau and set afire in front of a bust of the martyr. It was proudly recounted how the smoke from Champagne's portrait of Louis XIII "was wafted toward the bust. It was the most agreeable incense we could offer him."²² Although there were many such ceremonies, often the bonfire alone provided an outlet for republican zeal. A fete celebrating the anniversary of the collapse of the monarchy, for instance, was considered a fine occasion to burn wagonloads of the "symbols of royalty, super-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 115-16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, L, 14-15; *Moniteur*, no. 261 (Sept. 16, 1792), p. 1108. The minister made a similar complaint in October, 1793; see *Arch. parl.*, LIII, 96.

²⁰ This is not to say that sensationalist psychology was entirely responsible for revolutionary iconoclasm (see n. 3); however, arguments leaning upon this psychology lent weight or support to the iconoclastic movement.

²¹ Cited in James Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1891-1907), IV, 276.

²² Description of the fete at Fontainebleau in *Arch. parl.*, LXXVII, 648-51. For other such fetes, almost liturgical in their sameness, see *ibid.*, LXXII, 318; LXXIX, 702-704; LXXXI, 277, 689, 695; LXXXII, 74, 383, 449, 664.

stition and ignorance," or of "slavery, despotism and fanaticism," which might include even books with the *fleur de lys* stamped on the bindings.²³

While this destruction went forward, many complaints were voiced in the Convention that the destruction of symbols glorifying the past, was not being accomplished with sufficient rapidity or thoroughness.²⁴ A decree of September 14, 1793, threatened dismissal to municipal officers who failed to perform their duty as prescribed by the first law for the destruction of monuments.²⁵ In October, 1793, it was required that all symbols of the *ancien régime* were to be destroyed within eight days, upon pain of confiscation of the property where such symbols still existed.²⁶ In the same month, the council of the Paris Commune ordained that all "religious effigies" in the city be immediately destroyed; no statue other than that of "Sommeil" would be allowed to stand in the cemeteries, and all other sculptured representations would be delivered to the hammer.²⁷

In face of such legislative pressure, the Monuments Commission (which had been organized in 1790) was almost helpless. They were still responsible for the preservation of works of art, but the thirty-three members of the group were all residents of Paris; they served without pay; their official status was ambiguous, and, in any event, they could not possibly roam the face of France directing municipal officers to stop doing what the central government had instructed these municipal officers to do upon pain of loss of their civic positions. Indeed, the Committee of Public Safety actually called upon the Monuments Commission to destroy a part of what the commission had so care-

²³ For specific reports of the destruction of monuments, paintings, books, etc., because of their real or imagined connection with the Old Regime, see *ibid.*, LIII, 96; LXI, 392; LXVIII, 485; LXX, 69; LXXIII, 318; LXXVI, 479; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 150; III, 40; IV, 79, 81, 302, 650, 676, 817, 838; V, 254, 514; VI, 126, 502, 525, 549, 572, 675, 712, 801; Louis Tuetey, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts* (Paris, 1912, 1918), I, 97, 115, 207, 210; II, 4, 9, 25, 37, 60, 154, 212, 241; *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, I, 141, 149, 273, 311, 364; II, 2, 3, 7, 12-13, 46, 56, 61, 69-70, 71, 77, 81-82, 92, 94, 109, 111, 127, 170-71, 175, 207-208. These citations cover the period 1790-95; they do not include government-encouraged destruction of monuments and statues during 1794-95 which had been raised in honor of Marat and *la Montagne* during 1793-94. If there was so much destruction, how can we account for what has remained? (a) It is difficult to destroy in three years that which had been created in the previous eight hundred years. (b) In many cases (not cited above) the offending architectural decorations were simply plastered over. (c) Much of the destruction required expensive scaffolding and hired laborers; the communes were required to pay for this work from local revenue (see *Arch. parl.*, LXXIII, 378; LXXIV, 100), and it appears that considerations of economy interfered with the desire to destroy the symbols proscribed. (d) A reasonable portion of "medieval" cathedral sculpture which delights the eye of the modern tourist, e.g., on Notre Dame de Paris, is the work of nineteenth-century restoration under the leadership of such men as Viollet-le-Duc.

²⁴ *Arch. parl.*, LV, 341-42; LXI, 392; LXIII, 311; LXXIV, 100; LXXVI, 440, 455; LXXXIII, 378, 484.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 711-12; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 652.

²⁷ *Moniteur*, no. 27 (Oct. 15, 1793), p. 107; no. 34 (Oct. 23, 1793), p. 135.

fully labored to preserve—the royal tombs at St. Denis.²⁸ “These monuments of idolatry still nourished the superstition of some Frenchmen,”²⁹ and within a month of the directive from the Committee of Public Safety some fifty of the tombs were destroyed under the direction of the Monuments Commission itself.³⁰

By December, 1793, however, the hapless members of the Monuments Commission, accused of “not having kept pace with the revolution” and of “stationary” patriotism, were dismissed by the government. A new group, called the Temporary Arts Commission, with duties identical with those of its predecessor, was called into being.³¹ It also was to preserve those works of art remaining from the *ancien régime* which possessed a purely aesthetic or historical value. The new commissioners conscientiously applied themselves to this task, but they too were not innocent of iconoclasm. The commission ordered all portraits of “the Capetian race” destroyed, and when one member timidly suggested that a few of these portraits might contain “some aspects of genius or originality,” he was firmly overruled by the more “patriotic” members.³² The new art commission also suggested that a national fête be held, centered around a holocaust of “the effigies and monuments that recall royalty and fanaticism, in order that nothing escape the republican crucible.”³³

This fête was never held, but there was a period during 1793 and 1794 when it seemed that the maw of the “republican crucible” would be crammed to overflowing if the disciples of the cult of republican virtue were to have their way. Prominent in the winds of doctrine that blew over eighteenth-century France was the notion that the arts were a result of luxury and vice, that they flourished only in decadent, over-civilized societies and provided opiates for the subjects of tyrannical rulers.³⁴ Disputes over the truth or falsity of such ideas before the Revolution remained largely academic, but the implications of such a philosophy of art obviously would be disastrous if French-

²⁸ *Arch. parl.*, LXX, 108.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 440.

³⁰ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 610–11; *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, II, 40.

³¹ *Arch. parl.*, LXXXI, 628–31.

³² *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts*, II, 657. See also, I, 106, 207; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, IV, 657.

³³ *Ibid.*, IV, 654–55.

³⁴ See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, ed. George R. Havens (London, 1945), pp. 61–82. Havens shows that Rousseau's *Discours* expressed ideas that had been abroad for at least three generations, in the works of Charron, Bossuet, Fénelon, Montesquieu, et al. Several French editions of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* were published between 1740 and 1760, adding fuel to the dispute. See also, J.-J. Rousseau, *Lettre . . . sur les spectacles* (1758); Paul Henry Thiry Baron d'Holbach, *Système social . . .* (London, 1773), I, 64; Johann J. Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'art chez les anciens* (Paris, 1791), I, 90.

men ever decided to create a republican regime which prided itself upon a Reign of Virtue, a return to simplicity, and to nature.

Such a regime was the dream of many revolutionaries in 1793-94. Its adherents sometimes refused to distinguish between "royal" and "republican" art: they would abolish the arts altogether. In a discourse before the Convention in October, 1793, Michel-Edme Petit succinctly expressed the new vogue. He claimed that any inclusion of the fine arts in the education of children would "corrupt morals" and he pointed to the lax morals of artists as proof. Any enjoyment from the fine arts, he contended, "would enervate the spirit, render it incapable of courage, of enduring privations; it would make men insensible to the charms of moderate means and simplicity which are so indispensable in a republic."³⁵ Soon after Petit's speech, a deputation from Sèvres visited the Convention complaining of ornate church decorations and priestly vestments because such display was not in keeping with "the simplicity and modesty of the *sans-culotte* Jesus."³⁶ In November, 1793, the Committee of Public Instruction received word from the citizens of Rochefort that all "monuments of superstition" as well as all religious books in the city had been devoured in a bonfire lasting twenty-two hours. On the same day that the committee heard from Rochefort, they also received a letter from the librarian of the city of Marseilles asking for advice (or consolation); the librarian had been told by his townsmen to burn *all* his books because they were either "useless or evil."³⁷ And one anonymous pamphleteer pointed out that the epochs most favorable to the arts had been those of the emperor Augustus, Pope Leo X, and Louis XIV; on the other hand, the Spartans had "banished all luxury."³⁸ What must a good republican conclude?

Almost inevitably, the reaction against the art of the pre-revolutionary era

³⁵ Cited in *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 551.

³⁶ *Moniteur*, no. 51 (Nov. 11, 1793), p. 207.

³⁷ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, III, 40-41.

³⁸ Alexandre Tuetey and Jean Guiffrey, eds., *La Commission du musée et la création du Musée du Louvre (1792-1793) (Documents . . .)* (Paris, 1910), p. 181. For other contemporary comments regarding the necessary connection between luxury and art, see Quatremère de Quincy, *Considérations sur les arts*, pp. 49, 86; Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, eds., *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome . . .* (Paris, 1901-1907), XVI, 395; *Moniteur*, no. 95 (Nov. 25, 1789), p. 387; no. 20 (Jan. 20, 1790), p. 79. Further reports of art, philosophy, and literature condemned as useless or dangerous for republicans may be found in *Arch. parl.*, LXXVII, 489; LXXXI, 633; *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, IV, 829; *Moniteur*, no. 119 (Jan. 17, 1794), p. 480; *Annales de la République française . . .*, no. 230 (Aug. 17, 1793), p. 1131; *Décade philosophique . . .*, I (June 28, 1794), 402; Antoine Augustin Renouard, Chardin, et Charlemagne fils, *Observations de quelques patriotes sur la nécessité de conserver les monuments de la littérature et des arts* (Paris, 1793), p. 11; François Antoine de Boissy d'Anglas, *Quelques idées sur les arts, sur la nécessité de les encourager . . . adressés à la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1793), p. 127-28. These reports do not name specific persons; rather, they "heard it in the streets," or "one hears that the arts are condemned as useless," etc.

reflected upon those artists still alive during the Revolution who had formerly produced paintings or sculpture glorifying royal or religious patrons. The Conventionnel A.C. Thibaudeau reproached French artists because they had not memorialized the great events of the Revolution. Most artists, he said, had "centuries of baseness and adulation" on their record, for during a despotic regime they "had hastened to deify despotism and present it to the people in its most seductive forms."³⁹ Such insinuations had been in the air since the first years of the Revolution.⁴⁰ Perhaps as a consequence, we find that no group seemed more anxious to join the iconoclastic crusade than the artists themselves.

Jacques-Louis David, the greatest painter of his age, was a member of the Monuments Commission. In June, 1790, he had joined a deputation to the National Assembly, pleading for the partial preservation of Louis XIV's statue in the Place Victoire, lest this "masterpiece" be lost to posterity.⁴¹ David later became a rabid Jacobin and was chosen to represent his *section* in the National Convention. Soon after the Convention opened, he was demanding that an "auto-da-fé" be made of the effigies of kings and cardinals in the Royal Academy's school at Rome.⁴² As organizer of the fete commemorating the first anniversary of the downfall of the monarchy, David arranged that a statue of liberty be raised in the Place Victoire; before this statue the "attributes of royalty . . . would be made into an enormous bonfire . . . as an expiatory sacrifice."⁴³ Although David did not indicate who was "expiating" for what, he may have unconsciously intended the bonfire as an atonement for the past sins of French artists. During his term as president of the Convention in January, 1794, he announced that "The arts are going to recover their dignity. They will no longer prostitute themselves celebrating tyrants."⁴⁴

David was not the only artist interested in forwarding iconoclasm. The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture was abolished by government fiat in August, 1793, and was almost immediately replaced by an official group (dominated by David and his students) called the "Commune of Arts." At first it seemed that the Commune of Arts would be merely a more egalitarian version of the old Royal Academy, while it carried on the academy's teaching and judging functions. But the hostile pressure upon a group of men who had so obviously "prostituted" themselves so short a time ago was too great, particularly when injury was added to insult by suggestions that art of *any* kind

³⁹ *Moniteur*, no. 232 (May 11, 1794), p. 943.

⁴⁰ See *Arch. parl.*, XVIII, 91-92; XXII, 215; LXXVII, 650-51.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 541; *Moniteur*, no. 181 (June 30, 1790), pp. 737-38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 331 (Nov. 26, 1792), p. 1403; *Arch. parl.*, LIII, 579.

⁴³ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, II, 73.

⁴⁴ *Moniteur*, no. 119 (Jan. 18, 1794), p. 480.

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was useless or evil. By January of 1794, the members of the Commune of Arts decided that "any conflict between the God of genius and the God of patriotism must cease."⁴⁵ The hotheads in the Commune planned a ceremony in which a portrait of the dauphin was to be dragged to the foot of a liberty tree, mutilated by each member of the Commune and then burned. Those in the Commune who opposed such activity were assumed to be infected with "moderantisme" or "counterrevolutionary" tendencies.⁴⁶

In the spring of 1794, the Commune of Arts began to take action against contemporary painters and engravers whose works contained "obscenities which revolted republican morals," and they planned to bring a list of proscribed works to the Committee of Public Safety.⁴⁷ Within a week of this action, the well-known painter, L.-L. Boilly, appeared before the Commune to "abjure his former errors" as a painter of subjects of doubtful morality. Boilly asked for mercy on the ground that he was first to denounce his own conduct. He assured his rapt listeners that in the future he would use his brush "in a more worthy manner."⁴⁸ What more could virtuous republicans ask?

Notwithstanding all these iconoclastic plans, legislation, and activity, the dilemma remained in force, even though it never seemed to be recognized explicitly by the revolutionaries. The dialectic, the tension, between iconoclasm and the need to preserve the heritage of the arts (to say nothing of the need to provide an environment in which artists would feel encouraged to create republican symbols without fear of reprisal at the next shift in the republican credo) remained a fact even during the most destructive periods during 1793-94. Attempts were made to draw a line between "luxury" and "art"; questions were raised concerning the necessary cause-and-effect relationship between the morals of society and its art, and some courageous Frenchmen began to hint that the primrose path of iconoclasm lead to the hell of barbarism.

When, in January, 1793, the minister of the interior asked for funds to support the Gobelin tapestry works, he granted that the Gobelins had formerly served "luxury and frivolity," but he insisted that once the "moeurs" of a

⁴⁵ Henry Lapauze, ed., *Procès-verbaux de la Commune générale des arts de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure* . . . (Paris, 1903), p. 213.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 207. When the painter A. J. Belle was named director of the Gobelin factory in 1793, he proved his patriotism by burning at the foot of a liberty tree tapestries containing royal symbolism; see *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, XV, 381.

⁴⁷ *Procès-verbaux de la Commune générale des arts*, p. 287. A member of the commune also brought the problem to the Council General of the Paris Commune, asking severe police action; *Moniteur*, no. 222 (May 5, 1794), p. 915.

⁴⁸ *Procès-verbaux de la Commune générale des arts*, p. 291. Boilly had enjoyed great success as kind of a bourgeois Boucher. His depictions of middle-class courting scenes appear innocent enough, but the titles of the pictures usually contained a *double-entendre*. Part of his expiatory activity included painting "Marat Carried in Triumph on the Shoulders of the People."

society had changed, the arts would follow suit.⁴⁹ The arts did not corrupt society until society had first corrupted the arts. Reform "les mœurs" and the arts would reflect this reform and further it.⁵⁰ "Let us distinguish between luxury and the arts" warned the author of *Almanach des Républicains*. "Leave luxury for monarchs, but let us keep the arts, for they support lofty ideas." After all, "Republicans are not barbarians," and even the "Spartans made sacrifices to the Muses before going into battle."⁵¹ A fear of further iconoclasm was shown by the writers of a liturgy for "Temples of Reason" in their elaborate defense of the fine arts in a republic. In fact, the arts were considered so important that they were included in the Ten Commandments (revised republican version). Commandment Six read, "Thou shalt cultivate the fine arts; they are the ornament of the State."⁵²

Newspaper and pamphlet comment during this period often approved of iconoclasm in principle but condemned it in practice. Fears were expressed that, if the destruction continued, France would become a cultural desert and lose its leadership in the arts. Further, those engaged in government-sponsored iconoclasm were often compared to "Ostrogoths," "Visigoths," "Moslem fanatics," or to "early Christians, who had destroyed the statues of Pheidias and Praxiteles."⁵³

This type of objection was sometimes echoed in the National Convention, often by the same members who were (on other occasions) insisting upon the necessity for the destruction of all royal, feudal, and religious symbols.⁵⁴ Attempts were made to cast the blame on the enemies of the Republic and to provide for a remedy. In June, 1793, notice was taken of the "irreparable losses" suffered by the fine arts through "the outrages of aristocrats," and an act was adopted providing two years in irons for anyone discovered mutilating works of art.⁵⁵ In October, 1793—the same month in which a law was passed insisting upon the destruction of all offending monuments without delay—a member of the Committee of Public Instruction presented to the Convention an

⁴⁹ *Arch. parl.*, LVI, 654.

⁵⁰ *Décade philosophique*, I (June 8, 1794), 404. The same idea is expressed in the anonymous pamphlet "Considérations sur les arts et sur le muséum nationale" reprinted in Tuetey and Guiffrey, *Commission du muséum*, p. 181.

⁵¹ Pierre Sylvain Maréchal, *Almanach des Républicains, pour servir à l'instruction publique* (Paris, 1793), pp. 69, 83.

⁵² C. Chenier, Dusasoir, et al., *Office des décades, ou discours, hymnes, et prières en usage dans les Temples de la Raison* (Paris, II^{ème} année de l'Ere républicaine), pp. 45-47, 84.

⁵³ See Chrisosthème Alethes, *Félicitation publique à M. Lequino sur son projet de démolir les monuments des arts* (Paris, 1793); Renouard, Chardin, et Charlemagne fils, *Observations de quelques patriotes*; Boissy d'Anglas, *Quelques idées sur les arts*; *Annales de la République française*, no. 230 (Aug. 17, 1793), p. 1131; *Décade philosophique*, I (June 28, 1794), 401-11; *Moniteur*, no. 72 (Dec. 2, 1793), p. 290.

⁵⁴ *Arch. parl.*, L, 5; LXVIII, 246-47; LXX, 69; LXXVII, 431-32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LXVI, 98.

omnibus decree respecting the arts, intended to remedy the defects of earlier laws on the subject. The speaker asserted that "the enemies of liberty" had given the laws of the Convention "a disastrous interpretation." He blamed "English spies" for leading the people to the destruction of "monuments which attest the superiority of our arts and our genius." Under the terms of the new law, it was "forbidden, under the pretext of destroying symbols of royalty, feudalism, or superstition, to efface, destroy, mutilate, or alter in any manner whatsoever . . . any object of art . . . which has artistic, historical, or educational value." Those objects which bore the symbols of the *ancien régime*, and had historical, educational, or artistic value were to be "taken to the nearest museum" for conservation. The last article of the law read, "All good citizens are invited to be as zealous in destroying the symbols proscribed in the preceding decrees . . . as they are to assure the conservation of those works of art which are of interest chiefly to the arts, history, and education."⁵⁶

The provisions of this law relate to the problem of revolutionary iconoclasm in two important respects. First, there is the attempt of the Conventionnels to grasp both horns of the dilemma: to destroy specific works of art, yet preserve the arts. Second, there is a proposed solution of the dilemma: the creation of public museums.

The Louvre museum and the Museum of French Monuments were products of the Revolution; it was there that the Monuments Commission and the Temporary Arts Commission collected many works of art containing the "proscribed symbols."⁵⁷ The Louvre was first opened to the public in August, 1793, and while many *sans-culottes* admired symbols of "royalty, feudalism, and superstition" inside the museum, they continued to engage in iconoclastic activities outside of it.⁵⁸ This paradoxical activity need not imply a contradiction in attitudes. It seems probable that when these works were seen in the museum, torn out of their cultural context, they were regarded only as "art"; their significance as tokens, symbols, or *mana* had been drained away because of their placement in an artificial situation, a strange milieu. A member of the Monuments Commission recommended that a scepter from one of the tombs at St. Denis be preserved for the museum "not as a scepter, but as an example of fourteenth-century goldsmith work."⁵⁹ (If this seems unusual or improbable, the reader might recall that, in our age, the *content* of a work of art in a museum is seldom objected to; on the other hand, murals in post-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 486-90.

⁵⁷ See *Procès-verbaux de la Commission temporaire des arts*, and *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, *passim*.

⁵⁸ The museum was opened to the public three days a week, and was usually crowded with visitors. *Décade philosophique*, IV, no. 28 (Jan. 29, 1795), p. 215.

⁵⁹ *Procès-verbaux de la Commission des monuments*, II, 211.

offices or in the Rockefeller Center have become public issues.) Regarded in this light, the public museum may be said to have originated as both an instrument of and a result of iconoclasm.

Despite the new decrees, and the founding of museums, the Conventionnels failed in their efforts to control iconoclasm before 1795. They had sowed the wind, and they reaped the usual unwelcome harvest. As reports of the destruction mounted, the Committee of Public Instruction had one of its members (on July 8, 1794, some weeks before Thermidor) collate these reports and make known his findings.⁶⁰ Henri Grégoire was the man assigned to the task, and he made not one but three lengthy reports from the tribune of the Convention in the last half of 1794.⁶¹ In these speeches, he placed the blame for the destruction upon "English spies," "counterrevolutionaries," and "terrorists," although only a few months before Thermidor Grégoire himself had praised the "wise law" ordaining "the destruction of all that carries the imprint of royalty and feudalism."⁶²

Not only did Grégoire blame the destruction upon the enemies of the Revolution; he also described this activity as "vandalism," i.e., "willful and ignorant destruction," and so added a word to our language, for the noun vandalism was of his coining.⁶³ By the use of this term, Grégoire evidently hoped to clear the fair name of the Revolution; in this hope he not only failed but made available a term of reprobation which has served as a polemical weapon in revolutionary studies ever since. Historians have taken Grégoire's "vandalism" at its face value, and have either denied it ever happened, or claimed that every mutilated or badly weathered statue in France is the work of "revolutionary vandalism."⁶⁴ It has been shown here that the activity described by Grégoire was not "vandalism" but iconoclasm, i.e., premeditated destruction of visual symbols because of their specific emotional or ideological content. In short, the issue of "revolutionary vandalism" is a false one.

⁶⁰ *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, VI, 273.

⁶¹ B. H. Grégoire, *Rapport sur les destructions opérées par le Vandalisme, et sur les moyens de les reprimer* . . . séance du 14 Fructidor, l'an II (Paris, l'an II); *Second Rapport sur le Vandalisme* . . . séance du 3 Brumaire, l'an III (Paris, l'an III); *Troisième rapport sur le Vandalisme* . . . séance du 24 Frimaire, l'an III (Paris, l'an III).

⁶² B. H. Grégoire, *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics* . . . séance du 22 Nivose, l'an II (Paris, l'an II), pp. 1, 5.

⁶³ See "Vandalism" in *Oxford English Dictionary*. *Mémoires de Grégoire* (Paris, 1840), I, 347.

⁶⁴ The most recent comments on the subject are by Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*, in which the destruction wrought during the Revolution is denied as a "hoary legend," p. 90, n. 53; in "Le 'vandalisme révolutionnaire,'" *La Pensée*, no. 37 (July-Aug., 1951), Marcel Cornu blames vandalism upon the *ancien régime*, while the revolutionaries are credited with antivandalism. See also, Eugène Despois, *Le vandalisme révolutionnaire* . . . (Paris, 1868 and 1885); E. Boutaric, "Le vandalisme révolutionnaire," *Revue des questions historiques*, XII (1872), 325-96; Gustave Gautherot, *Le vandalisme jacobin* (Paris, 1914).

The real issue involves a revolutionary dilemma in terms of iconoclasm versus the preservation of an artistic heritage; while a great deal of premeditated destruction was wrought, an attempt to preserve the arts persisted. In one sense, the problem posed by Diderot, “. . . if we love truth more than the fine arts, let us pray God for some iconoclasts,” was never resolved. It could be argued, however, that the revolutionaries did solve the dilemma in two ways. First, they encouraged iconoclasm and then called it the vandalism of their enemies. If this be a solution, it is neither creditable nor original. Second, they created a public institution called a “museum”; immure a political symbol in a museum and it becomes merely art—iconoclasm is thus achieved without destruction. This solution was quite original; it is one that Diderot never dreamed of, and it probably would have received his high praise.

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History and the German Revolution of 1848

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THE Revolution of 1848 was the last and, measured by the numbers and areas involved, the greatest of the middle-class revolutions which had convulsed Europe periodically since 1789. Inspired by an optimistic faith in human capacity for self-government, it released a flood of popular energies and passions which overwhelmed the existing political order. The system of conservative restoration, erected with such painstaking care in 1815 at Vienna, collapsed, and with its collapse an era came to an end.

It must have been exciting to be alive in the spring of 1848, that "spring-time of nations," when God smiled with favor upon every parliamentary subcommittee and the liberal millennium was just around the corner. Barricades were mushrooming in the capitals of Europe from the Seine to the Danube; angry mobs were stoning royal palaces; unpopular ministers were hastily signing resignations and hurrying into exile; exiled revolutionaries were hurrying home to a hero's welcome. To liberals witnessing these events it appeared as if a new world were about to be born, as if a new reign of liberty and justice were beginning. The sense of participation in the creation of a better society seemed to intoxicate them.¹

But the brave dream of a European polity of free individuals organized in free nations turned into a nightmare. The Revolution, greeted as the opening act of a process of cosmic liberation, degenerated before long into a war of all against all, of proletarian against bourgeois, Dane against Prussian, Pole against German, German against Czech. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, liberalism could not control the forces it had unleashed and was defeated by the Revolution it had created. By 1849 its strength was exhausted, and conservatives returned to the seats of power which liberals had occupied a year earlier. The effect of 1848 was to discredit political ideals and ideologies and to prepare the way for "strong" men, men who at least got what they wanted, even if what they wanted was not always morally justifiable.

¹ "I live . . . not among men, but among angels, and I sleep in a fairy temple," wrote the Baden liberal, Karl Mathy, in April, 1848. Rudolf Virchow, destined to become an eminent scientist and a somewhat less eminent politician, showed greater restraint: "All that we are now doing in the political field, the entire constitution, is only . . . the means by which the condition of society is to be transformed to its very foundations." Quoted in Gustav Freytag, *Karl Mathy: Geschichte seines Lebens* (Leipzig, 1872), p. 263; and Ernst Kaeber, *Berlin 1848* (Berlin, 1948), p. 138.

Nowhere did the failure of the Revolution have a profounder and more lasting effect than in Germany. In France the events of 1848 discredited the Second French Republic without, however, destroying the republican tradition; the idea of an Italy united under the liberal House of Savoy survived the defeat at Novara; the subject nationalities of the Austrian Empire continued to dream of self-government, and that dream was realized with a vengeance in 1918. But in Germany liberalism was dealt a blow from which it never recovered. It lost faith in its own mission and was never again able to win the allegiance of the masses whom it had led to defeat in 1848.

German historiography has not been unaware of the significance of the Revolution for the course of modern German history. If anything, there has been too much awareness of the fact that 1848 was a turning point. The study of the Revolution has suffered from the curse of contemporaneity, from the tendency to interpret it in the light of developments subsequent to it and very frequently irrelevant to it. The historian Hermann Oncken pointed out at the beginning of the twentieth century that "nothing is more certain than that the political and spiritual heirs of the parties of 1848 still look today upon those events with the eyes of their fathers and . . . maintain their views as shibboleths of the orthodoxy of their political ideologies."² The tendency of the present to distort the past and force it into its own intellectual formulas is nowhere more apparent than in the historiography of the German Revolution of 1848.

The first historical school to treat the Revolution in a systematic fashion and present a consistent interpretation of it was the School of the Left, inspired largely, though not exclusively, by the teachings of Karl Marx.³ Its fundamental position was stated shortly after the Revolution by Marx himself, or rather by Engels writing under Marx's name, in a series of newspaper articles later issued in book form with the title *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*.⁴ The work done by subsequent members of the school is an elaboration and defense of this Marxian thesis of 1851.

Marx and Engels had prophesied the Revolution and had awaited its arrival impatiently. They were confident that it would be the first step in the overthrow of the conservative regime in Germany and the establishment of a socialist state. Engels wrote in January, 1848, on the eve of the Revolution:

² Hermann Oncken, "Zur Genesis der preussischen Revolution von 1848," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XIII (1900), 123.

³ For the non-Marxian founders of this school of historiography see Wilhelm Zimmermann, *Die deutsche Revolution* (Karlsruhe, 1848); and Bruno Bauer, *Der Untergang des Frankfurter Parlaments: Geschichte der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung* (Berlin, 1849).

⁴ Karl Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (Chicago, 1912). The true authorship of these articles is discussed in Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie* (2 vols.; The Hague, 1934), II, 30.

Fight on bravely then, gentlemen of capital! We need your help, we even need your rule on occasions. You must draw from our path the relics of the Middle Ages and absolute monarchy. You must abolish patriarchalism, you must centralize, you must change all the more or less destitute classes into real proletarians, recruits for us. Your factories and trade connections must lay the foundation for the liberation of the proletariat. Your reward shall be a brief time of rule. You shall dictate laws, you shall bask in the sun of your own majesty, you shall banquet in the royal halls and woo the king's daughter—but remember! The hangman's foot is on the threshold!⁵

Yet the German middle class failed to perform the task which the socialists had assigned to it, the task of preparing the way for the rule of the proletariat. Instead, it suffered a severe defeat at the hands of a reviving conservatism. Its sin lay not in being defeated but in being defeated by the wrong party, and it was a sin for which there could be no forgiveness from Marx and Engels. In *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, therefore, they referred to the leaders and ideas of the Revolution in terms of strongest contempt: "poor, weakminded men," "the most hackneyed commonplace themes of superannuated philosophical and juridical schools," "this assembly of old women," "a body so abnormal, so ludicrous by its very position, and yet so full of its own importance, that history will, most likely, never afford a pendant to it."⁶

The School of the Left maintained that the Revolution was the child of the barricades, the work of a factory proletariat seeking to break the chains of wage slavery. The bourgeois Philistines, however, succeeded in stealing control of the revolutionary movement and diverting it for the advancement of their own class interests. They attempted to substitute the domination of industrial capitalism for the rule of a landed aristocracy, but they succeeded only in falling between two stools. They divided and alienated the working class at the same time that they antagonized the feudal conservatives. When the crisis of the Revolution came, the middle class preferred to make its peace with the reaction rather than permit the movement to follow a truly radical course of action. It betrayed the workers and collaborated with the royalist forces in the re-establishment of law and order. This great betrayal, tragic as its immediate consequences may have been, at least taught the German worker one important lesson. He learned to distrust bourgeois liberalism and turned thereafter to the one ideology which truly represented his interests, Marxian socialism.⁷

⁵ Quoted in Mayer, I, 290. Compare also the abridged English translation of this work: Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels* (New York, 1936), pp. 90-91.

⁶ Marx, pp. 78-80, 148.

⁷ For representative products of the School of the Left see Georg Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland* (Breslau, 1885); Max Quarck, *Die*

But the generation which reached maturity in the years immediately following the Revolution ignored the socialist interpretation of 1848. It was busy listening to the gospel of nationalism preached by the Prussian School, the school of Treitschke and Sybel.⁸ Born during the years of reaction which followed the Revolution, this school anticipated in its history the age of blood and iron. The historian of the Prussian School was an iron chancellor of the chair, marshaling the spiritual forces of the nation and winning battles different in kind but no less important than those of the soldier. His work was a powerful assertion of the fateful mission of the House of Hohenzollern. The Prussian School repudiated the view of history as contemplation and in its place advanced the concept of history as action. Its pages are angry, partisan, and exciting. It sought ultimate justification not in the verdict of some spineless objectivity but in the living miracle of national greatness.

What could 1848 offer to rival that miracle? At best it was a well-intentioned but hopeless effort of talkers and dreamers to play the hero. But for Treitschke and Sybel history is not made by such men. It is only the Bismarcks who can bend fate to their will and shape the destiny of a nation. The leaders of the Revolution, with their middle-class respectability and shop-keeper politics, how puny they seem by contrast, how pathetic their attempts to translate phrases and enthusiasms into action! The Prussian School put the seal of history's approval on the defeat which German liberalism suffered in the nineteenth century. It elaborated and defined the thesis of the "professors' revolution," a thesis which from that day to this has been accepted in many circles as valid.⁹

The Prussian School is in agreement on many essential points with the School of the Left. Both consider the liberals of 1848 naïve doctrinaires, who disguised selfish interests under a façade of fine phrases. Both condemn the

erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung: Geschichte der Arbeiterverbrüderung, 1848-49 (Leipzig, 1924); and particularly *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (2 vols.; Stuttgart, 1897-98), and *Zur preussischen Geschichte* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1930), by the official historian of the German Social Democratic party, Franz Mehring.

⁸ See Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (5 vols.; Leipzig, 1879-94); and Heinrich von Sybel, *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I* (7 vols.; Munich and Leipzig, 1889-94), *passim*. While Treitschke's history does not go beyond 1847, his treatment of the growth of German constitutionalism leaves no doubt as to his antiliberal bias.

⁹ A classic formulation of this thesis was given by Bismarck himself in his speech of September 30, 1862, before the budget committee of the Prussian Diet: "The great questions of the time are not decided by speeches and majority resolutions—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood." Horst Kohl, ed., *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck* (12 vols.; Stuttgart, 1892-94), II, 30. Even liberals like Carl Schurz and Hans Viktor von Unruh who had participated in the Revolution of 1848 came later in life to accept this thesis in a modified form. See Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen* (3 vols.; Berlin, 1906-12), I; and Heinrich von Poschinger, ed., *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben von Hans Viktor von Unruh* (Stuttgart, Leipzig, Berlin, Vienna, 1895), *passim*.

parliamentary tactics and legalistic scruples of the revolutionaries. Both preach the gospel of blood, iron, and action. They differ only on the protagonist of the piece. To Treitschke and Sybel it is Bismarck groping toward an awareness of his high destiny; to the Marxians it is the industrial proletariat learning the hard lesson of class interest and struggle. The Left and the Right concur, however, in the attack upon liberalism, thus forming a curious alliance frequently encountered in German history and historiography.

The dismissal of Bismarck in 1890 was soon followed by a more charitable evaluation of 1848. Politics of the Wilhelmian Age, released from the paralyzing grip of the great chancellor, displayed a growing independence and originality. Liberal ideals were beginning to free themselves from the sense of inferiority under which they had labored since the foundation of the empire. On the eve of the First World War Germany appeared to be on the road toward constitutional reform. With the mounting criticism of the settlement of 1871 came a more critical attitude toward the Prussian School, whose views no longer reflected the political atmosphere of the age.

In 1892 Professor Karl Binding of the University of Leipzig delivered an academic address in which he summoned the historical profession to present a new interpretation of the Revolution.¹⁰ An objective history of 1848, he pointed out, had not yet been written. The dust raised by party struggles and ideological conflicts had made it impossible for the scholar to look at the Revolution with that calmness and dispassion which alone can produce an enduring work of history. But now almost half a century separated Germany from those terrible March days, and it was high time that the nation recognized the debt it owed to the thinkers and fighters of 1848.

His words found a favorable hearing and marked the opening of a new period of research on the Revolution. The very next year, 1893, saw the publication of Wilhelm Blos's history, the first entirely sympathetic account.¹¹ On the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution appeared Hans Blum's *Die deutsche Revolution*, in which the son of the famous liberal leader of 1848, Robert Blum, defended the cause for which his father had given his life.¹² Even conservative historians like Max Lenz and Erich Marcks, heirs of the Prussian School, accorded a grudging recognition to the idealism and devotion of the Revolution, though they expressed reservations regarding its ideology.¹³

¹⁰ Karl Binding, *Der Versuch der Reichsgründung durch die Paulskirche* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 3-4.

¹¹ Wilhelm Blos, *Die deutsche Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1893).

¹² Hans Blum, *Die deutsche Revolution, 1848-49* (Leipzig, 1898).

¹³ Max Lenz, "1848," in *Kleine historische Schriften* (Munich and Berlin, 1910); and Erich

Thereafter German scholarship began to display a growing interest in 1848 and an awareness of its historical importance. The first of Felix Rachfahl's studies of the policy of Frederick William IV appeared in 1901.¹⁴ Friedrich Meinecke published his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* in 1908, and in 1913 his *Radowitz und die deutsche Revolution* came out.¹⁵ The world of ideas of early nineteenth-century Germany found in him its most brilliant analyst. Erich Brandenburg's *Die deutsche Revolution* remains the best brief account yet written. It is balanced, judicious, and aware of the economic and social problems of the Revolution. His *Die Reichsgründung*, published four years later, placed 1848 in the broader context of the movement for German unification.¹⁶

Thus even before the establishment of the Weimar Republic the Revolution had come to attract the attention of German scholars of the very first rank. The defeat of Germany in 1918 and the collapse of the empire bestowed upon it for the first time the blessings of governmental approval. For the republicans, defending themselves against charges of foreign sympathy and alien tradition, the Revolution provided a genuinely German counterweight against the magic of Potsdam. Here was a movement of democratic enthusiasm, a rejection of king and aristocrat, a faith in popular government. To the shades of Frederick the Great and Bismarck, constantly invoked by the conservatives, the Republic could oppose the barricades and the parliaments of 1848. In 1923, for example, Professor Alfred Weber read an address in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt hailing the Revolution at the creator of an idea which seventy years later became reality.¹⁷

Under the Weimar Republic the Revolution became an inexhaustible source from which scholars, journalists, novelists, propagandists, and candidates for the doctoral degree drew with great abandon and with rather uneven results. More literature on 1848 was published in the period between 1918 and 1933 than in all the years before and since.¹⁸ Even if we subtract from this literature the trivial and superficial, of which there is quite a bit, the

Marcks, "1848," in *Männer und Zeiten: Aufsätze und Reden zur neueren Geschichte* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1911), *passim*.

¹⁴ Felix Rachfahl, *Deutschland, König Friedrich Wilhelm IV und die Berliner Märzrevolution* (Halle a. S., 1901).

¹⁵ Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich and Berlin, 1908), and *Radowitz und die deutsche Revolution* (Berlin, 1913).

¹⁶ Erich Brandenburg, *Die deutsche Revolution* (Leipzig, 1912), and *Die Reichsgründung* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1916).

¹⁷ Alfred Weber, *Deutschland und Europa: 1848 und Heute* (Frankfurt am Main, 1923).

¹⁸ For bibliographies of this historical literature see Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1930-31), I, 611-22, II, 595-613, 687-97; and F. C. Dahlmann and Georg Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed.; Leipzig, 1931), pp. 841-70.

residue of substantial accomplishment is impressive. It is rich in biographical material, in analysis of public opinion, in local history, and in the minutiae of political life. It actually appeared for a time as if the scholar's passion for research had exceeded his capacity for assimilation and synthesis. The sheer bulk of the material dealing with the Revolution seemed to defy a truly comprehensive analysis.

But a historian equipped to cope with the immensity of 1848 did appear. In 1930-31 Veit Valentin's *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* was published, and the world at last had a work on 1848 based upon a complete mastery of the historical data.¹⁹ Nothing is too small or obscure to escape Valentin's attention; there is no aspect of the period in which he is not completely at home. He brought to his task thirty years of study and a political outlook sympathetic to the Revolution. There was a harmony between the author and his material which enabled him to write the great liberal interpretation of 1848, at a time when German liberalism was enjoying its last golden sunset. Here was the answer to Treitschke and Sybel, the proud assertion of the republican tradition, the most impressive achievement of the Weimar School of 1848 historiography.

But despite its obvious merits, despite its erudition and analytical force, the book does not belong among the truly great works of history. It is characterized by a nervous energy, by an almost frantic quality. Valentin attempted to stuff the Revolution into thirteen hundred pages of impressionistic prose and found it a tight fit. He dissipated his strength and his reader's attention as he rushed from Frankfurt to Berlin, to Vienna, to Schleswig-Holstein, and back to Frankfurt again. He did not control and master his material; it mastered him.

This inability to reduce the vast detail of 1848 to a systematic and completely consistent account is perhaps inherent in the very nature of the subject and may thus be unavoidable. It certainly does not detract from the magnitude of Valentin's work. The *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution*, in its grand scope and painstaking craftsmanship, remains head and shoulders above any other history of the period. Every scholar doing research on 1848 must acknowledge his debt to it, for it is an encyclopedia of information indispensable to any new consideration of the Revolution. Here lies its strength and its weakness. It is encyclopedic in its completeness and thoroughness, suffering at the same time from the lack of discrimination of most encyclopedias.

¹⁹ See note 18. A condensed and eviscerated English translation of this work, which does not begin to do justice to the original, has appeared under the title *1848: Chapters of German History* (London, 1940).

Two years after the publication of the *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* the long night descended upon Germany. The Nazi dictatorship made impossible the intellectual honesty indispensable to historical scholarship. While research in the morally neutral natural sciences continued with relatively little interference, the social sciences were reduced to loyal servants of party dogma. To history fell the task of demonstrating the long and honorable ancestry of the new political philosophy, and Nazi historiography became essentially a reinterpretation of Germany's past, proving the rightness and inevitability of the totalitarian idea.

Students of modern history in particular faced a difficult choice: to bow down to the new idols or be silent. Friedrich Meinecke, whose work since the beginning of the century had been a valiant defense of the liberal faith, was forced into retirement. Franz Schnabel continued his monumental account of Germany in the nineteenth century, but his last two volumes deal with scientific, technological, and religious development rather than with the more dangerous field of political history and theory which had occupied the earlier volumes.²⁰ Erich Marcks and Heinrich von Srbik had an easier time of it. The former's history of the foundation of the German Empire, conservative and patriotic in tone, received the imprimatur of the Third Reich.²¹ Srbik's thesis, expounded in four bulky volumes, that Austria was a vital part of the living body of German history and thought was grist for the Nazi *Anschluss* mill.²² Finally there were the old work horses of German historiography, like Paul Wentzcke, who were willing to make their peace with the new order.²³

But the true historians of the Nazi School are not to be found among these men of an earlier generation who had reached maturity under the empire or the republic and had never completely overcome the notion of objectivity in which they had been trained. For more typical devotees of the "new history" evolved by German totalitarianism we must look to younger scholars, to men like Klaus Besser and Kurt H. Neumann.²⁴

For them the Revolution of 1848 was more than the result of a doc-

²⁰ Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (4 vols.; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929-37). In 1937 this book was suppressed in Germany.

²¹ Erich Marcks, *Der Aufstieg des Reiches: Deutsche Geschichte von 1807-1871/78* (2 vols.; Stuttgart, 1936).

²² Heinrich von Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit* (4 vols.; Munich, 1935-42).

²³ Paul Wentzcke, who before 1933 had written a number of creditable studies of nineteenth-century German political life, published during the Nazi period a pale little history of the Revolution, *1848: Die unvollendete deutsche Revolution* (Munich, 1938), nationalistic in attitude and thus ideologically acceptable.

²⁴ Klaus Besser, *Das tolle Jahr: Die Geheimleitung einer Revolution* (Munich, 1940); and Kurt H. Neumann, *Die jüdische Verfälschung des Sozialismus in der Revolution von 1848* (Berlin, 1939), *passim*.

trinaire liberalism borrowed from foreign sources, undermining the healthy vitality of traditional institutions. Such an interpretation had been good enough for the old-fashioned conservatism of a Treitschke or a Sybel. Now 1848 was pictured as the outcome of a secret conspiracy, universal in extent and bottomless in iniquity. It was a witch's caldron, compounded of the machinations of world Jewry and the treacheries of world communism, with Jesuitical sophistry and freemasonic guile added for good measure. This conspiracy exploited the honest simplicity and genuine desire for social improvement of the German people. Frustrated in 1848, it continued its agitation, destroying the German Empire in 1918 and coming within an ace of success, until the national revolution of 1933 put a halt to it.

The period of the Third Reich thus produced a new German school of thought on the relationship of central Europe to its history and to the world at large. It also led indirectly to the rise of a school outside of Germany concerned with the same problem, but considering it from an entirely different point of view. After 1933 Germany forced itself with increasing insistence upon the attention of the West. Its assertive diplomacy, its glorification of armed might, the sheer power of the monolithic state compelled Europe to adopt a new attitude toward German territorial and military claims and led to a new evaluation of the German character. Developments east of the Rhine, which finally provoked the Second World War, appeared so inconsistent with what had been assumed to be the character of Germany that a puzzled world turned to history for a resolution of the paradox. Such a resolution was offered by a group of non-German historians who undertook to explain the German past in the light of the German present.

The new school, the Revisionist School, assumed that National Socialism was more than a malignant manifestation of the spiritual exhaustion and anarchy which had come in the wake of a ruinous war and an even more ruinous economic collapse. According to its view, the origins of the totalitarian ideology are deeply rooted in German life. They go back to the blood and iron of Bismarck, the paternalistic state of Frederick the Great, the political conservatism of Luther, and the resistance of Teutonic tribalism to the conquering, civilizing, and Christianizing influence of the Romans. All German history is in a sense a gigantic factory manufacturing barbed wire for Buchenwald and Dachau.

The historians of the Revisionist School maintain that Germany is the product of an unwholesome historical environment; it is the juvenile delinquent of European society. Once we recognize that the German mentality is different in kind from the mentality of the other nations of the West, we

have the key to German history. Hence 1848 cannot be understood in terms of the political and social forces of the nineteenth century alone. It is rather an early symptom of that terrible psychological disease which reached its logical crisis in 1933. Here in embryo is the extravagant nationalism of William II, the collapse of Weimar, the rise of National Socialism. "Had not Hitler and his associates blindly accepted the legend which latter-day liberals, German and foreign, had spun around 1848, they might well have found a great deal to extol in the *deutsche Männer und Freunde* of the Frankfort Assembly," writes L. B. Namier.²⁵

To Namier and his school the Revolution demonstrated that the Germans suffered from a form of intellectual schizophrenia: they were innocents in their parliamentarianism but Machiavellians in their power politics. Their efforts to achieve liberal institutions clearly revealed a congenital German ineptitude for self-government. The French historian Edmond Vermeil is quite emphatic on this point: "If one investigates the reasons for the disastrous climax to the events of 1848 and 1849 within the German Confederation, one discovers that they lie not so much in external causes as in the mentality of the German people."²⁶ The American Arnold Whitridge agrees: "Why did all the splendid dreams never come true? Partly because the King of Prussia never overcame his terror of democracy. . . . Partly, too, because the German people were, as indeed they still are, politically inept."²⁷ And a German expatriate, Monty Jacobs, summarizes the argument: "Why was the play bound to end tragically? Because it was a German play and because the German people, to quote the words of young Fontane, had not been brought up in liberty."²⁸

The ivory-tower academicians and beer-belly burghers may have been confused by the rules of parliamentary procedure and the intricacies of parliamentary government, but they were, according to this school, instinctively expert at waving the mailed fist. Roy Pascal observes: "In this great issue of 1848 the principles of social reform and national aggrandizement were at grips, and the pattern was made for the solution Germany was to accept in 1866-70, in 1918, and in 1933."²⁹ Peter Viereck announces in one book: "Germany's Revolution of 1848 is best summed up as a pathetic muddle.

²⁵ L. B. Namier, *1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals* (London, 1946), p. 124.

²⁶ Edmond Vermeil, "An Historical Paradox: The Revolution of 1848 in Germany," in François Fejtö, ed., *The Opening of an Era: 1848* (London, 1948), p. 223.

²⁷ Arnold Whitridge, *Men in Crisis: The Revolutions of 1848* (New York, 1949), p. 234.

²⁸ Monty Jacobs, "The Year 1848," in Hans J. Rehfsch, ed., *In Tyrannos* (London, 1944), p. 199. See also Margaret Goldsmith, "The German 'Revolution' of 1848," *Nineteenth Century and After*, CXXX (1941), 27.

²⁹ Roy Pascal, "The Frankfort Parliament, 1848, and the *Drang nach Osten*," *Journal of Modern History*, XVIII (1946), 122. See also Namier, p. 33.

It was led by what were literally 'absent-minded professors,' and in another book, published a few years later, he asserts: "The liberal university professors, Metternich's fiercest foes and now so prominent in 1848, were often far from the cloudy idealists pictured in our textbooks. From his own viewpoint, Bismarck erred in mocking their lack of *Realpolitik*. The majority . . . was more Bismarckian than Bismarck ever realized."⁸⁰ And A. J. P. Taylor, one of the most gifted members of the Revisionist School, concludes:

Never has there been a revolution so inspired by a limitless faith in the power of ideas; never has a revolution so discredited the power of ideas in its result. The success of the revolution discredited conservative ideas; the failure of the revolution discredited liberal ideas. After it, nothing remained but the idea of Force, and this idea stood at the helm of German history from then on. For the first time since 1521, the German people stepped on to the centre of the German stage only to miss their cues once more. German history reached its turning point and failed to turn. This was the fateful essence of 1848.⁸¹

At first glance the Revisionist School appears to have much to commend it. It is intelligent, logical, eminently readable, and its heart is in the right place. It issued a plea against brutality, oppression, and sin, a plea to which audiences in France, England, and the United States were sure to give a sympathetic hearing. Its argument is convincing because those at whom it is directed are already convinced. Its righteous indignation and fervor, however, do not of themselves constitute a valid interpretation of 1848. Its thesis is really a protest against the horrors of the National Socialist regime, and its proponents are not researchers but crusaders. However interesting the Revisionist School may be as a barometer of public opinion in the West toward the Third Reich, its contribution to a deeper understanding of the German Revolution of 1848 is one-sided at best.

The years of the Second World War and of the occupation which followed imposed such a heavy drain upon the vitality of Germany that little energy remained for study and scholarship. An intellectual and moral collapse of the country accompanied its physical destruction. By the time of the centenary of the Revolution of 1848 Germany was divided into two mutually hostile camps, one committed to the philosophy of Marx, the other to the ideals of Weimar. In the celebration of the centenary each interpreted 1848 in its own way and used the experiences of the Revolution to justify its policies.

In East Germany Alfred Meusel, writing in the *Neue Welt*, presented a standard and unimaginative Marxian account.⁸² Communist orthodoxy

⁸⁰ Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics: From the Romantics to Hitler* (New York, 1941), p. 61, and *Conservatism Revisited: The Revolt against Revolt, 1815-1949* (New York, 1949), p. 73.

⁸¹ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (New York, 1946), p. 68.

⁸² Alfred Meusel, "Deutsche Revolution von 1848," *Neue Welt*, III (1948), no. 6, pp. 3-14.

pulls the wires and the puppets move dutifully across the stage: the heroic worker, the traitorous bourgeois, the helmeted and mustachioed aristocrat. The moral of the Punch-and-Judy show is that militant communism has a monopoly of social justice, while bourgeois liberalism is a disguise for exploitation and oppression. Jürgen Kuczynski, one of the best-known historians of East Germany, added a variation upon the theme. The fate of the Revolution, he pointed out, is a warning to the twentieth century of the dangers of a policy of compromise. The bourgeoisie failed in 1848 for obvious reasons: "It wanted to organize a so-called 'third force.' But when it constituted itself as a 'third force,' that is, when it did not commit itself to progress, it became an appendage of the reaction, as is the fate of every 'third-force.'" ³³ For Kuczynski's readers the significance of these remarks for contemporary politics must have been obvious. S. Kan published an article in the *Voprosy istorii* in which he maintained that in 1848 the radical republicans and communists were the true bearers of the revolutionary tradition in Germany. While they had not mastered the technique of revolution and were therefore unable to rally the masses against the feudal and bourgeois reaction, they meant well and they therefore merit careful and respectful study. ³⁴

West Germany greeted the centenary with little of the strident and artificial enthusiasm of the East. Its mood was subdued and obviously tired. Committed once more to a republican ideology, it saluted the Revolution in the spirit of Weimar. But the words, uttered amid ruins and hunger, lacked the fire of conviction. They revealed the exhaustion and hopelessness which held Germany in their grip after the Second World War.

Theodor Heuss, soon to become president of the West German Republic, praised the heritage of democratic idealism and national consciousness which the men of 1848 had left to those of 1948. ³⁵ Wilhelm Mommsen was somewhat more reserved in his treatment of the Revolution: "If today, in spite of zonal boundaries and state particularism, in spite of the deep gulf between East and West, the German people has remained a political community, everywhere concerned with the same problems and cares, then that is perhaps the most important political outcome of the year 1848." ³⁶ Rudolf Stadelmann restated the traditional liberal interpretation of 1848, expressing, however,

³³ Jürgen Kuczynski, *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Voraussetzungen der Revolution von 1848-1849* (Berlin, 1948), p. 20.

³⁴ S. Kan, "Predparlament i pervoe badenskoie vosstanie 1848 goda" [the Vorparlament and the first Baden uprising of 1848], *Voprosy istorii*, 1948, no. 5, p. 78.

³⁵ Theodor Heuss, *1848: Werk und Erbe* (Stuttgart, 1948), pp. 166-67.

³⁶ Wilhelm Mommsen, *Grösse und Versagen des deutschen Bürgertums: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jahre 1848-1849* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 216. Mommsen's reserve is quite understandable, since before 1945 he had been greatly impressed with the achievements of the Third Reich. See his *Deutschland und Europa, 1850-1933* (Frankfurt am Main, 1944), *passim*.

impatience with the political naïveté and timidity of the German middle class.³⁷

Yet the appraisal of the Revolution which best revealed the mood of tired idealism did not come from the pen of a German scholar but from an Englishman who had long been a sympathetic student of German history. G. P. Gooch, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, sought to strike a note of cautious optimism: "The outstanding political achievement of the German people in the nineteenth century was the creation of a nation-state, and the Year of Revolution was a milestone on the road. It is the story of a courageous experiment, of a bitter disappointment, of high-minded patriots confronted by a superhuman task. Yet it was not wholly a failure, for it formulated lofty ideals and bequeathed inspiring memories. Few historic conflicts on a wide front are won at the first attack."³⁸

It is the ghost of Weimar speaking. The truth is that neither East nor West possesses the intellectual zest or even the interest to present a new interpretation of 1848. The Revolution is no longer the vital problem in German politics which it was for almost a hundred years. In central Europe, at least, it has been relegated to the limbo of history, where it is accorded that platitudinous respect tantamount to neglect which the present usually pays to the dead past.

But the fact that the German Revolution of 1848 has ceased to be a controversial party issue is not without its advantages. It means, first of all, that the time is ripe for a reappraisal of the problems which have monopolized the attention of earlier schools. Secondly, the historian can now raise the question whether these problems have actually involved all aspects of 1848, or whether they have rather obscured certain issues which did not appear relevant to the political struggles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In other words, we are at present in a position to examine anew the body of material on the Revolution which a hundred years of research have assembled.

Historians have in the past been primarily concerned with two questions which emerged in 1848: German liberalism and German nationalism. The concern is understandable enough, since these two questions were very much alive in the modern period of German history and had an influence on the history of Europe as a whole. What is more, the men of 1848 themselves were very much interested in them and spent a good deal of effort in attempting to solve them. It is quite natural that a later generation, faced by the same

³⁷ Rudolf Stadelmann, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Revolution von 1848* (Munich, 1948), and "Das Jahr 1848 und die deutsche Geschichte," *Deutsche Rundschau*, LXXI (1948), 99-110.

³⁸ G. P. Gooch, "The Centenary of 1848 in Germany and Austria," *Contemporary Review*, CLXXIII (1948), 220.

problems, should have been concerned with their origins and background.

These problems are by their nature political and ideological. Their solutions involve attitudes toward the organization of a political community and suggest a course of action to be followed by that community. They thus imply a standard of judgment and a set of values which must compete for loyalty with other standards and values. This competitive quality accounts for the controversial character of so much of 1848 scholarship.

The assumptions underlying the liberal philosophy of the state have not been accepted in Germany as easily and uncritically as in England or the United States. There has always been in German life a strong tradition of political conservatism. The historiography of the Revolution reflects a conflict of ideas which has been basic in German history since 1815. The Prussian School and the Weimar School represented political movements rather than scholarly theories. The differences which separated them were the differences which separated the conservative from the republican ideology. These schools were able to enjoy wide popular interest because they were in a sense dealing with popular issues. They won more attention than is usually given to works of history, but they had to pay a high price for this popularity. They were forced to identify themselves with some political faction, slant their writing accordingly, and minimize those aspects of the Revolution which were of no value in the party controversies of the day.

The problem of nationalism in 1848 never became a center of dispute in German historiography to the same extent that liberalism did. The Revolution was a step in the process by which the German people in the nineteenth century came to form a united political entity for the first time since the days of the Hohenstaufens. There was virtual unanimity among German political parties on the desirability of national unification, and while scholars differed among themselves as to the justice of the means used in achieving unification, the end itself, a united nation, was never questioned in Germany. It was challenged only by scholars of other countries who felt that their national interests or the security of Europe as a whole were threatened by the rise of a powerful German state dominated by Prussia.³⁹

The concern of the historian with the two problems of liberalism and nationalism led to the growth of a historical literature of the very highest order. Sybel, Brandenburg, Valentin, Marcks, all in turn devoted their talents

³⁹ Among these scholars were members of the Austrian School, which refused to accept the verdict of Sadowa as final. Before the First World War its chief proponents were Onno Klopp, Josef Alexander von Helfert, and Heinrich Friedjung. More recently Viktor Bibl, Josef Nadler, and Heinrich von Srbik have carried on its tradition. After 1933 the methods and results of the German national movement were also bitterly attacked by the historians of the Revisionist School. See above, pp. 35-37.

to an examination of the Revolution. We now know almost more than we care to know about the theoretical foundations of German constitutionalism, about the Austro-Prussian rivalry for the control of Germany, about the Frankfurt Parliament, about the policies of Frederick William IV. Indeed, so thoroughly have these problems been explored that there is evidence that the spring is beginning to dry up. Since 1933 we have had very little original research on the Revolution. Instead, historians have tended more and more to interpret, reinterpret, and reinterpret again the already known material. A kind of historical scholasticism has replaced historical scholarship.

It would nevertheless be premature to conclude that the last word on the Revolution of 1848 has been said, and that only bones for doctoral dissertations remain to be picked. It would seem rather that the historian is now at the point where he can undertake a new analysis of 1848, an analysis based on a new frame of reference. He can now apply to this task not only the information contained in the standard accounts of the Revolution but also the wealth of monographic literature published since 1918 and a mass of valuable, hitherto unused primary materials.⁴⁰

Such an analysis would meet a need which has long been felt. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were several scholars who were dissatisfied with what they considered to be an overly intellectual approach to 1848. Konrad Bornhak had suggested in the third volume of his history of the Prussian administrative system that the Revolution of 1848 was fundamentally a conflict between industrial capitalism and a feudal agrarianism, and that economic interests lay behind the war of ideology and politics.⁴¹ A little later Hugo Preuss and Max Lenz stressed the importance of social and economic problems in bringing on the storm of 1848, and Erich Marcks maintained that a sound history of the Revolution must investigate and determine the relationship between the political ideals of the period and the structure of German society.⁴² It was Erich Brandenburg, however, who in *Die Reichsgründung* first attempted to define systematically the distinction between the constitutional movement and the demand for economic reform which emerged during the Revolution:

While the liberals, . . . under the influence of the political developments and intellectual currents of the time, called above all for political changes, the lower classes, in so far as they participated in the Revolution, demanded essentially eco-

⁴⁰ Among such unused materials are the voluminous records of the Economic Committee of the Frankfurt Parliament, which have survived the Second World War and are available in the Frankfurt municipal archives.

⁴¹ Conrad Bornhak, *Geschichte des preussischen Verwaltungsrechts* (3 vols.; Berlin, 1884-86), III, 223, 225.

⁴² Hugo Preuss, *Die Junkerfrage* (Berlin, 1897), p. 48; Lenz, in *Kleine historische Schriften*, p. 358; and Marcks, in *Männer und Zeiten*, I, 216.

conomic advantages and fought against the existing authorities only because they believed they could expect no satisfaction of their demands from these authorities. . . . When their economic demands were met, or when they saw that the system sought by the liberals promised them as little satisfaction as the old system, then these classes lost all interest in the political movement.⁴³

This interpretation of 1848 involved Brandenburg in a polemic with Friedrich Meinecke in the pages of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Meinecke had acquired a reputation as a brilliant student of ideas by publishing in 1908 his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, a masterpiece of intellectual history.⁴⁴ In it he had analyzed the theoretical assumptions and philosophic background of early German nationalism and had asserted the importance of ideology as a determinant of the course of history. It is not surprising that his review of Brandenburg's *Die Reichsgründung* was critical of the author's insistence upon economic and social causation and advanced the view that liberalism was to be understood primarily in terms of its intellectual content.⁴⁵

In his reply to Meinecke's review Brandenburg attacked this emphasis upon pure idea: "But the . . . error which I sought to refute," he wrote, "lay in the notion that the rise of political liberalism may be adequately explained by intellectual causes. The intellectual disposition toward it must certainly have existed, but a powerful external experience was necessary to transform it into a politically effective force."⁴⁶ Brandenburg indicated what he believed the nature of this powerful external experience to have been: "I remain of the opinion that for the masses elemental experiences, experiences affecting and disturbing them in their daily, personal lives, are more powerful motives than doctrines and theories which are handed down to them from above. Only through the former are slumbering impulses and needs aroused or forced into the foreground of their consciousness."⁴⁷

Brandenburg was thus calling for an examination of those historical developments in Germany which by 1848 had created a revolutionary situation. He was suggesting that the outbreak of the Revolution was in some way related to social and economic changes acting upon the structure of German society. He was in effect asking his readers whether the ideals of unity and freedom, ideals derived from a highly sophisticated view of life, can inspire a population composed largely of politically illiterate peasants and artisans to a violent uprising against the government. And his answer was

⁴³ Brandenburg, *Reichsgründung*, I, 294-95.

⁴⁴ See note 15.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Meinecke, "Zur Geschichte des älteren deutschen Parteiwesens," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXVIII (1917), 46-62.

⁴⁶ Erich Brandenburg, "Zum älteren deutschen Parteiwesen," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXIX (1919), 73.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

that the broad masses are moved to revolution only by "experiences affecting and disturbing them in their daily, personal lives."

In the years that followed the clash between Meinecke and Brandenburg, historians tended more and more to stress the issue which the latter had raised. Franz Schnabel, whose history of Germany promises to inherit Treitschke's laurels, has pointed to the close connection between the constitutional movement and industrial development.⁴⁸ Hans Rosenberg has advanced the view that 1848 lent a powerful impetus to the creation of economic conditions essential to an industrial state.⁴⁹ Pierre Benaerts, who has given us the best study by far of the early growth of German industry, has criticized the exclusively political approach of the historians of the Revolution and has insisted that 1848 had its roots in material conditions.⁵⁰ Hugo C. M. Wendel described the decline of the German artisan class and its effect on the events of 1848.⁵¹ Marcus L. Hansen tried to relate the outbreak of the Revolution to the economic crisis of the 1840's.⁵² In 1949 Oscar J. Hammen, writing in the *American Historical Review*, observed: "Economic and social factors helped to precipitate and to determine the course of the German Revolution of 1848. Yet, aside from a number of special studies by German historians, the standard accounts of the Revolution of 1848 place an almost exclusive emphasis upon the political aspects of the movement and upon the constitutional and national strivings of the liberal middle class. Generally ignored are the economic and social considerations which made the masses ripe for revolution."⁵³

Brandenburg's victory was finally admitted by his former opponent, Meinecke himself. The grand old man of German historiography took up his pen in 1948 to greet the centenary of Germany's great revolution. Three decades separated him from those early controversies with Brandenburg, three decades of broken dreams and disappointed hopes. The octogenarian was no longer certain of the influence of ideas in a world of violence and force. He wrote in his article: "The German revolution of 1848, admittedly, shows not only an all-pervading spirit of idealism, which often outstripped reality and became ideological. It also brought to bear what in actual effect was more

⁴⁸ Schnabel, III, 297.

⁴⁹ Hans Rosenberg, *Die Weltwirtschaftskrise von 1857-59* (Stuttgart, 1934), p. 17.

⁵⁰ Pierre Benaerts, *Les origines de la grande industrie allemande* (Paris, 1933), pp. 171-72.

⁵¹ Hugo C. M. Wendel, *The Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845-1849* (New York, 1921), *passim*.

⁵² Marcus L. Hansen, "The Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (1930), 649-51.

⁵³ Oscar J. Hammen, "Economic and Social Factors in the Prussian Rhineland in 1848," *American Historical Review*, LIV (1949), 825. This article not only exposes a gap in the history of 1848 but also helps to fill it by dealing with the economic discontent in western Germany which contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution.

powerful—the reality itself, the massive and elemental interests of individuals and social groups.”⁵⁴ The shade of Brandenburg in the Valhalla of departed German historians must have smiled. His view was vindicated at last.

The implications of that view are clear. The historian with imagination, the historian who knows what to ask and where to look, will still find in the German Revolution of 1848 a rich field for original research. He will some day be able to tell us why the German peasantry revolted, what it wanted, and what it got. He will describe the conflicting interests of the new factory proletariat and the older system of artisan guilds. He will discuss the political and economic demands of the liberal middle class and interpret constitutional reform in the light of those demands. He will analyze the social policies of the conservative aristocracy and explain its eventual success on the basis of those policies. Above all, he will meet the standard which Hermann Oncken established more than fifty years ago for the future historian of the Revolution: “Ultimate questions of guilt or innocence, justice or injustice will not be decided, but out of all the humiliation and weakness of those days a deeper significance emerges. The highest task of the historian is to comprehend that significance in the spirit of the injunction of Tacitus: *res humanas neque lugere neque ridere, sed intelligere*.”⁵⁵

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⁵⁴ Friedrich Meinecke, “The Year 1848 in German History: Reflections on a Centenary,” *Review of Politics*, X (1948), 479. This article is an abridged translation of the author’s *1848: Eine Säkularbetrachtung* (Berlin, 1948).

⁵⁵ Oncken, in *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XIII, 152.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Madison, the "North American," on
Federal Power

IRVING BRANT

IN Volume VI of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* doubt is expressed about James Madison's authorship of "The North American No. 1" and "No. 2," published anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia) of September 17 and October 8, 1783.¹ The editors of the Jefferson Papers recognize that the views expressed in these articles coincide in general with those held by Madison at the time. However, they do not see a definite indication of authorship in a comment made then by him to Jefferson. Without expressing positive disbelief, they question the style, which differs widely from that employed by Madison in his correspondence and public addresses, and are inclined to look to the self-interest of several parts of the Union, not including Virginia, for an indication of the state citizenship of the author.

The matter is worthy of serious inquiry because these articles, important under any circumstances, have additional significance if written by Madison. Published four years before the meeting of the Federal Convention, they combine a discussion of current issues with the revelation of a frame of mind contemptuous of state sovereignty. If Madison was the author, it means that feeling against the states had reached an emotional pitch in the foremost framer of the Constitution, even before the definitive termination of the Revolutionary War, before Shays' Rebellion stirred fear among men of property, before the weak national government was prostrated by New York's refusal to ratify an amendment of the Articles of Confederation granting Congress power to levy impost duties. No matter who he was, "North American" dealt with 1783 questions of governmental power, jurisdiction and purposes in a way that makes his opinions acutely relevant to similar controversies today, for example, the treaty power of the United States and federal control of lands and resources.

The "North American" articles were republished in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of October, 1946, with editorial foreword and notes by me.

¹ This newspaper was owned by the family of Pennsylvania's Attorney General William Bradford, who had been Madison's most intimate friend in college at Princeton.

Although similarities to Madison's attitude in the Continental Congress were pointed out, no definite effort was made to carry the evidence of his authorship beyond a postscript to his letter of September 30, 1783, to Thomas Jefferson: "As the latest papers are very barren, I inclose a former one containing No. 1 of the *N. American*, leaving the Author to your conjectures."

That remark could mean either of two things: that Madison wrote the articles himself and took this method (a conventional one) of revealing the fact to a trusted friend; or that he knew, or thought he knew, who did write them, and believed that Jefferson would be able to identify the author from internal evidence. In publishing Madison's letter of September 30, the Jefferson editors affixed this footnote to it:

On the basis of Madison's remark in the present letter to TJ, both Burnett (tentatively) and Brant (positively) ascribe the authorship to Madison himself . . . [citations] . . . In general the views coincide with the national sentiments entertained by both Madison and TJ, but the style at times borders on hyperbole and is, as Mr. Brant acknowledges, both declamatory and akin to the "poetic fervor of his early days in the American Whig Society." (Madison, II, 302.) The editors think an equally good argument could be made for attributing these essays to someone from one of the eastern commercial states (a Philadelphian or a New Yorker) or to someone from one of the small states having no western land claims (Maryland or New Jersey). They feel that the reference in the present letter cannot be accepted unqualifiedly as sufficient basis for establishing Madison's claim to authorship. If Madison was the author, one wonders why he did not enclose *North American* No. 1 in his letter of 20 Sep. or why he made no reference in the present letter to a forthcoming *North American* No. 2.²

It is true, of course, that Madison's reference in the September 30 letter ought not to be accepted as unqualified proof of authorship. Dr. Edmund C. Burnett's ascription of the articles to him was tentative, quite naturally, because the editing of the letters of members of the Continental Congress did not involve a probative examination of the articles referred to. My later and similar conclusion was stated positively because of an examination which, owing to absence of prior dissent, was not fully employed to sustain the ascription.

To consider incidental matters first, it is not difficult to think of reasons why an article published in Philadelphia on September 17 should not have been sent to Jefferson in a letter posted three days later. The most obvious is that, living in Princeton, New Jersey, Madison may not have received it. Allowing for the difference between horses and railway locomotives, Princeton was about as far from Philadelphia in 1783 as Chicago is now. Would anybody, today, question the authorship of an article published in Philadelphia because a person living in Chicago did not send it to a friend three

² *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, et al., VI (Princeton, 1952), 342.

days later? As for not telling Jefferson that a second article was to be published, "No. 1" in the title of the first carried the presumption of a second.

Supplementing the comment made to Jefferson is the fact that if Madison did not write these articles, he wrote something else no less ambitious at the same time—something else which has never turned up. After Congress moved to Princeton in June of 1783, driven out of Philadelphia by a mutiny in the Continental Army, Madison went back to the Pennsylvania capital and spent most of the summer there. Required to leave Congress in the fall because of the constitutional limit of three years' consecutive service, he was engaged, he wrote to Jefferson from Philadelphia, in preparations for his return to Virginia, and in "some writing which, my papers being all here, could not be so well done elsewhere."³ The reference to his papers marks the writing as of a public nature. Since he always spoke extemporaneously in Congress, the writing could hardly have been for any other purpose than newspaper publication.

The "North American" articles had a multiple purpose: (1) To encourage state legislatures to approve the grant of power to Congress to tax imports. (2) To strengthen the national obligation to pay defaulted war debts to France and settle the overdue claims of Revolutionary War veterans and suppliers. (3) To arouse the American people to the evil effects of state roadblocks in the conduct of foreign affairs. (4) To promote the relinquishment of Virginia's northwestern land claims to the federal government. (5) To intensify the devotion of the people to liberty and national union.

Broadly speaking, all these desires could have been held by most of the men who worked ardently, four years later, to establish a strong Constitution. But is it correct to conclude, as the Jefferson editors do, that this particular publication of them could as easily be attributed "to someone from one of the eastern commercial states (a Philadelphian or a New Yorker) or to someone from one of the smaller states having no western land claims (Maryland or New Jersey)"?

Limiting the subject to revenue and national credit in general, that would be true. In discussing the necessities of federal finance and the evils of state-enacted commercial regulations, "North American" paraphrased Madison's famous "Address to the States," adopted by Congress on April 26, 1783.⁴ That, however, is no indication that he wrote both, for the address and the antecedent resolutions of Congress had been published all over the country. Any-

³ Madison to Jefferson, July 17, 1783, *ibid.*, VI, 318.

⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress* ed. Worthington C. Ford and Gaillard Hunt, XXIV, 277-83 (Apr. 26, 1783).

body could have drawn upon them for content and phraseology, and no state was without public supporters of the policies imbedded in them.

However, both of those documents had back of them an unpublished committee report drafted by Madison and submitted to Congress on March 6. Who except Madison himself would have expanded the revenue theme, in the "North American" articles, to cover *rejected portions* of his report to Congress? This comes close to limiting the authorship of the articles to members of Congress, and to those members who supported both of Madison's defeated proposals. Virginia was the only state that voted for one of them. Madison and Joseph Jones were the only nationalistic Virginia delegates, and nobody is likely to attribute these articles to Jones.⁵

Any commercial-minded nationalist possessing a ready pen might have written as "North American" did about federal weakness, sectional strife, and foreign discrimination against American trade. But these comments were in the second article, not published until October 8. Before that time, Madison both duplicated the thought and paraphrased the expression of it in writing to Jefferson and Edmund Randolph. In his letter of September 20 to Jefferson, and in "North American's" October article, the exclusion of American ships from the West Indian trade was linked with a British effort to obtain a monopoly of manufactures. Not only that, but the same reasoning was put behind the program in each instance. Great Britain, Madison wrote to Jefferson, relied on "the impotence of the foederal government." Great Britain's hostile trade attack, said "North American," sprang from "an early conviction, that we could not act as a nation." It was maintained in Britain, Madison wrote to Randolph on August 30, "that the interests of the states are so opposite in matters of commerce, and the authority of Congress so feeble that no defensive precautions need be feared on the part of the U.S." Echoed "North American" in October: "Apprized that there was no general legislative power . . . they presumed that the varying interests of the several states . . . would render abortive any restrictions or regulations with which we might combat their attempts." In this August letter to Randolph, Madison told of a British proposal that "the vessels of one state [of the Union] shall not be permitted to carry the product of another to any British port." In October, "North American" gave the reason for it: "By confining advantages

⁵ The rejected portions of Madison's report dealt with federal assumption of state war debts, first proposed by him, and a rebate of federal claims against war-devastated states, proposed by Alexander Hamilton. The latter was so disgusted over the defeat of the rebate clause that he voted against the final resolutions and washed his hands of the whole undertaking. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXIV, 170-74, 255-56, 261. *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt, I, 395-96, 431-33, 451-52.

to one state, whilst they dart the keen force of resentment on another, they hope to rouse the jealousy of all."⁶

That all of this came from the same pen seems obvious, but what strikes home in the year 1954 is the way this protest applies to current questions concerning the treaty-making power of the United States. The chief difference is that in 1783 the treaty power itself was unrestricted but could not be employed effectively because of the general weakness of the federal government and the violation of treaties by the states. Today the proposal is to create a specific restraint and thereby impair the general strength of the federal government, while the power of the states, remaining ever proportionate to the strength of local interests, could be converted into lawful obstruction by a constitutional sanction.

We have seen, thus far, that Madison's apparent avowal of authorship, in his September 30 letter to Jefferson, is supported by the fact of his writing activities in Philadelphia (otherwise unexplained), by "North American's" resort to rejected portions of Madison's report to Congress, and by the striking similarity between Madison's letters of August and September, 1783, and the second "North American" article published in October. There remains the subject of the western lands, in which "North American" took a position which supported the economic interest of Maryland and New Jersey, in opposition to that of Virginia. Approving the contention that this vast possession ought to be the common property of the nation, the anonymous writer said of the small states:

Will they not with an united voice, and the voice of truth alledge, that these lands were wrested from the Crown of England, for whose emolument, and not for the benefit of any class of citizens of these United States would they have been sold, but for that revolution which has been effected by their joint expence of blood and treasure.

Because that was the historic position of Maryland and New Jersey, one might readily assume (setting aside all other factors) that the article could logically have come from a citizen of one of those states. That would be true, if this statement stood alone. But here is the next sentence in the article, with italics added:

On the other hand the States, *who claim under their charters*, most considerable in number, *and incomparably so in power*, will most probably contend for and defend rights, which they asserted as early as the Confederation was proposed, and which *seem to be established* by the unanimous concurrence of the States in that act of union.

⁶ Madison to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 30, 1783; Madison to Jefferson, Sept. 20, 1783, *ibid.*, II, 11, 18.

The italicized portions of that statement contain and approve the legal foundation of Virginia's claim to the Old Northwest, backing it with a suggestion of force. This could not conceivably have come from any citizen of Maryland or New Jersey—states whose ratification of the Confederation was linked with a passionate denial of Virginia's charter claims. It could not have come from New York, whose western land title, based on purchases from Indian tribes, had been transferred to the United States for the specific purpose, among other things, of undermining the Virginia charter claims to much of the same territory. It could not have come from Pennsylvania, whose violent and almost bloody dispute with Virginia, over the validity of the latter's claim that her northern boundary ran northwesterly to the Mississippi (if not to the Pacific Ocean), was not settled until 1784. It was, in fact, a one-sentence summary of Virginia's legal position.

"North American," therefore, was a man who supported Virginia's claim to the country north of the Ohio River, as a technical question of law, but who, faced with the assertion of the small states that the West was the common property of the nation, won in war by all for all, agreed to the truth of that contention as a matter of justice. That had been Madison's exact position for three years. In September, 1780, he and Joseph Jones used the Maryland slogan, "a common fund," in a congressional resolution calling upon their own and other landed states to transfer their western possessions to the federal government for the sake of harmony and union. They risked their political lives by this bold stroke, which won reluctant approval in Virginia under the coercive force of a British invasion under General Benedict Arnold, and was now (in September 1783) facing a critical vote in Congress on the terms of cession.⁷

Thus James Madison was virtually the only man in the United States who would and could have written both of the statements about western lands, quoted above from "North American," just as he was the only man who would have been likely to draw upon the rejected portions of his report to Congress on federal finances. His citation of the superior power of the landed states was a flourish of the "Big Knife" (a name for the Old Dominion sometimes used by congressmen as well as Indians) to induce the small states to accept some of the reservations which Virginia had made in her act of cession. In emphasizing the justice of the national claim, he was pressing two of his state colleagues in Congress, Arthur Lee and Theodorick Bland, to give way on Virginia's unacceptable demand for a federal guaranty of her remaining territory. As matters turned out, he won a quick victory, the Madison com-

⁷ Irving Brant, *James Madison: The Nationalist, 1780-1787* (Indianapolis, 1948), pp. 89-94, 99, 156.

promise resolution going through Congress on September 13, four days before publication of the article designed to aid it.

Had political conditions been different, Madison almost certainly would have given not only moral backing (which he did) but also legal support to the small-state contention that the western lands belonged to the nation through acquisition from the British crown. Overt adherence to that doctrine would have been politically fatal to a Virginian. In public debate Madison called it absurd, yet he went far toward having it accepted by others. In August, 1782, he moved that Congress authorize a committee to send to the American peace commissioners in Paris whatever information it might have collected that would be useful to them. What he wanted to do, it turned out, was to send them, without Lee and Bland learning of it, a statement about western lands prepared by himself and Edmund Randolph. The commissioners were to be informed, though not formally instructed, that if the vacant lands could not be demanded in the treaty of peace "upon the titles of individual states, they are to be deemed to have been the property of his Britannic majesty immediately before the Revolution, and to be now devolved upon the United States collectively taken."⁸

Today, inside and outside governmental circles, arguments are made based upon the supposition that national ownership of vacant lands is a federal usurpation upon the natural and traditional rights of individual states. Actually, the Maryland revolutionary convention spoke for the American people when it took a stand in 1776 for common ownership of lands "secured by the blood and treasure of all."⁹ Everything that followed in the state and federal councils, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, in the framing of legislative policy during the next century and a half, was in its basic aspect (that is, apart from despoliation raids) a ratification of this original principle. The people of the entire nation demanded, and obtained, equal access to the vacant agricultural lands of the West, not only in the territories but in the states formed out of them. It was for the benefit of all the American people—descendants of those who established national ownership in the eighteenth century—that national forests were reserved, national parks created, watersheds protected, range lands controlled, oil reserves proclaimed.

Most people today seem unaware of the history of the public lands—totally unaware, especially, of their place in the emotions of the American people during and immediately after the Revolution. How well Madison was aware of this feeling, and how unfading the impression it made on him, was made

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXIII, 468-69, 516-17.

⁹ "Proceedings of the Maryland Convention of 1776," in Peter Force, *American Archives*, 5th series, III, 178.

evident by his response to an inquiry made of him by former Governor Edward Coles of Illinois in 1831. "You request an answer at length," he remarked in his reply, "to the claim of the new states to the federal lands within their limits." It was impossible for him to comply, at the age of eighty and after a lapse of fifty years, with infirmities added, but he felt "the less regret at being obliged to shrink from the task" of furnishing arguments against the claim because there were many others equally or better qualified to do so. Furthermore, "it cannot be long before the claim if not abandoned must be taken up in Congress where it can and will be demolished unless indeed the able champions be kept back by a hankering after western popularity." Madison then recorded his opinion:

In my situation I can only say, & for yourself *not for the press*, that I have always viewed the claim as so unfair & unjust; so contrary to the certain & notorious intentions of the parties to the case & so directly in the teeth of the condition on which the lands were ceded to the union that if a technical title could be made out by the claimants it ought in conscience and honor to be waived. But the title in the people of the United States rests on a foundation too just & solid to be shaken by any technical or metaphysical arguments whatever. The known & acknowledged intentions of the parties at the time, with a prescriptive sanction of so many years consecrated by the intrinsic principle of equity, would overrule the most explicit terms; as has been done without the aid of that principle in the slaves, who remain such in spite [*sic*] of the declarations that all men are born equally free.¹⁰

Here is a statement that, at the time the government was formed, the people stood as ardently for the principle of national ownership of western lands as slaveholders stood for the principle of slavery. In the light of subsequent history, that means they would have fought for it. This testimony comes from the man who played the chief role, both in the establishment of the public domain and in the writing of the Constitution. Madison engineered a land movement whose failure would have wrecked the Union, whose success led to a public land system long adhered to constitutionally. The land cessions made by individual states to Congress in the eighteenth century were not transfers of warrantable titles but quitclaims to the common heritage of the American people. The vague and conflicting claims of individual states were swept away in the tide of an irresistible assertion of national sovereignty. It was this principle, as old as the nation, that the Supreme Court recently upheld in the offshore oil cases.

With this inquiry into eighteenth-century feeling, it becomes easy to understand why "North American" was chosen as the pseudonym of the author of the 1783 articles. It was a continental utterance. It becomes easy to see why

¹⁰ James to Edward Coles (draft), June 28, 1831, Madison Papers (Library of Congress), LXXXV, 40.

the papers were written in a rhetorical key more highly pitched than Madison ordinarily employed. His use of such a style, before or afterwards, was by no means confined to his youthful writings for the American Whig Society of the College of New Jersey. Nobody, judging him by *The Federalist* or by his sober-toned correspondence, would pick him as the author of the final paragraph of the "North American" articles, opening with the apotheosis "Liberty! thou emanation from the all-beauteous and celestial mind!" But who would have picked him as the author of the anonymous dialogue in Freneau's *National Gazette* of December 20, 1792, entitled, "Who are the Best Keepers of the People's Liberties?" There, resuming the theme of the celestial emanation of liberty, he challenged the doctrine of "Anti-Republican" that *power* was the central object of the social system "and *Liberty* but its satellite." When "Anti-Republican" sneeringly replies that "the science of the stars can never instruct you in the mysteries of government," he is informed by "Republican" that those who see mysteries in government are inferior beings endowed with but "a ray perhaps of the twilight vouchsafed to the first order of terrestrial creation."¹¹

That, surely, is sufficient to harmonize the style of "North American" with that of Madison in his anonymous contribution to the *National Gazette*. He acknowledged these articles in later years but could not acknowledge the earlier ones without giving dramatic emphasis to his pre-constitutional hostility to state sovereignty—a hostility which is evident in his private correspondence in the 1780's, and in his own record of his speeches in the Federal Convention, but which he put out of sight after his nationalism evaporated in conflict with Hamilton and the Federalists. Least of all could he reveal that he was the author of articles not merely nationalistic in content but pitched to a high emotional tone in their assault on state sovereignty. Madison would have been crucified in the 1820's or later, had it been known that in 1783 he described the states in terms of "their individual impotence and insignificance"—bodies which, unless held together by strict bonds of national government, would find their "splendor of sovereignty" illumined in the wretchedness of their citizens, perpetuating, for the authors of the Revolution, only "the infamy of their names."

Yet it was in his later years, after his early nationalism had vanished, that he wrote his sweeping affirmation of the overruling right of the whole nation to the public lands. It was in this period, also, that he placed among his papers, for publication after his death, the "Advice to My Country" of one who "adhered throughout his life to the cause of its liberty":

¹¹ *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, VI, 120-23.

Men of Letters and *Lettres de cachet* in the Administration of Cardinal Fleury

ARTHUR M. WILSON

REGARDING *lettres de cachet*, apologists for the *ancien régime* in France have been at pains to suggest, first, that the *lettres* were used sparingly and, secondly, that they served chiefly as a means for enforcing family discipline.¹ Thus their defenders imply that, since the *lettres* were not *primarily* intended as an instrument for suppressing political discontents, they did not constitute a very serious threat to what would now be called the civil liberties of the king's subjects. This flattering estimate of the situation has, however, been assailed. The leading contemporary historian of Jansenism asserts that 40,000 *lettres de cachet* were issued in the seventeen years of Cardinal Fleury's administration alone.² And it is interesting to discover evidence—and that in the form of one of the comparatively rare letters in Fleury's own hand—that during his administration there were enough men of letters among the *prisonniers d'Etat* to become the object of his concern. Moreover, in some prisons, the majority of the *prisonniers d'Etat* were men of letters. This evidence, contained in a letter to the abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743), who was Royal Librarian from 1718 to 1741, is now to be found in the *archives administratives* of the Bibliothèque nationale:

A font^{au} ce 8. Juillet 1731

Il y a, Monsieur, dans quelques chateaux des prisonniers d'Etat dont la plupart sont gens de lettres et auxquels on propose de donner quelque recreation par des livres, et on m'a fait demander de ceux qui peuvent se trouver doubles dans la Bibliothèque du Roy. Si vous en avez de cette espece dont on puisse disposer pour cet usage je vous prie de me le faire savoir a fin que j'en envoie dans ces endroits. Je vous honore, Monsieur, tres parfaitement

le Card. de fleury

M l'Abbé Bignon.³

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¹See especially Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les lettres de cachet* (Paris, 1926), *passim*; and the same, *The Old Regime in France* (New York, 1929), pp. 201-32: "Lettres de cachet"; cf. Crane Brinton's review of this work, *American Historical Review*, XXXV (1929-30), 595-96.

²Augustin Gazier, *Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste* (2 vols.; Paris, 1922), II, 2.

³Bibliothèque nationale, Archives administratives, vol. 56 ("Bibliothèque royale: Prêts, 1719-1789"), f. 33. At the top of the folio is the following minute, presumably by Bignon: "J'ay repondu de vive voix sur cette lettre que ce qui se trouveroit de doubles seroit vendu ou troqué pour de nouvelles acquisitions, et M. le Cardinal a fait approuver cette idée. A Fontainebleau le 14 juillet 1731."

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

WHY DICTATORS? THE CAUSES AND FORMS OF TYRANNICAL RULE SINCE 600 B.C. By *George W. F. Hallgarten*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 379. \$5.50.)

IN this suggestive study, Mr. Hallgarten takes his lead from Weber, who, he says, sought "to make the laws of sociology fit historical realities, and not vice versa." Dictatorship he finds to be a most complex social phenomenon, certainly not dependent solely on economic conditions, but still susceptible of rough classification according to certain observed norms. There are in Mr. Hallgarten's scheme four basic forms of dictatorship: the "classical," the "counter-revolutionary," the "pseudo-revolutionary," and the "ultra-revolutionary." The classical form is of long standing, and is associated with the successful fight of new monied men against an old landed nobility. From Pisistratus to Bonaparte it was the commonest form of dictatorship. The counter-revolutionary form is the frank alliance of the dictator with the old established aristocracy, a form well represented in Sulla and in many Latin-American dictatorships. The pseudo-revolutionary form, closely related to the counter-revolutionary, is a characteristic of our own times; a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Perón, though he really buttresses an old established ruling and possessing class, must pretend to improve the lot of the repressed many. The ultra-revolutionary dictator is again a modern type. He is the man who really does take the side of the underdog, but is forced by pressure of class war to repressive rule, which in the end represses the underdog as well as the former upperdog. Robespierre and Lenin were ultra-revolutionary dictators.

Mr. Hallgarten, after this preliminary analysis, takes up each of his forms in more detail, using a method which mixes but does not quite confuse historical chronology and sociological analysis. He concludes with a general survey of dictatorships in the contemporary world, where he finds representatives of all his types. An epilogue urges Americans to redouble their efforts to activate democracy inside and outside our borders, for we are the hope of the world against dictatorship.

Historians who distrust the "comparative method," let alone sociological forays into the past, will hardly accept Mr. Hallgarten's book. He ranges in time and space over several dozen conventional academic historical fields. It is a simple fact of life that he must make more mistakes, both of fact and of judgment, in each field than would a well-trained specialist in that field. On a less rigorous standard of criticism, it may be said that Mr. Hallgarten's standards of scholarship are fully up to the level of good contemporary writing on history as a guide to life.

Mr. Hallgarten's sympathies are on the side of the many, the Left, the democ-

racies. He does not find the "ultra-revolutionaries" quite as objectionable as the "pseudo-revolutionaries." Indeed, the very use of "pseudo," a term that must always arouse semantic suspicion, is a way of condemning in advance. His basic conceptual scheme, despite his disavowal of the simplicities of economic interpretation, is of course essentially Marxist. The classes his dictators manipulate or serve are classes formed by their place in a structure for the production and distribution of wealth. His tone is therefore, like that of most writers who feel that "reality" is at bottom hard and tangible, somewhat superior toward those who share the illusions of idealism and common sense. He sounds occasionally like Mosca and Pareto, or even like Mr. J. P. Burnham; but his heart, clearly, is gentler than his head.

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CRANE BRINTON

ESSAI SUR LA CIVILISATION D'OCCIDENT: L'HOMME. By *Charles Morazé*, Directeur d'études à l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Professeur à l'Institut d'études politiques. [Collection Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1950. Pp. ix, 254. 480 fr.)

THIS essay in the interpretation of history is on the grand scale. It seeks to show, on the one hand, a repetitive, rise-and-fall process of evolution of civilization and, on the other, a linear process, the two processes combined within a twofold causality, one order of cause operating upward from the physical environment, the other downward from the realm of human thought. On its repetitive side the argument is comparable with those of Danilevski, of Henry and Brooks Adams, of Spengler, Toynbee, Sorokin, and Kroeber. The idea of adding a linear process to the repetitive process is novel (as far as I know), and the book deserves serious attention for this, if not for the version of the linear process given. It is remarkable also for the number and variety of the issues brought into the synthesis. This latter and the resulting complexity of the argument make it impossible even to summarize the book here. I offer observations, therefore, only on a few salient points.

The conception of physiographic—rather, cosmogonic—causation (with acknowledgment to Lucien Febvre) is, on the whole, good. It may serve to counteract the tendency of the anthropologists to neglect the environmental factor in developing their concept, culture. Conversely, Morazé's conception of intellectual cause makes insufficient use of the anthropologists' work; it gets only as far as Dürkheim.

As a result of this last, there is, I think, radical error in the view taken of the mode of inheritance of Greco-Roman civilization by Europe and corresponding error in the significance given the spread of European civilization to other continents today. It is also manifestly untrue that civilization before the rise of Europe shuttled back and forth, eastward and westward, south of the Alpine-Himalayan fold in the Old World land mass. The demographic factor proposed in the repetitive, rise-and-fall process seems to me improbable; it is reminiscent of

Seeck, Nilsson and company without being eugenicist: the resulting position I take to be either logically or historically untenable.

Broad interpretation of history is the necessary counterpart of fact-finding research. Since that kind of interpretation is but feebly recovering after a century of neglect, M. Morazé's book must be welcomed. Yet I must confess that I find more speculation in it than is today either useful or unavoidable in such a work; it might even turn out to contain as much actual error as Spengler's work did. It is almost as much fraught with emotion as Spengler's work, and that is a bad thing. It may be a good thing that the book shows quite an extraordinarily large number of influences. It is very Baudelairian; Gide is present, and so are Bergson and Henri Poincaré; there are many echoes of the mood of the existentialists.

Atlanta University

RUSHTON COULBORN

LES XVI^e ET XVII^e SIÈCLES: LE PROGRÈS DE LA CIVILISATION EUROPÉENNE ET LE DÉCLIN DE L'ORIENT (1492-1715). By *Roland Mousnier*. [Histoire générale des civilisations, tome IV.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. 605.)

THIS is Volume IV of the new general history of civilization published under the direction of Maurice Crouzet, inspector general of public instruction. The three volumes that have appeared to date have been uniformly good (A. Aymard and J. Auboyer, *L'Orient et la Grèce Antique*; R. Mousnier and E. LaBrousse, *Le XVIII^e siècle (1715-1815)*, and the present volume). They seem to be too extensive and too literary to be intended for classroom use, but they undoubtedly will assume an important place in the training of advanced students as well as in the esteem of the general literate reading public. American scholars, too, cannot afford to neglect the series.

The volume at hand is divided roughly into three large sections, approximately equal in length. The first (1492-1598) is generally handled under the theme "renaissance." The second (1598-1715) is treated as a period of "crisis." The third section deals with the non-European world.

The general thesis presented under the conception "renaissance" is that the latter fifteenth and the sixteenth century saw a prodigious expansion of human activity that carried individual men far beyond the medieval background of Europe. This creative force manifested itself in every aspect of human life from politics to art. The only really disappointing part in the section is the one dealing with the religious revolt. Perhaps the Reformation movement cannot be fitted into such a pattern; perhaps Professor Mousnier's own attitude toward the religious problem accounts for this incomplete and unsympathetic treatment. His analysis of sixteenth-century politics is very good, and the discussion of the economic and cultural evolution of the period well done. Professor Mousnier obviously does not fit the stereotype of the French scholar who knows nothing of the world beyond France's frontiers,

The section on the seventeenth century in general develops the thesis that there emerged in every phase of men's lives new ideas and patterns of action that were in conflict with the traditional culture of Europe. The baroque artists who rejected rules, the Jansenists as well as the theocentric Bérullian Catholic reformers who wished to purify ideas about God and salvation, the *libertin* philosophers who rejected Christianity, the scientists who discovered the heliocentric universe, the great magnates and princes who refused to accept the authority of kings—these and others were creating diversity, irregularity, and disorder that demanded new responses from men. The tentatives to adjust to these new patterns (Cartesianism, absolutism, mercantilism, classicism in art, etc.) proved to be inadequate responses. Thus at the end of the period the moral, political, intellectual, and economic crises were assuming critical proportions. This section is very ably written; the ideas are not new, but the presentation includes the results of the most recent research; it is also lively, vigorous, and, unlike many general studies, it rarely soars beyond factual evidence.

In some ways the last section is the most suggestive. The part dealing with the New World is adequate; the emphasis upon the fact that there were Indian societies in both North and South America may be a springboard for a more catholic understanding of the problems of the New World. The short section on black African societies is extremely informative; one often forgets that Negro Africa also has a history. The section analyzing Islam approaches brilliance. Neither the reviewer nor Professor Mousnier would claim originality for the idea that the world conflict of these centuries was between Islam and Christendom, and that the West made great efforts to turn Islam's flank. This thesis, however, is presented with a calm objectivity that should be instructive to the drumbeaters of our era, were they able to read and understand it. Professor Mousnier has come closer than any general historian known to this reviewer to making sense out of the problem of world history in these centuries.

Like the other two volumes of the series that have appeared, this book is artistically printed and the illustrations are beautifully reproduced. One wishes that the American market (some four times the size of the French!) were such that our publishers of sober histories could produce books like this one.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

LÉONARD DE VINCI ET L'EXPÉRIENCE SCIENTIFIQUE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. [Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 4-7 juillet 1952. Sciences humaines.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1953. Pp. viii, 273. 1500 fr.)

In his brilliant summary of the sixteen papers of this symposium, Alexandre Koyré points out that, at least tacitly, they all revolve about the validity of the thesis propounded in 1906 by Pierre Duhem's *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci, ceux qu'il a lus et ceux qui l'ont lu* that Leonardo was both the culmination of the

scientific lore of the Parisian and Pavian nominalists and influential on his successors. Heresy in its youth, Duhem's view is now orthodoxy and is here ably sustained, particularly by André Chastel. But the contrary position seems victorious, despite Koyré's effort to synthesize the opposing views. George de Santillana's paper "Ceux qu'il n'a pas lus" shows that Leonardo's Latin was got after forty and that he could perhaps never read it without assistance. Moreover his Italian remained that of a Tuscan peasant. Lucien Febvre insists, and several contributors sustain him, that in Leonardo's time listening was at least as important as reading. In Florence and Milan, Rome and Paris, ideas of every sort were buzzing. In the relatively few instances where Leonardo notes a source, it often appears to be hearsay rather than written. He read little, and for practical purposes was forgotten as engineer and scientist until the late eighteenth century.

Then is Leonardo (save as a painter) so isolated from the stream of history—a Robinson Crusoe among geniuses—that the review of a book about him is an intrusion upon this journal? Yes, if, as many historians seem to believe, history is the study of the human past solely in terms of written documents and continuities between them. But much of life never got into writing, yet to some extent it can be recovered in a variety of ways. George Sarton rightly asserts that all Leonardo's ideas had medieval roots but that "la tradition qu'il a recueillie ne fut pas une tradition littéraire mais plutôt une tradition orale et manuelle." It is academic snobism to try to make a professor out of Leonardo, and he would not approve: he was suspicious of the abstractions of the faculties. He is historically significant less as a force than as a symptom of the originality and innovative drive of the voiceless world of late medieval craftsmen, *uomini senza lettere* even more than he, out of whose strivings, far more than from the books of scholars, emerged modern technology and experimental science.

Mills College

LYNN WHITE, JR.

THE HISTORY AND CHARACTER OF CALVINISM. By *John T. McNeill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 466. \$6.00.)

As Professor McNeill points out, all modern history would be "unrecognizably different" without Calvin (p. 234). He has therefore done a great service in presenting in one volume not only an account of the life and teaching of Calvin but a survey of Calvinism down to our own day.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with Zwingli and the Reformation in German Switzerland, because this movement, and the one led by Calvin, "formed one communion and passed on to later generations a common heritage" (p. viii).

Part II is devoted to the life and work of Calvin, and, as Professor McNeill says, amounts to a monograph on the subject. It will be welcomed as one of the best short accounts of Calvin available, based on a thorough knowledge both of his life and writings and of modern scholarship. To Professor McNeill, Calvin

appears as a more amiable and human figure than he has to some other writers. His faults, however, are not overlooked: for example, his violent temper and his inclination toward harsh judgments and abusive language in controversy (see p. 228). As for the burning of Servetus, "when all is understood, admirers of Calvin must still look upon it with shame" (p. 177).

Part III is a highly compressed account of the spread of Calvinism in Europe and early America. Sometimes the compression, although inevitable, may seem excessive, as in the attempt to cover the French wars of religion in a little less than three full pages (pp. 247-49). Although Francis II and Henry III are mentioned, Charles IX is not, even in connection with the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. This omission may distort somewhat the question of the causes and responsibility for the massacre. On the other hand, there are excellent short discussions of important subjects, for example the controversies in the Netherlands associated with the name of Arminius (pp. 263-66).

The last section of the book deals with Calvinism and modern issues. Many important topics are touched on and illuminated, and one wishes that there might have been more space for them: for example, the relationship of Calvinism and government, the impact of scientific thought and Biblical criticism on religion, recent currents in theology, and the familiar question of Calvinism and capitalism. Professor McNeill shows that this last subject has been seriously misunderstood as a result of shallow and uninformed thinking.

Throughout the whole book runs the theme of Christian unity, a long-standing interest of Professor McNeill. He shows it to have been a vital element in Calvin's thought, and traces with special care movements in that direction among modern Calvinistic churches.

He writes eloquently of the value of Calvinism in society (see especially his concluding pages), and welcomes the current revival of Calvinism. This revival, he says, "does not require a restoration of the entire system," but the spirit of Calvinism needs to be revived—a spirit which he defines as "faithful response to the Scripture revelation of a sovereign and redeeming God" (p. 433).

Professor McNeill might have done one more service for the general reader to whom this book is directed. He frequently refers to modern scholars who have contributed to some aspect of his subject, but he does not always, in the text or in his bibliography, give the names of their works. This may prove a source of frustration to readers who have been stimulated by the book to undertake further study.

Not only the general reader but scholars as well will find this book useful. Not many men possess the learning and devotion which have enabled Professor McNeill to carry out his formidable task so successfully; and the value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it is clearly a labor of love.

THE CONQUEST OF PLAGUE: A STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF EPIDEMIOLOGY. By *L. Fabian Hirst*. With a Foreword by Lieut.-General Sir *William Macarthur*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 478. \$11.00.)

SCHOLARLY in its breadth and coverage, authentic in its detail, this is a volume that will appeal to historian and scientist alike. The author, who writes from a background of over forty years of experience in the study of plague, has attempted to portray the evolution of man's concept of infection as exemplified by his theories about the epidemiology of this one disease. This volume portrays the steps of transition from the deistic theories of the Middle Ages through the miasmatic to the contagionistic concept that today rests on sound bacteriologic foundation. The book is thus a history of an important scientific controversy that raged over many centuries and drew into its orbit the thinking of many of the best minds of past and present years.

In presenting his story, Dr. Hirst has drawn heavily on well-known historical sources which he has examined with the care of the critical scholar. His statements and analyses are well documented, and his selection of illustrations and quotations well made. The style is clear and the vocabulary within the range of the non-technical reader.

The book is divided into four sections. The first, dealing with the "Traditional Conceptions of the Nature of Plague," is of special interest to the historian. The last three parts—"Modern Conceptions of the Nature of Plague," "The Spread of Plague in Time and Space," and "The Conquest of Plague"—are more technical in nature. While of special concern to the medical historian and the student of epidemiology, these three sections are likewise of great general interest as the approach is historical throughout and the author has stressed the relationships to the economic and social developments of the era.

Although the author disclaims having written a true history of plague, he has none the less made a major contribution to the literature of this subject. This is truly a volume that will stand the test of time and remain for many years a standard reference in its field.

University of Minnesota

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON, M.D.

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. By *Joseph A. Schumpeter*. Edited from the manuscript by *Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxv, 1260. \$17.50.)

SCHUMPETER devoted the last ten years of his life to a comprehensive study of the successive manifestations of analytical technique as applied to economics. He did not live to complete the work and it owes its present form to the devoted and skillful editing of Mrs. Schumpeter, aided by some of Schumpeter's students, notably Arthur Marget.

This great work is too monumental to be disposed of in a limited review, but, as cats may look at kings, it may be proper to examine it casually somewhat as Schumpeter did his subjects, less with regard to its general virtue than with regard to its virtues as history.

Schumpeter defined his problem, at least negatively, in a very narrow sense. He excluded what he calls "political economy," "economic sociology," and even "applied economics" except insofar as the problem in a given field may raise questions of analysis as such. He drew a careful distinction between his aim and the history of economic thought. This position itself requires a good bit of analysis, with the result that much of the book here and there is devoted to orienting the reader to his specific purpose. The exclusive concern with analysis produces surprising ratings, Ricardo and Keynes, for example, below Jevons, Marx, and Walras, because they assumed certain constants and confined their efforts to only a limited number of variables.

The emphatic concentration on the qualitative, virtuoso aspects of the analytical processes of successive individuals as against the social origins, setting, and consequences of doctrines and systems seems in a way to remove the work from the area of history. It is impossible to attribute to the author of *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* a deficiency of historical sense. Not only did he aver that if he were at the beginning of his career he would choose history as a means of studying economics and assign "most of the fundamental errors currently committed in economic analysis . . . to lack of historical experience," but throughout the work his allusions and setting of his materials reflect as wide and profound acquaintance with and sense of history as can be found in a long day's journey among the books. On the other hand, although he spared no words in high-grade analysis of his fundamental documents (books and articles) and always gave interesting biographical indications of the development of his subjects' thinking, he did not undertake to verbalize with any extension his own high consciousness of the place of this or that movement in economic thought as a part of the whole intellectual or social history of its time. He rejected for himself the charge of "scientism" (with rather aspecial meaning) but, aside from a projected but unwritten subsection on "The Motive Forces of Scientific Endeavor and the Mechanisms of Scientific Development," did not make any place for the actuality of economics as a phase of that whole. The unwritten chapter would, we can be sure, have been a magnificent bit of analysis, but we can be sure that it would not have been history. Great analyst as he was, his communication is at the opposite pole from Maitland's "History is a seamless web." Indeed, in the intense abstraction Schumpeter made of it, the historian is tempted to question whether analysis as such has a history, any more than, say, the propensity to consume. The last paragraph on page 899 illustrates Schumpeter's indisposition (I will not call it failure) to think in "phase."

Fortunately, Schumpeter's dynamic explorations carried him far beyond the

limited concern which he avows. The book remains a superb series of analyses of the analyzers, but it becomes a rationally organized biographical dictionary of the economists. One of the most appealing parts of it is what Schumpeter called "the reader's guide" to Adam Smith. Regrettably, he balked at a corresponding service for Karl Marx, but in general the historian will find "reader's guides" of the very highest value throughout the book. The question of priorities often emerges in a rather jejune way, but this has the merit of bringing up to general attention individuals whom the conventional pattern has left in limbo. Often, however, Schumpeter's own expression about John Law seems applicable: "The case seems to be one of those in which it is right to link 'priority' with fullness and depth of comprehension."

The total experience of reading the book has confirmed this reviewer in his dictum of 1933 that economics is more like medieval scholasticism than anything else, including modern scholasticism, in the present.

University of Wyoming

F. L. NUSSBAUM

CAPITALISM AND THE HISTORIANS. Edited with an Introduction by F. A. Hayek. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 188. \$3.00.)

THE historical beliefs which shape our attitudes toward political questions do not always accord with the facts of history. Emboldened by this truism, F. A. Hayek and associates (T. S. Ashton, Louis Hacker, W. H. Hutt, and B. de Jouvenal) profess to see a "Gresham's law of history" whereby the false account forces out the true. The counterfeiter is identified as "intellectuals"—more particularly, as professional writers of history. The bogus currency they are alleged to have circulated is the doctrine that the Industrial Revolution was harmful to our society: that it resulted in the gutting of natural resources, exploitation of helpless workers, the growth of predatory monopolies, imperialism. Despite the evidence of November, 1952, that all was not corrupted by such forgery, these writers have taken it on themselves to make unalloyed "Manchesterism" the only intellectual legal tender in the realm.

There can be no quarrel with the contention that the Industrial Revolution raised material standards for the majority. The authors complain justifiably of much that lingers in political folklore about "the horrors" of early capitalism—that "one supreme myth which more than any other has served to discredit the economic system to which we owe our present day civilization." T. S. Ashton demonstrates the emptiness of the legend that working-class conditions deteriorated. W. H. Hutt shows how demagogic politicians filled reports of select committees with *ex parte* statements and unsworn evidences of factory conditions which were later used uncritically by some historians. There were instances of the iniquities cited by mythologists, but the demonology of the Left omits so much that is vital in the story of capitalism and distorts the motives of so many who participated in its growth, that it proves a wholly unreliable guide to the study of economic change.

If the authors were content to apply this needed corrective to myopic views of the Left, we would welcome their book as a useful, if belated, guide to things known and taught for a generation in professional schools of economic history. But this is only half their purpose. The other half implies that society has been led astray—down the road to serfdom—by the ideological malice of a “secular intelligentsia” who were a crew of open or cryptic socialists. Though controversy is the spice of intellectual life, this particular condiment may poison it. Hutt’s article, resurrected from a predepression journal, argues that leftist legislation impoverished society by frustrating “more natural and desirable remedies.” De Jouvenal insists that intellectuals conspired to destroy society—because they disapproved of profit-making. Yet no one explains why the demonology of the Right is now preferable to that of the Left; or how historians are saved when they color their phobias red instead of black.

Surely there is more to the craft of history than can be contained in a formula “pro- or anticapitalist.” Not all critics of capitalism were Marxists, *Kathedersozialisten*, or “institutionalists.” Many were Christian reformers or agrarian radicals; some were naïve romanticists; some—this is especially true of the Hammonds who incur the authors’ censure—criticized capitalist society on grounds other than economic. Thus the Hammonds contrasted early factory towns with classic city-states and found that the new urban-industrial society did not meet the needs of a largely rural population “wrestling with the most difficult of all spiritual adjustments . . . disturbed by changes that had destroyed the basis of custom in their lives.”

One need not accept this position uncritically. But the notion that social ferment arises from things other than real wages should be recognized by economists who teach history. Efficiency-economics is often fundamental but it is not the only test of historical truth or scholarly integrity. Dean Hacker properly regrets that a simple Jefferson-Jackson mythology underestimates Federalist-Whig efforts to secure a sound credit policy for the new nation; but why discount political and humanitarian objections to other aspects of Hamiltonian philosophy? In Beard’s case, for example, many other emphases should be balanced against strictures on the economic system. However, this book does not call for balanced judgment but unqualified affirmation of its viewpoint. To such economic determinisms of the Right, many historians will rejoin, “Man does not live by bread alone.”

University of Pennsylvania

ERIC E. LAMPARD

THE “ISMS”: A HISTORY AND EVALUATION. By *Eugene O. Golob*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xii, 681. \$6.00.)

THIS book is essentially a comparative study of contemporary social philosophies or ideologies rather than a history of the whole gamut of “isms,” as the title would suggest. The author does not, for example, include romanticism,

cultural and political nationalism and liberalism, republicanism or monarchism, except incidentally.

Although the author in an admirable preface "professes the belief that no institution or idea can be abstracted from its past and still be properly understood," he is forced to compromise considerably by his ambitious aim of clarifying the whole range of contending social ideologies as a guide to practical thinking and action. Thus the chapter on British Labour devotes three quarters of its space to an analysis of the post-World War II experiment in socialization.

Nevertheless the book can be of value in courses on contemporary history, since he does indicate the nineteenth-century roots of twentieth-century problems. Moreover his very emphasis on analysis and criticism of the actual operation of these ideologies is basically empirical and historical rather than theoretical, though he devotes little attention to the genesis of these ideologies from concrete historical situations and needs.

His topical approach can lead to historical oversimplification and distortion, such as the separation of "The Ideology of Capitalism" in Part I from "The Mercantilist Tradition" in Part II, which tends to falsify the historical interaction of mercantilism and laissez-faire under capitalism. Even in England, the home of "classical capitalism," the era of laissez-faire saw the rise of trade unions and the passing of factory laws. In general this section on capitalism is rather perfunctory and least successful in synthesizing history and economics.

It is interesting in this connection to notice Mr. Golob's own analysis of the pitfalls of historical synthesis in the foreword to his earlier book on *The Méline Tariff: French Agriculture and Nationalist Economic Policy* (1944) and his decision that "the writing of synthetic histories of limited, particular subjects" is a step toward the slow and difficult development of "true synthetic history, societal in scope and analytical in character." The soundest and most valuable parts of this present book are those built on his specialized knowledge, such as the chapters on neo-mercantilism, in which he includes the New Deal and Keynesianism, and the chapters on corporatism and present-day socialism.

A third of the book is devoted to the rather rambling but useful chapter on "Socialism by Revolution: Soviet Russia." The emphasis here as always is on economic analysis but not on the economic interpretation of history. To a much greater extent than in other chapters he brings in cultural, political, and international policies. This chapter reveals best both his aim of synthesis and his approach to "objectivity" in history. Objectivity, he points out, does not mean avoidance or suppression of judgment—it means "a decent respect for the facts and a readiness to fit interpretations to them. And a work should be judged, not by the position and attitudes of its author, but by the accuracy of his information, his judiciousness in selection and the consistency of his judgments with that information." He believes in stating his position, which is a reasoned rejection of the methods of revolution, in order to give the reader the chance to form his own.

The book will perhaps be most valuable for the layman who might be frightened off by the apparatus of scholarship. It makes no pretensions to originality and indeed derives its source quotations almost entirely from a few secondary accounts, often citing them without identification or date. But it is readable, intelligent, and often lively. The cool analysis of the two main interpretations of the Nazi-Soviet pact and subsequent Soviet foreign policy will dispel a good deal of the confusion, intentional and unintentional, that surrounds the discussion of these controversial subjects.

His concluding chapters, written for the future, are less historical than civic, i.e., "What Is To Be Done?" His answer is "the middle way" of reform which avoids the dangerous rigidity of ideology and employs flexibly the methods of Keynesian neo-mercantilism and of political democracy to achieve the values of Judeo-Christian ethics, in accordance with changing historical conditions. Keynes, Schumpeter, and Reinhold Niebuhr would seem to be his three Muses, though not his three Fates.

Vassar College

EVALYN A. CLARK

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL; THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. [Department of State Publication 5395.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. lxxvi, 892. \$4.25.) Volume III, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 5339.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. lxi, 542. \$3.00.)

ENGERT, United States Minister Resident in Ethiopia, wrote from Addis Ababa on the eve of the Italian occupation of the city: "We—including the United States—must all prepare to face the issue: so long as ruthless nations in the Far East or in Europe can bank on the pusillanimity of the law-abiding nations it is futile to expect the dawn of a new era in international relations" (III,70). With equal clear-sightedness the minister in Austria, Messersmith, commented upon Hitler's march into the Rhineland on March 7, and explained that "the fears which dominate Europe prevent action." He added: "It is this fear which Europe has of war which National Socialism has been, is and will continue to capitalize" (I,222). Something else which Hitler capitalized had already been mentioned by Ambassador Dodd in Berlin on February 12: "There is real joy at the United States absolute neutrality" (I,196).

These quotations have been picked out, not because they are representative of all reporting in these two volumes, although the perceptiveness of the foreign service is admirably high, but because they provide keys to the understanding of much that was happening in 1936, and offer food for thought in 1954. Besides the Rhineland crisis and its aftermath (under "European Political Developments," Volume I) and the Ethiopian-Italian conflict (Volume III), other matters which are related to the breakdown of the League system and of collective security are

the futile discussions over reviving the disarmament conference, the concluding phase of the London Naval Conference, various aspects of international economic co-operation, sidelights on the Montreux Straits Conference and upon French negotiations with Syria and Lebanon and British with Egypt.

Aside from the many United States interests in such things as the suppression of liquor smuggling, intergovernmental and foreign war debts, and the perennial St. Lawrence waterway, these documents indicate that the major positive action undertaken by the United States in order to better international relations was Secretary Hull's effort to secure British co-operation in his international trade program (I, 629-706). The philosophy behind these efforts is, again, food for thought in 1954, for Hull, after drawing a picture of worsening conditions in international affairs and admitting that direct political action seemed very difficult, believed "that the peoples of different countries may be brought to support their governments in any revision of their international trade relations which promises to improve the chances of maintaining peace by increasing trade; on the other hand, the absence of any effort to achieve this result will mark the decay of the determination to master events rather than be mastered by them" (I, 682). With the advantage of hindsight and against the background of scores of documents in these volumes, recourse to such a palliative seems pitifully inadequate. Since the events to be mastered in 1936 basically involved military power, it is little wonder that the British government, directly concerned with these events in Europe and Africa, failed to respond vigorously to Hull's pleas.

Surprises are few in these two well-edited volumes, and yet, taken as a whole, they document a reinterpretation of the critical year in at least one respect. It was not blindness concerning the ultimate significance of German and Italian policy that accounts for the failure to maintain or rebuild collective security, but it was the policies adopted by the "law-abiding" nations to meet the recognized dangers. Intelligence was remarkably high; judgment and will extremely low.

Clark University

DWIGHT E. LEE

THE CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR. By *Raymond Aron*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1954. Pp. 379. \$5.00.)

THIS book is not exactly a "history" or a "study." It may be described as a series of reflections on present problems, chiefly on those dealing with international affairs, by a man who is both a philosopher of history and a writer for Paris journals. As a result of this combination M. Aron brings to his discussion of public problems a rare capacity for keen analysis, incisive argument, and felicitous phrasing. The book under review gives full evidence of the author's abilities, and at the same time reveals his understanding of the nature of the historical forces that came to a climax in *The Century of Total War*.

What is Aron's point of view? The present reviewer detects a faint nostalgia

for nineteenth-century liberalism, with its belief in gradual progress, its tolerance, and its pacific inclinations. World wars and world revolutions are not the patterns of progress for this French intellectual.

The author's main thesis rests on the belief that the First World War unleashed destructive forces that have spread throughout the world, revolutionizing human relations in almost every respect. Consequently any new war, involving major powers, will be a total war in which destruction will be of unimaginable dimensions. His chief concern is with western Europe, whose "very foundations" were swept away by the Second World War, and whose democratic way of life is now menaced by the "dynamism of violence" of Soviet Russia. In this connection Aron raises the question "whether the restored democracies are fit to perform the task which history imposes on continental Europe." His answer is that, because of the weakness and division in Europe, "there are no defenders on the ramparts."

Only America, in the view of the author, can make European democracy safe from communism. He severely castigates neutralism, so widespread in France, where many intellectuals are partisans of the "double refusal" in their belief that there is no choice between the two evils, Russia and America. America, he insists, has the power and the will to play the chief role in protecting Europe's libertarian heritage. Aron makes the striking observation that western Europe now occupies a strategic position comparable to that of Belgium in 1914 and 1939. And America is the power that is maintaining intercontinental equilibrium as England had maintained the balance of power in Europe. To preserve the new balance of power America has had "to efface the consequence of too complete a victory" over Germany and Japan by giving generous aid to these former enemies in order to keep them in the Western camp. He is almost convinced that Russia is preparing for a third world war, largely because communists have modified Marxism to the extent of substituting "wars for crises in the dialectic of history."

What about Germany, the vital core in the present situation? A disarmed neutral Germany now would make no sense whatever; it would become, not a buffer, but a void inviting intervention both by Russia and the West. Does Aron, therefore, favor the European Defense Community? In the chapter "Can Europe Unite?" he begins by stating that France has "no alternative but to support European unity." As he proceeds he is assailed by doubts, fears, and hesitations, and ends on a note of indecision. The idea of European unity, with a rearmed Germany, is "too revolutionary," a creation of intellectuals, hence "its genuine appeal to the mind and its feeble echo in the heart."

Among the many recent books dealing with the world situation Aron's work is outstanding. It is a book that will prove valuable both to the specialist and to the informed general reader.

New York, N.Y.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

IRAQ, 1900 TO 1950: A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Stephen Hemsley Longrigg*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 436. \$6.15.)

THIS is a supremely excellent British history of Iraq for 1900 to 1950. It is a full account of the events of the half-century, with a complete record of the personalities producing the events. It also describes the policies and principles that determined Iraq's recent history. Here a careful, experienced, honest historian, who participated in the story, writes as one who sought Iraq's and Britain's welfare. An Iraqi historian could interpret many of the events differently, and might add information, but, as history, his report would do well to be as good as this book.

Mr. Longrigg's *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (1925) prepared him for writing this book. His years as a government official gave him knowledge of, and access to, important sources. He uses, but does not quote, these sources. Literary skill and understanding of historical values enabled him to turn official documentary information into reliable historical literature.

Having expressed appreciation of the high quality and value of this work, the reviewer hopes that a few corrections will not be taken amiss. The "candidature and election" of the Amir Fayṣal of Mecca (p. 131) to the kingship of Iraq "could scarcely . . . be allowed to fail." He was offered as the only candidate. Lists were presented to selected people for their signatures. It was announced that he was elected.

An active candidate, Sayid Ṭalib bin Sayid Rajab, Naqib of Baṣrah, characterized as a "cynically unscrupulous character" was "removed from the scene. He was arrested by the military authorities and deported" (p. 132). There are wide differences in statements about the manner of his arrest. Sayid Ṭalib himself told me he was having tea as a guest in a British official's home in Baṣrah when he was arrested. He showed me how his hostess turned her head and held her handkerchief before her face rather than see such a breach of the laws of hospitality. Another statement is that Sayid Ṭalib was arrested after he left the house.

On page 219 it is said that the 'Ajman "attacked a motor convoy in which Americans were travelling, killing one of its passengers, Dr. Bilkert, a missionary." Mr. Charles R. Crane and the Rev. Henry A. Bilkert were traveling from Baṣrah to Kuwait. The 'Ajman attacked, not the car, but some Iraqi Badu attending their flocks in Kuwait territory. It was entirely fortuitous that the car happened to be between the raiders and the raided when a raider's shot hit Mr. Bilkert. The Arabs had no intention of attacking any Americans and the author did not intend that anyone should draw such an inference. So far as this reviewer knows, never has any party of Arabs attacked any Americans. When the Rev. Roger Cunningham was murdered (p. 270), it was indeed "an

isolated crime" committed by a Kurd in retaliation, because he believed a brother's change of religious adherence was tantamount to the abandonment of Kurdish nationality.

Along with the spirit of nationalism the weightiest objection to the British management of Iraq during the mandate period was that Iraq, then poor, had to bear the triple burden of royalty, supervisors, and government officials.

Hartford, Connecticut

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Ancient and Medieval History

THE RULING POWER: A STUDY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE SECOND CENTURY AFTER CHRIST THROUGH THE ROMAN ORATION OF AELIUS ARISTIDES. By *James H. Oliver*, Professor of Classics, the Johns Hopkins University. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLIII, Part 4, 1953.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1953. Pp. 871-1003. \$2.00.)

PROFESSOR Oliver treats the *Roman Oration* of Aristides from an unrivaled familiarity with the Greek world under Roman rule. A brief review can scarcely do justice to the richness of his study; a richness far beyond what its 133 pages suggest, both because of the scholarship and because the large quarto pages of the *Transactions*, printed in double columns, afford much more text than the ordinary book of similar length would contain.

Professor Oliver, in his two opening sections, traces back to Plato the literary tradition of praising real or ideal states from which this oration resulted. Because of its literary character, the speech gives more evidence for the Greek attitude toward Roman rule than for actual conditions. After this introduction comes the translation and a detailed commentary on matters of text, translation, and content. Professor Oliver's feeling for imperial Greek enables him to emend conservatively and convincingly the often corrupt text. His wide knowledge of the Greek world illuminates the general statements of Aristides. In his fifth section, Professor Oliver illustrates from actual cases the denunciation by Plutarch in his *Political Precepts* of the control over the Greek cities exercised by the very rich. In two further sections, he studies aspects of the general problem of whether Rome established a common law for all Greek states. He edits and discusses in this light the inscription which preserves Hadrian's revision of an Athenian law regulating the tithing and export of olive oil. He then edits and comments on several inscriptions and one literary passage which deal with guarantees given by the Roman government against the misuse of local endowments by municipal officials. He concludes that Rome's achievement of a universal law was not a conscious mission but the slow result of legislation for immediate situations.

Generalization resulted in part from the natural tendency to base such specific enactments on precedents and even more from the work of jurists familiar with Greek philosophical and legal thought.

There follow a full bibliography and, because of the exigencies of printing, the critical Greek text already discussed in the commentary. There are indexes of the Greek words in the text and of passages interpreted and a few addenda but, unfortunately, no general index to the rich content of the whole study. All students of the Roman Empire and of its impact on the Greek world will find this a rewarding and stimulating book. The American Philosophical Society merits high praise for devoting the bulk of the forty-third volume of its *Transactions* to two distinguished classical studies: Professor Berger's *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Part 2, pp. 333-808) and this authoritative interpretation of Aristides' praise of Rome as *The Ruling Power*.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

THE MIND OF THE MIDDLE AGES, A.D. 200-1500: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY. By *Frederick B. Artz*, Oberlin College. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. xiv, 552, viii. Trade \$7.50, text \$5.75.)

THE first edition (1953) of this valuable book was so well received that already a revision constituting a second edition is appearing in 1954, correcting the few typographical errors, mellowing judgments, and adding new material to strengthen the original treatment especially on the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.

The "mind" of the Middle Ages, taken literally, would be a very complex and fluid subject, most difficult for any modern scholar to analyze and virtually impossible for him to understand. This book hardly tries to go deeper than the published writings of the intellectual classes and is essentially a catalogue of their interests throughout the long fluctuations from the days of Judaism to those of Humanism. Special emphasis is placed upon literature, art, music, and philosophy.

The book consists of two parts, about equally divided: "The Dominance of the East," tracing classical, Jewish, and Christian backgrounds of the West to 1000 A.D.; depicting also the brilliant civilizations of Byzantium and Islam, making them, as is now customary, appear more attractive than the early medieval centuries in the Latin West. Since the future belonged to the West, however, the second half of the book enlarges upon "The Revival of the West (1000-1500 A.D.)."

Professor Artz's book stands, as to style and method, about half-way between Thompson's *History of Historical Writing*, which briefly and sometimes disjointedly lists and analyzes writer after writer, and H. O. Taylor's classic, *The Mediaeval Mind*, which probes intellectual currents and richly portrays various medieval types. In his notes Professor Artz pays tribute to Taylor's study as "still the best single book on intellectual history of the Middle Ages." The title of Professor Artz's book is unfortunately a misnomer because it indicates that

it covers the same ground as Taylor, whereas it is a valuable synthesis of medieval intellectual and cultural activities in its own right and along different lines. Taylor did nothing with Byzantine or Islamic culture, very little with art and music, and rose to the high point of Dante as "the mediaeval synthesis." Professor Artz writes over a much wider field and goes beyond the final medieval act of Dante to the humanists of the fifteenth century.

The question often arises throughout the book as to what audience it is intended for. In some portions there is hardly enough historical continuity for the amateur in medieval history, and the treatment is seldom deep enough for the specialist. Earlier works such as Taylor, or Laistner's *Thought and Letters in Western Europe* and Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter* (whose three volumes should have been a help to Professor Artz), can all be read profitably by experienced students of the period because they are written out of vast personal knowledge of the material. Taylor, for example, is reported to have read all of Migne's *Patrologia* in preparation for his writing. Where Taylor's book is based upon an unacademic life of reading, Professor Artz's volume is the outgrowth of a quarter-century of teaching and thus more resembles a textbook in organization and point of view. I suspect, therefore, that this latest book will find its greatest audience in that limbo between the amateur and the specialist where American graduate students of history and related subjects live in relative security from either extreme.

The notes and bibliographical portions of the book are excellent. However, once more I contend that a book should be printed for the convenience of the reader, not the typesetter, and that notes should be at the bottom of the text page. A serious reader of this book is continually shifting gears between text and notes and bibliographical commentary, all printed separately.

The author is well aware of the difficulties of writing a general book of this sort and offers in his own preface the book's most critical review. Still, it stands as a fresh attempt to interpret the intellectual achievements of the medieval centuries and contains much rare wisdom and ripe scholarship.

Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

L'IDÉE D'EMPIRE EN OCCIDENT DU V^e AU XIV^e SIÈCLE. By *Robert Folz*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. [Collection historique, sous la direction de Paul Lemerle.] (Paris: Aubier. 1953. Pp. 251. 585 fr.)

WHEN in 1950 M. Robert Folz published his *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* it was hoped that he would pursue the subject further in a work dealing with the medieval concept of empire as a whole. His present book is the fulfillment of that hope. Its basic plan includes four parts: (1) the early elements of the medieval idea of empire; (2) the spread of the idea in its non-Roman forms; (3) the various efforts to effect a synthesis between theory and practice; and finally, (4) the idea of empire apart from its

actual existence. While this plan provides a logical approach to the complex and many-sided problem, it leads inevitably to some repetitiousness which is apparent, for example, in the theme of Christianity as a unifying agency.

The author has emphasized at the outset the Greek concept of *oikouménè* as it was set forth by Panaetius and assimilated by the Romans, and as it was reinforced and sublimated by Christianity. It was, therefore, both as a cultural ideal and as a quasi-religious concept that the empire survived in the minds of men. Although at times seriously threatened in the early Middle Ages by the various *regna*, the *imperium* did not cease to evoke "un pouvoir d'essence supérieure." The dictum of St. Jerome, *Exercitus facit imperatorem*, while undoubtedly applicable to conditions between the third and fifth centuries, could not compete successfully with the idea of a traditionally chosen emperor. For, as M. Folz has emphasized, the pre-eminence of the empire lay in the perpetuation of the fundamental principle of moral superiority, i.e., *auctoritas* as contrasted with the purely legalistic *potestas*. It is at least plausible to conjecture, as the author has done, that the *auctoritas sacra pontificium* in the celebrated text of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) is a conscious effort to transfer the prestige inherent in the classical *auctoritas* to the papal office. Although but a vague concept at that time, the idea of empire in the sense of a Christian unity became a reality from the era of Gregory I, emphasizing, henceforth, the predominance of the hierarchy of the church. Even the ancient territorial integrity was lost after the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, and the idea of *imperium* reasserted itself in regions which had no connection with the ancient empire. The principle of universality, now under the spiritual direction of the papacy, continued primarily as a means of opposing the emerging national states. While M. Folz stresses this idea of Christian universality, he does not neglect the courageous but vain Hohenstaufen effort to substitute as bases of universality the principles of the Roman law and the example of the Byzantine Empire.

In considering the numerous and varied forms which the idea of empire assumed, he deals also with the hegemony established by certain sovereigns through conquests of neighboring principalities. It was in this sense that Jordanes employed the term *imperium* in describing the different ethnic groups under Theodoric, and that Bede employed it as synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon *bretwalda*.

Similarly also, the idea of empire spread south of the Pyrenees in the period between 1065 and 1157 where it exercised a marked influence upon the unification of the Iberian Peninsula until the time of Alphonso VII, whose foreign policy tended to remove Spain from its position of isolation and to associate it more closely with western Europe.

As a synthesis of the conflicting concepts of empire through ten centuries of European history the book is a first-rate achievement. It is the work not only of one who has mastered the sources but of one traversing ground already familiar by virtue of previous researches into other aspects of the medieval empire. It is an interesting and useful feature of the book that it includes some twenty-four

of the documents most pertinent to the idea of empire in the Middle Ages. The highly selective bibliography lists the most important works which directly or indirectly treat of the idea of empire in the Middle Ages.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

STUDIES IN EARLY BRITISH HISTORY. Edited by *Nora K. Chadwick*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 282. \$6.00.)

THE CONQUEST OF WESSEX IN THE SIXTH CENTURY. By *Gordon J. Copley*. (London: Phoenix House. 1954. Pp. 240. 30s.)

UNTIL recently early British and Anglo-Saxon history has been written from scanty and uncertain literary evidence along with much conjecture. Though in any meagerly documented period conjecture cannot be totally erased, happily in these two books it has been kept to a minimum; the literary sources have been judiciously supplemented with place-name, archaeological, topographical, agronomic, and philological evidence. Paradoxically, the facts uncovered by the use of these precise disciplines have, rather than further debunking early British and Anglo-Saxon legend and tradition, actually reinforced them to the point where significant parts pass into the domain of history. For example, a study by the late Professor H. M. Chadwick shows conclusively that Vortigern is a historical personage; that his rule "may have extended over the whole of the Roman province" in the first half of the fifth century. Re-study of the West Saxon king-lists from Cerdic to Ceolwulf by Mr. G. J. Copley confirms his belief in the genuineness of Cerdic; in his opinion "there seems no justification for regarding Bieda and Maegla as anything but real people." It is striking how the portion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to 597 is consistently verified by the intense search of Mr. Copley into archaeological, topographical, and place-name evidence. One has the feeling after reading these books under review that Gildas, Nennius, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, not unlike Livy and other classical greats, have somehow survived the shafts of the "scientific" skeptics and have emerged stronger than ever with the help of the very sciences that the skeptics in their attacks so often scorned.

Studies in Early British History is frankly for the specialist. It consists of eight studies by six of England's most eminent scholars in the field. Though it is impossible to summarize these highly technical studies, it should be indicated that certain ones are particularly relevant for the medievalist. In "The End of Roman Britain" the late Professor Chadwick has rehabilitated some of Bury's conclusions drawn from the *Notitia Dignitatum* (a register of imperial officials) and has extended the date of the Roman occupation of Britain to at least 430. Another study by Professor Chadwick throws light on the genealogy and chronology of the kings of the British kingdoms. For the reviewer, however, the most significant study is that of Mrs. Nora K. Chadwick on the "Intellectual Contacts

between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth Century." It has increased our knowledge of the many ways by which contact was maintained with the Continent and has provided a meaty chapter on early medieval intellectual history which forms a sort of prologue to the works of Laistner and Levison. Not to be overlooked are the able studies of Professor K. H. Jackson on early British language, Mrs. Rachel Bromwich on the early Welsh tradition, Mr. H. Hunter on the Bernicians and their northern frontier, and Mr. Owen Chadwick on the evidence of dedications of Welsh churches.

If Mr. Copley's book is weak in any respect it is in his failure to decide whether he was writing for the specialist or the layman; a quick perusal will convince the reader that it is for the specialist. It is therefore a shame that Mr. Copley has felt the need to make such concessions to the layman as including elementary historical information and listing in an appendix such items as "ib./ibid., *ibidem*, i.e. 'in the same book or journal'" and "p./pp., page/pages." In the main he has fulfilled his chief objective—showing that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* can be relied upon, in so far as it goes, for the history of sixth-century Wessex. On the celebrated question of how much Roman and British culture survived and influenced the Anglo-Saxons, he offers convincing evidence that there was practically none. Excellent plates and maps show the large amount of place-name, archaeological, and topographical evidence used to reconstruct the conquest and settlement of Wessex; it is such evidence that makes this book so good. His argument makes sense, for instance, when, after pointing out that the Saxon economy on the Continent "was based upon the rich yield of winter fodder from alluvial water-meadows," he shows that in Wessex the Saxons never settled on the "site of an upland village" but invariably concentrated in the river valleys because of the water-meadows that provided winter fodder. Thus on the maps can be traced the advance of the Saxon invaders up the rivers and streams of Wessex.

Both of these works are valuable contributions to the field of early British and Anglo-Saxon history, but especially that of Mr. Copley because his skilled use of fresh evidence helps to clear away the haze of this period.

Harvard University

BRYCE D. LYON

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, 1216-1307. By Sir Maurice Powicke, Formerly Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. [Oxford History of England.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 829. \$8.00.)

THIS reviewer has long considered Sir Maurice Powicke the greatest of living medieval historians and *The Thirteenth Century* supplies ample evidence of the soundness of this view. A vast mass of minute detail is logically and effectively organized and brilliantly interpreted. Each individual and each institution is carefully and clearly set against the background of the period. Sir Maurice fully

accepts the responsibility of the historian for explaining men's ideas and motives in the light of their times and his comprehensive knowledge of the thirteenth century enables him to do this with rare distinction. The careful reader can grasp with complete clarity the problems facing a seneschal of Gascony, an English justice itinerant, or a Welsh prince. While the story of the development of English law and constitutional theory and practice are highly controversial subjects and not even Sir Maurice can hope to satisfy all the experts, his account is careful, well-balanced, and usually indicates the conflicting points of view. In style Sir Maurice is never dull, is frequently lively, and shows occasional flashes of genius. Thus in describing Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon Sir Maurice speaks of "that unbridled earnestness which made him one of the most fashionable of saints."

A monumental work is bound to contain errors and no one with the possible exception of Sir Maurice himself has enough knowledge of the period to find all of them. Each specialist will note the slips in what is familiar to him. This reviewer was troubled by the statement that the idea of abolishing the sheriff's farm was new in the reign of Henry III when in fact King John had made a vigorous and reasonably successful attempt at the same reform. In places one is forced to wonder whether Sir Maurice did not rely on careless assistants. It is hard to believe that he himself could marry Hubert de Burgh to the daughter of the earl Warenne and Isabella of Gloucester to Geoffrey fitz Peter in the footnote to page 23. This suspicion is strengthened by cases of bad proofreading and some errors in the index such as calling William de Valence the eldest son of Hugh X, count of La Marche. But it should be emphasized that considering the amazing amount of detail in the book the errors seem remarkably few.

When an author has done magnificently what he set out to do, it is usually ungracious to suggest that he should have done something else. But *The Thirteenth Century* is a volume in the "Oxford History of England" and the prospective reader should be warned that it does not belong in that series. The Oxford History was announced as an attempt to weave together all the threads of English history—political, legal, constitutional, economic, social, literary, and artistic—and most of the volumes that have appeared have done this with considerable success. Only in his bibliography has Sir Maurice made the slightest pretense of following this pattern. His book should be entitled the "Political, legal, and constitutional history of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I." When one considers that the thirteenth century was one of the greatest periods of English intellectual and artistic progress and that no one so thoroughly understands that progress as does Sir Maurice, his decision to neglect it is little short of tragic. Moreover the other volumes of the Oxford series are suitable for the general reader with a genuine interest in English history and are highly satisfactory for graduate and undergraduate students. *The Thirteenth Century* will be of immense interest and value to medieval historians who desire a more complete knowledge of the political history of England during this period, but it is far too detailed for the

student or general reader. The historical profession may well be grateful to Sir Maurice for the book he has written, but it cannot help regretting the book he might have written which no one else can possibly do as well.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

THE COMMONS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1422: ENGLISH SOCIETY AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION UNDER THE LANCASTRIANS. By *J. S. Roskell*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Nottingham. [Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Parliamentary and Representative Institutions, XIV.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 266. 30s.)

PROFESSOR Roskell, in his exhaustive study of the elected representatives of the parliament of 1422, has brought us as near to the fifteenth-century Commons in parliament as we are likely to come. The "Biographical Notes" on which most of his conclusions rest occupy almost half the volume; the other half is a fascinating essay in which he addresses himself to the "problem of parliamentary representation in the fifteenth century, and to see it whole, in its relation to the nature of later medieval English society." The corporate solidarity of the third estate of the realm in parliament was more than merely the political unity of the Lower House. Ties of kinship and marriage, a common political experience through earlier attendance or through holding office by royal appointment, or both, and "acquaintance" with the same lords or with lords of the same party—these and other ties bound together the knights of the shire and, increasingly as the century wore on, the burgesses. The social homogeneity of the Lower House increased with the growing tendency toward the election of nonresident "burgesses," despite statutory restrictions, a development which Miss M. McKisack showed to have resulted in a revolution in the class structure of the Commons in parliament. Roskell's new evidence for the earlier part of the century amply confirms Miss McKisack's views, and suggests that the revolution was already beginning in 1422 and had reached its height by the mid-century, before the political upheavals of the Wars of the Roses. The "Westminster crowd" was as prominent in 1478 as it had again become in the House of Commons in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, largely due to representation of boroughs by non-burgesses. If the statutes had been obeyed, the burgesses should have enjoyed approximately a three to one majority over the gentry; in fact, the gentry outnumbered the members who really were burgesses by four to three in 1422, and this preponderance had grown to two to one in the Yorkist parliaments.

Several other basic problems of the period are examined, including shire and borough elections and the Commons' role in the constitutional crisis which inaugurated the reign of Henry VI. Throughout, our knowledge of the fifteenth-century parliament is enriched by the author's lucid analysis and keen judgment. Professor Roskell's study not only breaks new ground in parliamentary history;

it is also an indispensable work for the student of the social and economic history of the later Middle Ages.

State University of Iowa

ROBERT S. HOYT

LA SOCIÉTÉ AUX XI^e ET XII^e SIÈCLES DANS LA RÉGION MÂCONNAISE. By *Georges Duby*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix. [Bibliothèque générale de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section]. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1953. Pp. xxxv, 688.)

LIBERTY AND POLITICAL POWER IN TOULOUSE, 1050-1230. By *John Hine Mundy*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 402. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Duby's study of lay society in the region of Mâcon begins with the late tenth century, when Carolingian political machinery was still functioning on the local level. It then examines the transition to feudal institutions and the revival of trade between 980 and 1160. It concludes with the re-establishment of royal power in the Mâconnais and the great social changes caused by the spread of a money economy between 1160 and 1240.

The book is a scholarly and well-documented analysis of social transformation. The author uses both manuscript and printed sources. He relies heavily on cartularies, especially the monumental one of Cluny. He has a gift for precise and clear-cut definition, and he frequently vivifies his theme by description of the varying fortunes of individuals and families. He is familiar with all the standard works in his field, yet in his own conclusions he often displays a high degree of originality and independence.

On the other hand, Professor Duby occasionally appears to oversimplify complex phenomena. Thus he is inclined to explain the dissolution of the political powers of the counts of Mâcon by the policies of an individual count, to the neglect of trends common to western Europe. Moreover, his treatment of social classes is somewhat uneven. His study of the bourgeoisie is more superficial than that of nobility and peasantry. He says almost nothing of the artisans, and one wonders whether there were no guilds at Mâcon, Tournus, Cluny, and Belleville.

In general the reviewer found Professor Duby's references to sources accurate. Occasionally, however, carelessness was detected in the transcription of Latin (see, for example, p. 49, n. 1; p. 51, n. 1; p. 168, n. 4; p. 300, n. 3; p. 593, n. 4). The most annoying defect in the book is the print, which on occasion is so unclear that the identification of words becomes a matter of conjecture.

Professor John Mundy's study of Toulouse in the period 1050-1230 first traces the stages by which political power was transferred from the hands of the count to those of consuls representative of the urban patriciate. It then examines in considerable detail various aspects of the period 1188-1230, when consular power was at its apogee. Among the topics discussed are the attempt of Toulouse to dominate

the surrounding *contado*, the rise of new men to political office, in which Professor Mundy sees a trend toward democracy, and the Albigensian Crusade.

Professor Mundy's narrative is clear and logical. His analysis of the actual powers transferred from count to consuls is systematic and thorough. The outstanding feature of his work is, however, the light he is able to throw on the social origins of the consuls and other urban leaders. He has been able to do this through extensive research in unpublished archival material.

The notes to the text, which are confined to the latter part of the book, are exceedingly copious. No doubt the necessity of quoting from unpublished sources justifies the great length of many of them. Some, however, could have been shortened to great advantage. In the opinion of this reviewer, too, a single, classified bibliography would have been preferable to one bibliography of archival material preceding the notes and a second one of books and articles following them.

Unfortunately the references in the notes are not always accurate. Thus, page 271, note 8, "*Rolls Series*, LI³, 151 and 153" should be LI², 161ff. Moreover, as in Professor Duby's book, there is carelessness in quotations (see, for example, p. 235, n. 32; p. 283, n. 63; p. 287, n. 9; p. 292, n. 30; p. 294, n. 35; p. 366, n. 26).

Despite minor flaws, each of these books makes an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of French local history of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

Dartmouth College

JOHN R. WILLIAMS

Modern European History

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. Volume II, RELIGIO DEPOPULATA. By *Philip Hughes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xxv, 366. \$7.50.)

THIS, the second volume of Father Hughes's projected three-volume history of the Reformation in England, is, like its predecessor, a scholarly and interestingly written work. In this volume Father Hughes carries the story from the fall of Cromwell in 1540 to the death of Mary Tudor in 1558. These eighteen years saw extremely wide variations in the official religious position of the English government, and in describing these changes the author is at his best. His chapters on the increasingly conservative church of Henry's last years, on the radicalism of the reign of Edward VI, and on the Catholic restoration under Mary—and, incidentally, on the dissensions among the Protestant exiles in the latter reign—are detailed, and at the same time very clear. It may be a long time before this lucid account of the shifting sands of religious doctrine is surpassed.

Yet for all its very considerable merits this book has one great weakness, which the author would probably cheerfully admit to, and not regard as a "weakness" at all. Father Hughes is a partisan. He writes from the Roman Catholic point of

view, and his evident distaste for the Reformation and all its works leads him occasionally into rather strained interpretations of his factual material. For example, the Chantry Act of 1545, which was designed, in Father Hughes's words, to prevent the "little private ventures of confiscation and embezzlement" which followed on the dissolution of the monasteries (p. 151), means that "Henry VIII had been ready to tear down the universities in order to steady the national finances" (p. 159)—this in the face of Henry's foundation of Trinity College at Cambridge in 1546. The author goes on to say, "there were, in the reform party, those who would have torn them [the universities] down to destroy all that could distract man from the unique source of truth, the Christian religion as they had come to see this, and as they were determined to force it on their fellows" (p. 159). The evidence cited for this statement is the radical pamphlet *The Revelation of Antichrist*, which was condemned as heretical in 1530. Thus the statement is literally true, but extremely misleading.

The same sort of thing shows up in the author's account of the Marian burnings. Not that he defends them; he calls them a "horrible visitation" (p. 255). But he leaves the impression that the Protestants were no better, because Cranmer and his associates burned Joan of Kent and George van Parris under Edward VI. He then goes on to quote with approval C. H. Smyth's statement that at least two thirds of those burned under Mary would almost undoubtedly have been burned under Edward VI had he survived (p. 262, n.). This is to argue that those in control of the church under Edward VI, who burned two heretics in the six years of their power, would have burned two hundred more had the king reigned five years longer. This is, to say the least, open to grave doubt.

Nevertheless, in spite of partisan arguments such as the above, Father Hughes's book is well worth reading. It is well to have a full-dress Catholic account of the English Reformation, to balance the traditional Protestant accounts of men like Pollard. On the whole the volume is a valuable contribution to the historiography of the Reformation.

Princeton University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

MEMBERS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT. By *Douglas D. Brunton* and *D. H. Pennington*. Introduction by R. H. Tawney. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 256. \$4.25.)

THIS is an important book about a topic of perennial interest. Messrs. Pennington and Brunton (the latter's sudden and premature death is a real loss) have attempted an analysis of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, November 3, 1640, to April 20, 1653. With considerable modesty they suggest that the conclusions reached after an extremely detailed and arduous study of the personnel of this parliament are of a limited and largely negative nature. Royalists and parliamentarian members of parliament came at this time from much the same social classes and had similar educational backgrounds. About half the members

had studied at Oxford and Cambridge, about one third of them in the Inns of Court. About the same number of landed gentry, merchants, and lawyers are to be found on either side. Possibly the most striking difference in the original composition of the House may be found in the fact that members of Royalist leanings are noticeably younger than their opponents and that in the end, upstarts, new men, who seized the opportunity afforded by the wars to enter the House, failed to establish political dynasties. The authors see no signs in the parliamentary picture of a class struggle, though in the countryside, signs of resistance by the propertyless and the oppressed may be observed. Everywhere, the local position and connections of members seem more important in deciding their election to the House than their occupations, their politics, or their religion. This volume emphasizes the importance of the local, in contrast with the national, element in parliamentary elections in a way which is an exceedingly valuable reminder of an aspect of political life which is apt to be forgotten or ignored by modern historians. All students of seventeenth-century politics will find in this volume salutary reminders of the dangers of loose generalizations about the connection of political activity and local or economic classifications.

It should be realized that these statistical studies do not answer some of our most important questions about the causes of the Civil War or other controversies in English political history. The authors of this valuable study apologize for the fact that their tables reveal little of a member's outlook. They note that manuscripts survive in sufficient quantity to give glimpses of "complex inner tensions and forces" of the Long Parliament. On the other hand, though this book admirably avoids the danger, the historian may well lose sight of the wood for the trees in such researches. We cannot afford to ignore, even when we know more of the private motives of members, their public statements of policy and those analyses made by their near contemporaries whose conclusions were based on a sort of knowledge which the twentieth-century student finds hard to acquire. We must, for example, learn a political vocabulary using many terms identical with those used today which have completely altered their meaning and the pre-suppositions which lie behind their application. Not the least significant of the services *Members of the Long Parliament* performs is the reminder of the enormous difficulty of the work of the historian.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE ORIGINS OF THE LABOUR PARTY, 1880-1900. By *Henry Pelling*, Fellow and Tutor of the Queen's College, Oxford. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 258. \$4.00.)

THIS book describes and accounts for the founding in 1900 of the British Labour party. It retells much that has been told before: the working class discontent with existing parties and the socialist revival of the 1880's, the origin of Henry Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation and William Morris' Socialist

League, the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour party, and the new unionism. Again one is impressed with what accomplishments—excepting agreement among themselves—very small numbers of devoted enthusiasts can effect; the table in Appendix A indicates that in these years the socialist societies' membership was usually in the hundreds and never over ten thousand, yet the output of literature and the propaganda activity were truly amazing. Although these outlines are familiar, the treatment is fresh. The author has gone beyond the official publications and found much of interest in the correspondence, diaries, and papers of the leaders. An unusual feature is an account of the Labour church movement. If anyone has been underestimated, it is Robert Blatchford, who in the nineties probably made more converts to socialism through his readable *Clarion* newspaper than did any other single group. The author is concerned mainly with the history of the idea of an alliance of socialists and trade unionists in a labor party, however, so that H. H. Champion, a pioneer advocate of this tactic, is here lifted into greater prominence.

The author stresses the role of the socialists in bringing the Labour party into existence, although their creation never became socialist until the adoption of the program of 1918. It was their faith which provided the driving force lacking among the trade unionists, more numerous but easygoing and interested in limited objectives. As early as 1881 Engels suggested a labor party independent of "ruling class parties," but the real initiative came in 1887 from Champion and then from Keir Hardie, who founded the Independent Labour party in 1893 and later converted the Trades Union Congress to the idea. The author points out the difficulty of the task, because the nonsocialists who dominated the unions would have been very happy to remain in the Liberal party had it adapted itself to the democratic electorate of the reform bills; its resistance to the demand for a larger representation of workingmen among its parliamentary candidates seemed to leave no option to trade unionists but to co-operate with socialists in a labor party.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

THE SPLENDID CENTURY. By *W. H. Lewis*. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1954. Pp. xiv, 306. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is the work of a nonspecialist and was written for the entertainment and edification of a generous cross-section of the reading public. As the author himself states, the work might well have been entitled "Some Aspects of French Life in the Days of Louis XIV," since it does considerably less than justice to many aspects of the rich and varied experiences of the French people during the "splendid century." With disarming candor, Mr. Lewis states in his foreword that he has omitted all consideration of (1) the French Navy, the *parlements* and their struggles with the crown, the diplomatic and civil services, and (2) the realms of philosophy, painting, and architecture. He might have

added that the broader and more enduring phases of economic, institutional, diplomatic, and intellectual developments receive scant attention. Instead, the author has produced a series of quasi-independent essays upon the topics: the king, court, common people, church, army, country gentleman, town, medical world, art of living, galleys, sea travel, female education, and the world of letters. This selection of topics, all of which are given approximately equal space, adequately indicates the author's interests and the intent of the volume.

Avoiding such intangibles as movements and meanings, Mr. Lewis throughout addresses himself to the more specific details of daily life as experienced by individuals on all levels of French society. His flair for the picturesque is everywhere evident, whether he is describing the intricacies of the royal *levée*, the liquidation of the Huguenots, the relations between *seigneur* and peasant in rural Brittany, the barbarisms of the medical profession, accepted standards of domestic economy, or the precarious existence of the struggling man of letters, not to mention such fascinating matters as the peculiar quality of Paris mud, purgative soups, the royal sexual morality, and innumerable other delights culled chiefly from the memoirs of the period. The level of approach is thus distinctly not that of the vast majority of the historians' guild. However, for the reader who seeks the type of information which this volume contains, it compares favorably with many similar treatments of the period in the selection of materials, sustained interest, the few judgments attempted, and above all the communication to the reader of a genuine feeling for the innumerable intricacies of human experience during the reign of the sun king. The volume contains suggestions for further reading and is well indexed.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

LA FRONDE. By *Ernst H. Kossmann*. [Leidse historische Reeks, Deel III.] (Leiden: Universitaire Pers; distrib. by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. 1954. Pp. x, 275. Cloth fl. 13.75, paper fl. 11.50.)

In his introduction to this work Dr. Kossmann states that his purpose is to study systematically the published sources concerning the Fronde in an effort to reappraise the nature and importance of this complex movement in French history. Too many of the writers on this subject, the author asserts, have been unduly influenced by the ideas of Chéruel, and they have accepted uncritically his presentation of the facts and their significance. Likewise he rejects both the findings of Madelin and Sainte-Aulaire, who discovered in the Fronde the principles of the Revolution of 1789, and the conclusions of the provocative study of the Russian scholar Porchnev, who examined the popular uprisings of the whole period from 1625 to 1649 from the point of view of Marxist ideology. Neither does the author accept the interpretation of Paul Doolin, the most recent American writer on the subject, who considered the Fronde as a vitally important act of opposition against royal power mainly in defense of the prestige of other authorities of the French state.

Having rejected the different emphases of these older accounts, the author proceeds to present his own views on this difficult and involved subject. He interprets the Fronde as essentially a negative event, lacking in any creative importance. No revolution, either parliamentary, popular, or feudal, he declares, was possible in seventeenth-century France. The Fronde, he believes, added nothing to the course of history, for the movement was so limited in effect by its own powerlessness that it neither anticipated the trends of the future nor brought about a return to political ideals of the past. To Dr. Kossmann the Fronde remains a period of imprudence and of exaggeration without sense and without aim. This aimlessness is attributed mainly to the fact that the opponents of the government failed to concentrate their manifold activities upon any single essential objective. The Fronde is explained as an episode which resulted from the breakdown of the delicate state of equilibrium that existed in French society, and one of the chief values obtained from the study of this period, the author avers, is a better understanding of the social structure of the baroque monarchy.

This monograph is divided into six relatively long chapters in addition to a short introduction and conclusion. Dr. Kossmann begins his account with an examination of the nature of the French state in the middle of the seventeenth century and then traces the complicated story of the growing conflict between the *parlement* of Paris and the crown between 1643 and 1649. In succeeding chapters he discusses the blockade of Paris, the Fronde in the provinces, and the general course of the civil war to August, 1653. The author's conclusions, judging from the footnotes, appear to be based upon wide and extensive reading. There is an excellent bibliography of eleven pages, including over four pages of contemporary pamphlet literature. The index is brief but serviceable.

University of Alabama

BERNARD C. WEBER

L'INTENDANCE DE BRETAGNE (1689-1790): ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE D'UNE INTENDANCE EN PAYS D'ETAT AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. In three volumes. By *Henri Fréville*, Agrégé d'Histoire et Géographie, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes. (Rennes: J. Philon. 1953. Pp. 514, 382, 418. 3600 fr.)

THESE three volumes complement prior studies of the intendants and provide a significant contribution to an understanding of French absolutism. The thorough use of manuscript materials, fluent prose, chapter and general conclusions, and careful documentation evidence the best historical scholarship. A classified bibliography of forty-five pages and a detailed index facilitate consultation.

The objective of Louis XIV in establishing the intendancy in the last French province to receive one was the extension of uniform administration and protection, rather than opposition by Brittany to royal authority. After discussion of the origins, Fréville treats chronologically the twelve intendants, the first five (1692-1753) in Volume I, the next four (1754-74) in Volume II, and the last three

(1774-90) in Volume III. Feydeau de Brou, Pontcarré de Viarmes, Le Bret, and Bertrand de Molleville emerge as the most important.

Three aspects of the intendancy are emphasized in the narrative and summarized in the conclusion: (1) relationships to the central authority, (2) relationships with the province, and (3) internal organization of the intendancy. Fréville indicates that the intendancy followed closely the vicissitudes of central authority. When the king's ministers were strong, there was little local opposition to the exercise or growth of the intendant's power, whereas weakness or vacillation of the central authority enabled the provincial estates and *parlement* to take power away from the intendant. In their struggles against the pretensions of these bodies, dominated by the Breton nobility, the intendants carried support from the Third Estate. Rivalry or co-operation with the royally appointed military governor was also an important factor. By 1774, the intendant has changed from chief local official of the centralized bureaucracy to political representative of the king and has lost to, or shares with, provincial agencies the most important functions.

While supervising execution of the king's orders in Brittany, the intendants supplied the central authority with extensive information and suggestions in reports and correspondence—now invaluable historical sources. Activities of the intendants in building up towns (*urbanisme*), promoting communications, agriculture, and commerce, and in public welfare (especially with respect to pauperism, sanitation, and health), attest their concern for the province. Fréville challenges Ardascheff, whose work appeared in French translation in 1909, on the sacrifice of central to provincial welfare, but corroborates his distinction between an "enlightened" man and "enlightened" administration. Fréville minimizes the influence of humanitarian theory on the intendants in Brittany and ascribes their extensive welfare measures to efficient administration of increased functions.

Fréville has high praise for the organization of the subordinate bureaus of the intendancy. The office of general assistant (*subdélégué général*) was instituted in 1716, and by virtue of the choice of Bretons and the long tenure of a man like Védier, provided continuity of administration and harmonized national and provincial policies. Fréville suggests that the intendancy contributed to the future prefecture, through personnel transferred to the new municipal and departmental administrations organized in 1790.

Important light is thrown on the eve of the French Revolution by analysis of the intendancy of Bertrand de Molleville (1784-88). Bertrand is defended as an able administrator, active in mitigating the economic crisis of 1785 (more acute elsewhere in 1788-89) and in increasing rural medical services. Handicapped by vacillations from the central government and the military governor (comte de Thiard), Bertrand alienated the privileged orders and failed to win the Third Estate, despite his advocacy of tax and electoral reforms favorable to it. Fréville attributed the clamor for the Estates General of all three classes in Brittany to provincialism—defense of class and provincial privileges—and not to ideas of national unity and popular sovereignty. He refutes conspiracy charges advanced by

Cochin. Royal authority and the intendency were compromised, and Breton particularism strengthened on the eve of 1789. The electoral period and suppression of the intendants might have been given further study.

The historian of law and administration and of social history will find these volumes particularly useful. Twenty-one illustrations and much detail will delight local historians. The broad scope, scholarly presentation, and able synthesis provide a valuable addition to the history of the French monarchy and the decline of the Old Regime.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

LE GRAND CARNOT: L'ORGANISATEUR DE LA VICTOIRE, 1792-1823.

By *Marcel Reinhard*. [Figures du passé.] (Paris: Hachette. 1952. Pp. 392.)

THIS second volume completes the best biography of Carnot yet published. Volume I (*AHR*, LVIII [July, 1953], 909) showed how Carnot became a revolutionary. Well organized and skillfully written, the second volume reveals what kind of revolutionary he became. As a masterly treatment of the interrelations of politics and war, it also sheds significant new light on the army as a social institution, the origins of nationalism and "total war," the nature of the Terror and the Revolutionary government, the Directory's inner history, Carnot's relations with Bonaparte, and the operations of the Napoleonic administration.

The work is based on thorough research in French and British repositories and in private collections (notably Carnot family archives), but not in notarial archives. All known sources plus the author's own discoveries are interpreted with erudition, imagination, and a critical sense undulled by hero worship. Warschauer and Dupre are the only secondary works Reinhard considers "scientific." All sides of controversial questions are presented fairly. The author states his own conclusions clearly and effectively.

Carnot emerges as neither the military genius and steadfast democrat of republican tradition nor the mediocre and unprincipled timeserver condemned by opponents. Reinhard appreciates Carnot's skillful and energetic administration of the war but he rightly credits the "organization of victory," including the new strategy and tactics, to revolutionary teamwork. Carnot tried to defend the Republic but actually contributed to its ruin. His responsibility for the Terror, Thermidor, dissension among the Directors, and the advent of Bonaparte was heavy. By turns he was Girondin and Montagnard, Director and Bonapartist minister, opponent and defender of the Empire, decorated by Louis XVIII and Minister of the Hundred Days and finally exiled. "Il fut opportuniste sans savoir distinguer à temps ce qui était opportun. Il se trompa sur les hommes et fut trompé par eux. Il fit triompher ce qu'il abhorrait et ne sut pas maintenir ce qu'il préférait. Il fut carrière d'homme d'État sans en avoir les qualités" (p. 342). Carnot was more liberal reformer than violent revolutionary in his political and social ideas.

These Reinhard compares to the ideas of Saint-Simon. Carnot, it can be objected, may foreshadow "technocracy" but he emphatically rejected socialism.

Since it will probably long remain the standard work, one regrets that Reinhard's publisher could not allow him three volumes. The second could have treated at greater length the most significant period of Carnot's career—the year II. An index, infrapaginal notes, and more accurate and fuller source citations would also have improved this magisterial publication.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

PROPHECY AND PAPACY: A STUDY OF LAMENNAIS, THE CHURCH, AND THE REVOLUTION. [The Birkbeck Lectures, 1952-1953.] By *Alec R. Vidler*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. 300. \$3.75.)

ONE of the more fruitless occupations of the historian is the attempt to prove that a given figure was born before or after his time, that his ideas would have been much more acceptable in an age other than his own. Such a preoccupation has characterized much of the work done on Félicité de Lamennais ever since Sainte-Beuve wrote in 1832 that "M. de La Mennais n'est pas et n'a jamais été homme du jour; on peut même dire qu'il n'est pas homme de ce siècle. . . ." In more recent years, whether the critic has emphasized Lamennais' ultramontanism, his liberal Catholicism, or his Christian democratic beliefs, there has been a tendency to point out to what extent he anticipated subsequent developments in the Catholic Church.

The title of this study, a much expanded and annotated version of a series of lectures delivered at Cambridge University by the Canon of St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, might suggest that this is another such attempt. But with the exception of an epilogue in which Canon Vidler cautiously suggests some of the numerous areas in which Lamennais' influence has been felt, the author avoids any effort to situate Lamennais in a time other than his own. Instead he uses the term "prophet" in its Hebraic sense as one "who believes himself to be charged directly by God with a mission to declare the divine judgment on ecclesiastical corruption, or to promote a more or less radical reformation or the adaptation of the church to a new historical environment." Every church has its "prophets" and its "priests," argues Canon Vidler, using these terms in a symbolic sense, and it is the tension between the two—between those who are sensitive to historic change and to the need for adaptation to it and those who feel bound to preserve what has been handed down—that makes for the vitality of a church. It is the author's thesis that this was the essence of the conflict between Lamennais, the prophet, and Pope Gregory XVI, the priest, each reacting in characteristic fashion to the changes wrought by the French Revolution, each advocating a different line of approach for the church in meeting the problems of the age.

One need not agree with this interpretation of the encounter between Lamennais and the Vatican in order to appreciate Canon Vidler's study, which is a

scholarly work of the first order. Although the author treats some of the disputed points in Lamennais' career and gives the reader a glimpse into his personal life, the book is not intended primarily as a biography but rather as an essay in ecclesiastical or intellectual history. Through a careful examination of Lamennais' major works and an account of his changing relationship with the church, the author succeeds in exposing the broader challenges facing Catholicism in the first half of the nineteenth century and the responses offered by the French hierarchy and the papacy.

Aside from Laski's chapter in *Authority and the Modern State*, there has been surprisingly little good scholarly work done on Lamennais in English. For this reason it may be said that this book "fills an important gap," but it would be unfortunate to conclude with this cliché, for the book does much more than this. Using the same objective but sympathetic approach that characterized his *Modernist Movement in the Roman Church*, Canon Vidler has provided a new and stimulating interpretation of Lamennais written with unusual literary grace.

Wesleyan University

CHARLES BREUNIG

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 1^{re} Série (1871-1900), tome XIII (16 OCTOBRE 1896-31 DÉCEMBRE 1897). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1953. Pp. xxxvi, 677.)

THE Cretan insurrection of February, 1897, and the ensuing Greco-Turk war, as one might expect, occupy nearly half as much space (156 out of 388 documents) as all the other subjects put together in this volume. Muraviev, though he had been in charge of the Russian Foreign Office only six weeks, took the initiative in suggesting energetic co-operation by the Great Powers for dealing with the crisis. Generally, always in closest touch with Hanotaux at Paris, he played a leading and pacific role. The Russians were worried lest a British fleet should enter the Sea of Marmora to put pressure on the Turks, and the French were worried by alarming reports of their military attaché which seemed to indicate a possible Russian move from Odessa to seize the Straits and repeat the Unkiar Skelessi situation of 1833. The Germans inclined to a standoffish attitude of *ni mandat, ni veto* (p. 128). But in general there was less mutual suspicion and friction between the Great Powers than a decade or so later. The Concert of Europe worked successfully in compelling the withdrawal of Greek troops from Crete, the installing of an autonomous administration, and the localization of the Greco-Turk war.

The next most discussed country was Abyssinia, to which four of the Powers sent missions. Russia sent an imposing delegation for prestige purposes after a discredited Russian agent had tried to sell Menelik old guns at three times their value. Italy's mission was to regulate matters still unsettled after her defeat at Aduwa.

The French and British missions were more important since the Upper Nile was the focal point toward which Marchand and Kitchener were converging. The French minister in Addis Ababa, Lagarde, and missions under Bonvalot and Bonchamps secured an agreement by which Menelik's forces and the French would join hands across the Nile. Lagarde also secured a commercial treaty giving France special privileges and in return promised French guns and ammunition to Menelik. The English missions under Rennell Rodd from Egypt and Major MacDonald from Uganda, according to the French, aimed to secure for Kitchener's Anglo-Egyptian expedition a friendly Abyssinia at the rear of the Mahdi, but accomplished little.

Other interesting subjects dealt with in this volume are Hanotaux's constant suspicions of British intentions and his irritation over the situation in Egypt and on the Niger; his unsuccessful effort to get a Russian delegate appointed to the Ottoman Debt Commission; doubts of French financial experts about the wisdom of granting more French loans to Russia; and, near the end of the period, the sudden German occupation of Kiaochow.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

LES SOCIALISMES FRANÇAIS ET ALLEMAND ET LE PROBLÈME DE LA GUERRE, 1870-1914. By *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. [Etudes d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, III.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1953. Pp. xi, 385. 20 frs., \$4.70.)

ANALYTICAL studies may be better calculated than narrative accounts to prove preconceptions, but the charm of their symmetry and detachment of their logic often leaves one with a sense of the unreal. Such an impression can be avoided if the author makes a strong effort throughout to maintain objectivity and to reconstruct events as they actually happened. This, Professor Drachkovitch has not done to the reviewer's satisfaction. The anti-German bias which the author—a Serbian immigrant to Belgium—has subtly insinuated into Parts II (German Socialists) and III (International Socialists) of his work has had baneful consequences; it has led him, for the sake of his argument, all but to lift the SPD out of the environmental current that fixed its fate.

A main proposition of Professor Drachkovitch is that autochthonous French socialism, with its democratic, individualist, idealist heritage, was endemically incapable of absorbing intransigent "German Communism" (Marxism) (pp. 171-74, 309). Unacceptable to this reviewer is the thesis (suggestive of excessive reliance upon Andler and Röpke) that underlies this notion: "toutes les différences entre les Français et les Allemands comme peuples se répercutaient forcément sur leurs socialismes" (p. 345). From this thesis follows the intellectually dangerous, if not demonstrably false, conclusion that the evolution of German socialist thinking in the direction of nationalism and the *Burgfrieden* was preordained by intrinsic traits in the German mentality: e.g., its natural obedience to "un ordre

du pouvoir" (p. 345), its genius for organization and "Gründlichkeit" (pp. 210, 350-51); and its prudent disdain for barricade revolutions (pp. 272, 275, 348). When one presumes to divine the procession of history by thus peering into the crystal ball of national character, does he not indulge a mystic determinism akin to racism?

Disproportionate emphasis accorded the views of the miscellany of French socialist groups (Guesdists, Allemanists, Possibilists, Anarchists, Blanquists, Independents) and of the united SFIO, compared with space given the SPD (180 vs. 124 pp.), is disturbing in view of the author's recognition of German primacy within the Second International (p. 273). Concern becomes suspicion when it is found that 227 items in the bibliography are in French, while only 55 are in German.

If the bibliography were rich, it would, of course, be pedantic to censure failure to consult this or that source. But a relatively modest documentation omits all works in Russian and cites only one in English. We may perhaps condone the Russian; but we cannot, the omission of such solid contributions in English as those by Pease, Weinstein, Bernstein, Jellinek, Mason, Lenz, Rocker, Steckloff, Fainsod, and Marks. Lacunae in German-language documentation are numerous and unjustified. While Kautsky's *Sozialisten und Krieg* has been generously mined, significant older works, many of them sources, by Frölich, Goldenberg, Günther, Croll, Katzenberger, Ströbel, and Vollmar have been ignored, as have also the valuable histories by Lipinski and Doerzbacher and the more recent studies by Rikli, Baier, Brandis, and Dittmann. Most annoying of all is the absence of Mehring's *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (4 vols.). There has been no serious consultation of the four French socialist dailies or the ninety-four German of the era. Some of Bernstein's and Kautsky's best works have been disregarded. No use was made of the valuable manuscript life of Bebel by Kautsky's son, Benedikt. Almost no attempt was made to tap the riches of *Die Neue Zeit*, *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, or *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*. Considerable space is devoted to the attitudes of trade union leaders, but no sign is given of familiarity with works on the unions by Kampffmeyer, Gleichauf, Hirschfeld, Prokovitsch, or Sanders. Finally, the ideological evolution of the party under the anti-Socialist laws (1878-90) surely deserves some documentation and more than a paragraph, when Mehring, Brandis, and Kampffmeyer have devoted practically whole books to it.

Despite major defects, Professor Drachkovitch's monograph is not without merit. One must admire its close reasoning, rational organization, and limpid style. The work will help illumine some of the forces motivating French and German socialist attitudes toward war, militarism in the abstract, and the outbreak of World War I in reality.

THE STRUCTURE OF SPANISH HISTORY. By *Américo Castro*. Translated by *Edmund L. King*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 689. \$9.00.)

The Structure of Spanish History is the kind of work that mature scholars produce, the summation of many years of study and thought by Américo Castro. A Spanish version (*España en su historia*, Buenos Aires, 1948) was published six years ago. The work now offered in translation is enlarged and strengthened and deserves to rank as the definitive edition.

To correct any misapprehension at the start, this is not a history of Spain but a discussion of Spanish history, following no chronological sequence and dealing with a succession of ideas rather than events. Professor Castro has borrowed deeply into all forms of the Spanish literature he knows so well, to interpret the Spanish past and to illuminate the working of the Spanish mind.

The problem, as he sees it, is that of explaining the mental insecurity felt by Spaniards ever since the expulsion of the Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella. Much use is made in the book of the expression "vivir desviviéndose," which is not easily translated into English but implies the idea of psychological frustration. In attributing this feeling to his countrymen, Professor Castro differentiates sharply—too sharply some will feel—between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe.

It is important in this connection to decide just when and how the true Spanish history begins. Castro will not accept an early date. The Romans, he says, were not Spaniards, and he next marshals evidence to show that the Visigothic era was pre-Spanish. Not until the tenth century does he find a Spain that can be identified with the present one, just as "we sometimes recognize an unmistakable resemblance between the face of an old man and a photograph of the same person when he was a child" (p. 650).

What had made the difference, of course, was the Arabian invasion of the year 711. Not only did the Moslems hold the bulk of Spain for three centuries and lesser parts for much longer; their higher civilization exerted great influence on the parts never conquered. This explains the emergence of the legend of Saint James of Compostela, popularly regarded as the twin brother of Jesus, whom the Spanish Christians needed as a personal counterpoise to the holy prophet, Mohammed. It explains much of the quixotic element in the Spanish character and the lack of any strong scientific impulse in Iberian civilization. Should the last statement appear questionable, Castro explains that while the Moslems possessed scientists, their activities were incidental and devoted only to occasional practical ends.

The Moors finally overcome, Christian Spain found itself stamped with an Afro-Oriental coloring and lacking now the strong sense of purpose that had once been felt. Spain also by now was decidedly out of touch with the Europe of which, during the historically formative centuries, it had never been truly a part. There remained the task of building both the European and American empires,

but neither of these absorbed Spanish energy or dominated thought as had the earlier crusade. To the extent that Castro's book has chronological limits, it ends with the confusion of the Spanish mind during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Some of Castro's ideas are obviously not altogether new, but there is always novelty in the way he expounds them. Perhaps none but a Spaniard is ideally equipped to grapple with this author, whose argument is often as much a matter of feeling as of the concrete evidence which makes the average historian feel at home. I believe, nonetheless, that Castro has belabored some points more than is necessary. His contention that a Spaniard is an altogether different creature from a Frenchman or a German might best be answered by the old Spanish saying, "He who proves too much proves nothing." Castro pleads a total absence of important science among his countrymen, although if he had been in a different frame of mind he could have shown that, for a time at least, Catalonia and Majorca had the leading role in the development of modern cartography and the astronomical sciences.

What sometimes arouses distrust of these brilliant but essentially subjective analyses of civilization is that their ideators feel obliged to fit every fact into the pattern. Spengler did it; Toynbee does it; and Castro cannot resist the temptation. I could wish that he had been content to prove a little less, though he has unmistakably performed a work of brilliance with which scholars of Spanish culture will reckon for years to come.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

CAVOUR AND GARIBALDI, 1860: A STUDY IN POLITICAL CONFLICT.

By *D. Mack Smith*, Fellow of Peterhouse. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 458. \$8.50.)

THE surveys of the unification movements in nineteenth-century Italy have been written and the general outlines of the story are fairly well understood. Below the surface of the outlines there remain the details to be fitted into their proper niches and analyses made of the forces at work in the making of the national movements. These will inevitably strengthen some concepts already formed and radically alter others. The time has arrived in the writing of the history of the Risorgimento for the Age of the Monograph.

The new age is already beginning to bear fruit in this very excellent study by D. Mack Smith, in which he has undertaken to analyze the course of revolutionary politics during a civil war which, within the span of a few months, transformed the Italian peninsula from a melange of insignificant states to a nation just short of territorial completeness. It is the story of the labors of Garibaldi and of Cavour in the dramatic months of 1860 that brought the whole of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and much of central Italy under the banner of the House of Savoy.

From a multitude of archives, some of them hitherto unexplored, the author has drawn the materials to reconstruct a virtual day-by-day account of the political activities of Cavour and Garibaldi as well as of the machinations of the supporting actors in the drama of annexation. Very much a part of the story are the responses of the "liberated" peoples of the south to the wishes of the dictator-general; to the blandishments of Cavour; to the appeals of autonomists; and to any number of others having programs to sell.

Rather reluctantly, since romantic legend dies only with difficulty, one is forced to agree with Mr. Smith on the basis of the evidence that Garibaldi in political manipulation was inexperienced, prone to take bad advice, and, at times, unintelligent. But the luster of his greatness as a general remains untarnished, and his grasp and understanding of affairs beyond the mire of politics reconfirms what one historian called his "rare bon sens qui lui tient lieu de science et d'art politique."

In the activities of Cavour the antics of the skilled manipulator are clearly revealed. First in exploiting the successes of Garibaldi and then in cutting the ground out from under the general at every turn of the political card; by using Garibaldi in the literal sense of the word, and then bending him to the will and need of the Cavourian schemes, the Piedmontese "architect" won the Italian south and undertook to remake it in the Piedmontese image. Decades of military occupation, open revolt, and the very questionable success of the Piedmontization of southern Italy even now challenges the genius so often ascribed to the plans conceived by Cavour. It is a matter of opinion to be sure, but I find it difficult to agree with Mr. Smith that Cavour's work "was a fine example of resourceful opportunism"—the implication of mastery in statecraft. Clever he was but his opportunism, to me, was of the bargain-basement variety in the one decade of the nineteenth-century when the political adventurer was permitted to run rampant.

University of Mississippi

GEORGE A. CARBONE

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Settima Serie: 1922-1935. Volume I (31 OTTOBRE 1922-26 APRILE 1923). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari esteri, Commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti diplomatici. 1953. Pp. lviii, 582.)

THIS first volume in the seventh series of the official publication of Italian diplomatic documents covers a six-month period from Mussolini's assumption of the premiership and direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a coalition government to the resignation of the *popolari* from his cabinet, a date of greater significance in the internal history of the Fascist regime than in the development of Italian foreign policy. Since neither the Archivio di Gabinetto nor the Archivio della Segreteria di Benito Mussolini yielded many papers for this period, the collection is virtually limited to dispatches from ambassadors, ministers, and consuls-general and instructions by Mussolini as foreign minister. Only on occa-

sion does the editor, Ruggero Moscati, reproduce manuscript notations on the documents or less formal diplomatic materials; internal memorandums, unofficial commentaries by members of the ministry, or intelligence reports from special agents do not figure in the selection. For those who require a full-blooded, circumstantial version of the motivations behind diplomatic relations Italian archives no doubt still hold rich sources which are not included in this compendium. The reflection holds true for the Italian state publication as it does for similar works currently appearing under the direction of the United States and the British governments.

While the ground has been substantially covered by the *Libri Verdi* issued in 1923, the present volume fills in many details on the sudden emergence of a dynamic Italian government which forced England and France to take cognizance of an ally thrust aside during the Paris Peace Conference and early chaotic post-World War I years. Mussolini's initial appearance as a figure in international politics is signaled by anxiety over world reaction to his new regime. On November 1, 1922 (document no. 19), he instructed his representatives in all foreign countries to report the opinion of political, diplomatic, financial, and journalistic circles on the Fascist rise to power. For the most part the diplomatic agents transmitted such favorable observations as their new leader would be pleased to hear. (Sforza of course resigned as ambassador in Paris, though there is a curious request for an interview, document no. 87, which was refused.) During the ensuing six months—at Lausanne, during the crisis over French occupation of the Ruhr, and at reparations conferences—Mussolini cut a more imposing figure than had any Italian foreign minister in years. Despite the Fascist revolution the ministry continued to follow many of the lines of diplomatic policy laid down by Baron Sonnino. Italy still demanded parity with her World War allies and the maintenance of "equilibrium in the Eastern Mediterranean"; she still tried to play the French and the British off against each other, though there was growing emphasis on the advantages of a Continental bloc against Britain. Reports on Russia, "Russian analysis" of the Fascist counter-revolution and Russian theoretical explanation of the fact that Mussolini paradoxically espoused full Soviet participation at Lausanne on the morrow of his anti-Bolshevik victory will interest students of Russian communism as well as Italian diplomacy.

The analytical table of contents, the appendixes, the indexes of topics and names, and the format of the work are excellent.

Brandeis University

FRANK E. MANUEL

THE ORIGINS OF PRUSSIA. By *F. L. Carsten*, Lecturer in History, Westfield College, University of London. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. 309. \$4.80.)

THIS is a close scholarly study that leaves the reader divided between regret at the dryness of its report and the gratitude it inspires for its clarification of the development in the main socio-political areas of early Brandenburg-Prussia.

This means that we are given a richly documented story of the German conquest of the Slavs and Prussians and of the colonization of the conquered land by a German population in the three distinct streams of peasants, townsmen, and nobility. While the parallel and equal growth of these three constituent elements would have produced a roundly balanced society, this development never got under way and was rendered forever impossible when, in the fifteenth century, the nobles took up demesne farming, that is, forsook their medieval warrior habits and became a body of profit-seeking landlords. The transformation occurred when, owing to the rise in the price of foodstuffs in western Europe, they were confronted with a novel demand for the product of their fields.

There followed a productive drive among them which, continuing unchecked for some generations in Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, in fact, throughout northeastern Europe, led, on the one hand, to the passionate desire on the part of the profiteers to enlarge their demesne lands by the appropriation of the neighboring peasant farms and, on the other hand, to the equally passionate desire to tie the peasants to the soil in the interest of an unfailing labor supply. By this double pressure the originally free peasants were gradually reduced to groveling serfs. If the electors of this period had still been in possession of their original authority they would not improbably have blocked the movement by which they themselves fell into dependence on the nobility. The rulers of this crucial century belonged to the Hohenzollern dynasty, which had been enfeoffed with Brandenburg in 1415. Compelled by the mounting expenditures of a new age to appeal to the *Landtag* for supplies, they faced the blank stare of a body completely dominated by the nobles. In the diet of 1537 a first compromise was reached, followed later by others of the same nature. The reigning elector, Joachim II, was voted the supplies he required in exchange for his solemn validation of the usurpations the landlords had effected directly against the peasants and indirectly against himself. When the Great Elector mounted the throne in 1640 he gradually evolved the plan of replacing the power of the *Landtag* in his various provinces with his own absolute power and to bring about this revolution by means of a standing army. The author records Frederick William's measures with the same cool detachment that characterized the earlier story. It is a method dear to our graduate schools and concentrates on the facts with an all but total disregard of the color, form, and zest which bring a personality to life.

Michigan City, Indiana

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

DIE ENTFESSELUNG DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES: EINE STUDIE
 ÜBER DIE INTERNATIONALEN BEZIEHUNGEN IM SOMMER 1939.
 By *Walther Hofer*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte,
 München.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1954. Pp. 221. DM 6.80.)

CONTEMPORARY history has been rarely treated in German universities. There are still today very few scholarly works published on the Third Reich, its domestic

and foreign policy. The Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, which also publishes the *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, edited by Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg, is making a serious effort to throw light on a period which, for various reasons, many Germans wish to keep either in darkness or in the more dangerous artificial light of legends. Walther Hofer, a young Swiss historian who is *Privatdozent* at the Free University in Berlin, presents the Germans with a penetrating analysis of the international relations in the summer of 1939. The conclusion of the book is contained in the title: Hofer speaks of "Entfesselung," not of "Ausbruch." The Second World War was unleashed by Hitler alone, but there remains the fundamental question of how it happened that Hitler succeeded in imposing his will upon a whole great nation and, with the help of that nation, in carrying through his intentions against the will of the whole world, including his ally Mussolini.

Hofer's well-documented story of the fateful weeks preceding the invasion of Poland makes it clear that even the highest ranking officials of the Reich like Generalfeldmarschall Göring had not the slightest influence on the Führer. Against his totalitarian claim of incarnating the nation and history rational criticism was impossible; one had either to trust blindly or to reject unconditionally. Hitler treated not only his potential enemies but even his official allies with utter contempt and disregard. Nor was he concerned with the fate of Germans. For the duration of his friendship pact with Poland he was as willing to abandon the German minority there as he had been to abandon the South Tyrolians to Mussolini and the Baltic Germans to Stalin. Everything was to him tactical means for the achievement of his strategic power goals.

Dr. Hofer shows convincingly the will to peace of the British, French, and Polish governments. Chamberlain's appeasement policy was sincere; it tried to accommodate the dynamism of the fascist nations and at the same time to restrain it within bounds set by treaties and the recognition of admissible methods. Such a policy might have worked against Italy; it could not work against Germany and its new diplomacy which called "negotiations among equals" what it would have called a ruthless "Diktat" if applied against Germany. Hitler concluded his pact with Stalin in order to be able to overrun Poland, and for the sake of a short-term success he destroyed the dikes which the treaty of Versailles had erected against the Bolshevik flood which nobody had denounced more strongly than Hitler. That the Soviet Union today occupies Berlin and Vienna, is the consequence of Hitler's policy.

Dr. Hofer rightly warns against the historians' efforts to try to find too great a rationality behind Hitler's motives. "When Hitler had selected a victim, then he concentrated with such energy on this one problem of how to destroy the victim that all other considerations were swept into the background." There are still many people in Germany who have kept some respect for at least some aspects of National Socialism and of Hitler. Dr. Hofer's insistence that crime and lie, madness and irresponsibility should be called by their true name, will be wel-

comed by every friend of German historiography which in the last century has too frequently subjected history to "idealistic" or "fatalistic" considerations. To gloss over the dark sides of history and to excuse them has led the German people to catastrophe.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE IM ÜBERBLICK: EIN HANDBUCH. Edited by *Peter Rassow*. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1953. Pp. 866.)

THIS handbook is no latter-day Gebhardt but a set of eighteen substantial essays on the major epochs of German history. The contributors, mostly men of the younger academic generation, speak as individuals. Still, there is a common tie that binds them—an outlook of moderate conservatism expressed with intelligence and responsibility. Most of them come to grips with the major falsifications and some emphases of Nazi historiography. A majority of the essays are more than condensed narratives and reflect an integrated philosophical or cultural approach to the subject. Although the volume is intended for a broader audience, and has sold well, there is no compromise with standards or pandering to popularity. It is good history.

The opening section of the work skips the racial glories of the Teutonic tribes, promptly enlarges upon significant aspects of German-Roman relations, and closes with a brilliant narrative on the emergence of a transitional Rhenish-Danubian culture in the third century. The medieval chapters are disappointing, for their main theme is lost in a welter of details on political intrigue and warfare. With the exception of Brunner's spirited essay on the late medieval Reich, there is a regrettable lack of emphasis upon the social, economic, and cultural developments of the Middle Ages. The Reformation is given competent but unimaginative treatment. The Counter-Reformation comes to colorful life in Brunner's pen and confirms the impression that this Austrian historian has enviable scope and depth. The story of German absolutism was bound to emphasize Prussia but appears overly Prussian in tone. Frederick the Great is presented with philosophical and psychological insight. Still, the tendency to deify him remains. One limitation is common to all these authors: the lack of significant and constructive observations on the relations of the Germans with their Slavic neighbors.

More than half of the *Handbuch* deals with German history since 1789. Erdmann's beautifully constructed essay on the Revolutionary era is almost more European than German history. The material on the Germanies from 1815 to 1851 is *gesamtdeutsch* in tone. No other period probably lends itself so successfully to this treatment; yet, the spirit of Srbik's *Deutsche Einheit* could be less evident. The Bismarckian age is exceptionally well handled by Kluge and Schieder, with strong emphasis upon economic and cultural trends. Their appraisal of Bismarck commands respect, though not necessarily full agreement. Quali-

fied approval of the Iron Chancellor stems from careful evaluation of his designs and achievements; criticism is rooted in an awareness of human frailty and a sense for tragedy. An impressive man remains, though the omniscient master is gone.

With all its caprices and contradictions the Wilhelmian era comes to life. Conze views the origins of World War I with circumspection and welcome de-emphasis of the strident *Kriegsschuldfrage* tone. His analysis of the Revolution and Weimar constitution is a model of succinct prose. The statement on the Versailles peace is bleak and factual. Pros and cons of the Weimar regime are set forth clearly, with full appreciation for the efforts of its leaders in the face of embittered hostility.

Professor Mau's essay on the rise of National Socialism spares not the *Reichswehr*, nor deluded conservatives, nor irresponsible nationalists. Unlike some recent German political autopsies, this one avoids rationalization and self-pity alike. The reasons for the success of the Nazi conspiracy, an incisive interpretation of the 1934 purge, and a superb characterization of the Third Reich in the war years compel particular interest. The German resistance movement, with all its failures and contradictions, is seen as speaking for the conscience of the nation and by its example remaining as a warning to future German generations. Some American conservatives could learn something from this essay, too.

The last chapter offers a detailed account of events in all the zones of occupied Germany to 1949 and is particularly valuable to Americans, for here German history becomes an indispensable part of our own. Few other narratives have so clearly indicated how early the pattern of Soviet postwar intentions was evident in its German aspect. Evidently the accident of intransigent French policy toward the Potsdam agreement during 1945-46, was a basic factor in preventing West Germany from slipping into the Soviet orbit and consequently saved the West from a political disaster.

Sixty pages of closely packed bibliography and an excellent index conclude this attractively published volume. The bibliography builds upon the 1931 edition of Dahlmann-Waitz. Space certainly forbade annotation, but the result is sometimes a mixture of many good titles, some less qualified sources, and a few items with a clear Nazi taint. A number of essential studies in English are included, though many are lacking; but it is a real innovation that so many such sources are indicated. It is the effort that counts.

One concluding comment indicates a continuing dilemma that faces the German historian: shall he write the history of a state or of a people? The several contributors deal with the German and Austrian aspects of their subject reasonably well until 1852. Thereafter the story of the Austrian-Germans is rapidly reduced to interspersed notes and disappears completely in the last essay. Such a treatment is not entirely satisfactory and leaves an essential problem of German history unresolved.

GERMAN HISTORY: SOME NEW GERMAN VIEWS. Edited by *Hans Kohn*, Professor of History, City College of New York. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1954. Pp. 224. \$4.00.)

IN his own contributions to this book, Professor Kohn asks the crucial question whether or not the reappraisal of German history in progress among German historians will help to establish democracy. He sees in the older German historiography a valuable guide to the currents which swayed men's minds and moved events toward authoritarian rule. Professor Kohn refrains from a definite prediction, but he provides the basis for the reader to draw his own conclusions in the essays assembled here. Except for Professor Hajo Holborn and Dr. Walther Hofer, who are both outsiders to a certain extent, the authors are German historians, including the late Friedrich Meinecke and Franz Schnabel, addressing primarily the German audience. As to their sincerity and good intentions, there is no possible doubt, but the eventual success of this new revisionist movement is another matter. A useful bibliography concludes the book.

Only in a great national catastrophe like Germany's in 1945 could the effort to change the essentials of the cherished picture of a nation's past have even a chance of success. These historians challenge the most fundamental value—judgments of their most honored predecessors, notably Ranke and Treitschke, in regard to the movements and personalities, notably Bismarck, which created the great Germany of the nineteenth century. They explain the German tragedy by the increasing alienation from Western civilization, and they attribute this fateful separation in part to the sanction which German historians gave to the exaltation of the state and its power, to their acceptance of militarism and war, and to their neglect of social and cultural history in favor of politics and diplomacy. Bismarck, in their view, stifled promising democratic forces, although Schnabel, for whom federalism is Germany's best hope, regards the National Liberals as not less dangerous. In the myth of the uniqueness of the German character, the product of romanticism and historicism, these writers discern a more fundamental cause. Hofer pinpoints this matter more precisely in the prevailing feeling that Germany was the victim of circumstances which justified extraordinary measures.

These writers regard Gerhard Ritter, who seeks to salvage as much as possible from the debacle, as their principal opponent. In trying to shift the responsibility for modern mass movements and therefore for Hitler to the West, because of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, Ritter is extremely vulnerable. The revisionists, admirable as much of their criticism and their intentions may be, are themselves vulnerable in their disregard of realities. It is little short of the fantastic to think it possible to shift the center of German life from the industrial north to the agricultural southwest. In view of the problem of East Germany, including the Oder-Neisse line, as well as of Germany's inescapable position

between the East and West, their depreciation of the state, power politics, and nationalism does not promise well for their success.

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING GERMANY. By *Robert H. Lowie*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 396. \$6.00.)

"THIS book," its author explains, "deals with the social psychology of the 'Germans' during the last two centuries." In defining the term "Germans" he applies linguistic rather than racial or political criteria, so that Austria and Switzerland, as well as Germany, are included. The main emphasis, however, is on Germany, with only occasional glances across the frontiers. Professor Lowie, a well-known cultural anthropologist, bases his study on six months' field work in the above countries, supplemented by library research. He makes use of many lesser-known sources and his rewarding use of literary works as avenues to German social history deserves special praise. The bibliography of secondary works is substantial, though it shows some surprising gaps: there is no mention, for instance, of the important work done on this subject by Fromm, Horkheimer, or Schaffner.

As for the general thesis of the work: "It is my conviction," Mr. Lowie states, "that much of what is popularly conceived as German is in reality either generically human or occidental or Continental European." To prove his point, he has singled out for treatment: particularism, the class structure, the family, the Jewish question, and the relation of Germans to Nazism and to democracy. Among these, he finds as the only "highly distinctive" German feature the marked class distinctions prevalent in German society. As for the remaining points: "German attitudes toward particularism and nationalism are not unique"; nor are survivals of patriarchalism in the German family any more numerous than in most other European countries. German anti-Semitism, according to Professor Lowie, "viewed comparatively . . . loses its unique character, except in so far as every phenomenon in the universe has some individual features." In the briefest of his sections, "The Germans and Democracy," he stresses the fact that many Germans joined the Nazi movement from idealistic motives and then found it impossible to leave. As for democracy, the author says: "I consider it possible—I shall not put it more strongly—that Germans will achieve democracy of a sort, not through alien imposition, but by the democratic faith of its working class and an as yet only moderately large group of intellectuals."

As may be gathered from this brief survey, Professor Lowie takes issue with or tries to refute many of the more commonly held generalizations about the Germans. He does so with a genuine effort at objectivity and with an impressive array of interesting material. To this reviewer, however, the evidence presented is not always sufficient to warrant the above conclusions. As a corrective to some of the more one-sided and oversimplified treatments of the "German Problem," this book

can serve a useful purpose, and as such its modest title is well chosen. But at the same time by denying that Germany differs in any fundamental respect from other Continental powers, the book may tend to discourage the hopeful efforts among some German intellectuals at understanding and thus bridging the gap between Germany and the West, a gap of which the historian is probably more aware than the anthropologist.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

NORGE I BRENNPUNKTET: FRA FORHISTORIEN TIL 9. APRIL 1940. Bind I, HANDELSKRIGEN 1939-40. By Nils Ørvik. (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum Forlag for Den Krigshistoriske Avdeling. 1953. Pp. 384.)

WHAT is intended to be the definitive history of the Norwegian phase of World War II is now being published by Johan Grundt Tanum in Oslo and will upon completion comprise no less than twenty volumes. To this huge work will be added two introductory volumes by Dr. Nils Ørvik on Norwegian policy during the so-called "phony war"; one of these will deal with the political and military aspects, while the other one, published last year under the above title, is devoted to Norwegian shipping and trade policies during the same period. The author, a young Norwegian political scientist, received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin and has published a valuable study entitled *The Decline of Neutrality, 1914-1941*.

The opening chapters of the present work discuss the plans formulated by Norwegian governments of the interwar period to make the country as self-sufficient as possible in a general war. The body of the book, however, is a succinct account of what actually was done during the months of Norway's neutrality. Tripartite negotiations were begun by the Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs, first with the British government about the use of the large Norwegian merchant marine in Allied trade and transport, again with Great Britain about Norwegian-British and Norwegian-German trade, and lastly, between Norway and Germany about the continuation of their trade in wartime.

The Norwegian government, sympathizing with the Allied cause, did not wish to prevent the British from securing control of a major portion of the Norwegian merchant fleet, but it was far from averse to the idea that it might be able to obtain a more satisfactory trade agreement by using the fleet as a lever in the bargaining process; the way had already been prepared through emergency legislation transferring the fleet from the control of the private owners to the Norwegian government. A tonnage agreement with England was signed as early as November 11, 1939, while workable compromises were still being sought whereby Norway would be allowed to continue her vital trade with both sides. Agreements were finally entered into with Germany on February 20, 1940, and with Great Britain on March 11, 1940, of which the latter, in spite of some hard bargaining in the beginning, gave the Norwegians surprisingly favorable terms.

There is no doubt that these negotiations and agreements demonstrated the fervent hope of the Norwegian government that both Germany and England would gain so much by Norway's neutral status that it might be maintained indefinitely. The British leniency, on the other hand, was occasioned, in Dr. Ørvik's opinion, by the Finnish-Russian War and the British plans for intervention.

The author contends that the Germans in January-February, 1940, contemplated using the Norwegian-British tonnage agreement as an excuse for their imminent invasion of Norway; they were, of course, later furnished with a considerably better pretext by the British mine-laying in Norwegian territorial waters. The claim is also made by the author that Germany had obtained such a favorable trade agreement with Norway on February 20 that she was fully compensated for the British control of Norwegian ships. This statement does seem, at least to the present reviewer, highly questionable.

Dr. Ørvik has based his work primarily on Norwegian official and private archives, as well as correspondence and conversations with many of the principals; it is regrettable that he has not been able to consult relevant British documents and other sources, although he has used material found in W. N. Medlicott's *The Economic Blockade*. Dr. Ørvik's detailed and objective résumé of the shipping and trade negotiations, however, conveys a real sense of the dilemma of a small neutral and gives the reader fresh insight into the problems attendant to the maintenance of neutrality. The solid and realistic appraisal of men and events, which characterizes this book, makes it a substantial contribution to the literature on recent Norwegian history and on economic warfare during the last war.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

ERIK J. FRIIS

THE RISE OF THE BALTIC QUESTION. By *Walther Kirchner*. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, Number Three.] (Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 283.)

THE omnipresent Baltic Question, as Professor Kirchner defines it, has continually exerted an influence on European history. Three significant modern crisis eras (1557-1582, 1701-1721, 1917-1919) are easily marked, the first of which has been chosen by Professor Kirchner, who concludes that it shaped and influenced the others directly and disastrously. Regionally the Baltic Question applies to the area between the old border of Lithuania and Latvia, northward to the Estonian Soviet frontier, and east vaguely into Russia as far as Knights could push it and vicissitudes permitted. Some million and a half inhabitants and four sizable and commercially important cities were within this area. Commerce centered either in Riga or Reval, with the former having the greater share of East Baltic trade, but in the sixteenth century no trade could enable the Knights to develop strengths either in leadership, economy, or politics to defend themselves against rapacious and lusty rivals. Thus Denmark, Poland, Sweden, and Russia contested for pos-

session, and the Empire, France, England, and the Dutch were eagerly interested spectators. But the importance of the sixteenth-century era of crisis applies mainly to nascent powers whose strengths were not quite great enough for Baltic hegemony, and who pillaged and ravaged more than they possessed.

Diplomatic intricacies of the Baltic Question have long needed exploration and Professor Kirchner, with his linguistic abilities, makes profitable use of printed and manuscript sources from a variety of origins: Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Polish, Russian, and French. Sources from the Danish and Swedish archives are especially significant, both for delineation of policies of these two powers and for East-West relations. In some few instances, however, citations to these documents might have been clearer (cf. p. 128, n. 17; p. 132, n. 30, etc.) and Ingvar Anderson's splendid biography of Erik XIV might have been used more profitably. Other points of criticism are likewise minute. Why, for example, stress Archangel's importance as a sea route to Russia early in the book only to correct this misinterpretation on pages 249-51?

Minute criticisms do not detract from the monograph's real value. Professor Kirchner has stressed what needed emphasis and has focused our attention on an exceedingly important European "trouble spot." Of appendix, index, and bibliography only critical approval can be given.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

CHALLENGE IN EASTERN EUROPE: TWELVE ESSAYS. Edited by C. E. Black. Foreword by Joseph C. Grew. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 276. \$4.00.)

THE tens of millions of people who live east of the Stettin-Trieste line are still for most of the West, as for the late Neville Chamberlain, "people of whom we know nothing." The purpose of this book is evidently to reduce this deficiency as well as to contribute to scholarship. The authors, almost every one of whom either is a former national of some eastern European country or has studied one of these countries more intensively than its neighbors, have nevertheless taken a common subject matter and have divided it topically, with the guidance of the editor. In this manner each writer contributes his particular insights without losing perspective. Of course each reader will have his own views on the symposium type of volume, but this one approaches a high standard.

The book begins and ends with an essay by the editor. Professor Black first interprets the main features of recent East European history, ending with a challenge to the exiles for positive leadership for the future. Hubert Ripka (Czechoslovak) defends the liberal tradition in East Europe. Professor Arnold J. Zurcher, without confining his essay to the region, deals ably with the reasons for Fascist and Communist accession to power. Former Prime Minister Mikołajczyk

of Poland discusses the meaning of "people's democracy" in propaganda and practice, and includes a useful caution about policy toward Tito. Ladislav Feierabend (Czechoslovak) writes on "Land Reform and Agricultural Improvement." Branko M. Peselj (Hungarian) outlines "Peasantism: Its Ideology and Achievements." Professor Geza Teleki (Hungarian) explains the industrial and cultural policies of interwar governments; Jan H. Wszelaki (Polish) sketches those policies of postwar Communist governments. Professor Henry L. Roberts carefully interprets interwar international relations, avoiding the twin pitfalls of what he terms the "Popular Frontist" and the "Retrospective Vindicationist" views. Jacob B. Hoptner presents a sound analysis of the treaty system of the Soviet orbit within a broader context. Professor Karl W. Deutsch surveys the factors which have given us the epithet "balkanization" and discusses prospects for a future regional federation. Professor Black's closing essay comments on "containment" and "liberation" as they relate to East Europe. He also poses the challenge with which the title is concerned, which is one to the American people to undertake a more informed and dynamic foreign policy across the Iron Curtain.

Since the longest essay is only twenty-five pages, there is not room to develop themes fully, and this fact may also have contributed to the cramped and jerky style of more than one section.

It would be profitable to discuss at length a number of individual issues raised in this volume. Here it may only be remarked that the lightning blows of the recent past lie heavy on the shoulders of several of the authors. A few have sketched reasonable pictures of what things still may be like; fewer indicate upon what social and cultural foundations the desired changes might build. In this connection Dr. Peselj's essay, though not the most polished of the twelve, deserves special praise. However brilliant may be our diplomacy or propaganda, they are unlikely to make the fullest impact unless they take into account the attitudes and aspirations of the peasants of East Europe.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

THE PROPHET ARMED: TROTSKY, 1879-1921. By *Isaac Deutscher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 540. \$6.00.)

HAVING produced a biography of Stalin, Mr. Deutscher is now engaged in preparing a two-volume study of Trotsky, after which he promises to do a life of Lenin. The task he has set himself is less formidable than it might seem, for one cannot sketch the life of any one of these men without amassing a fund of knowledge about the other two, so closely entwined were their public careers.

The first volume on Trotsky, carrying him to the pinnacle of his fortunes and foreshadowing, in the final chapter, his descent to a bloody grave, is a well-informed, well-organized, and exceptionally well-written book. The author has proceeded in easy chronological fashion, keeping just the right balance between Trotsky's personality, his thought, and his actions, so that the reader is continually

refreshed and never bored. One can see that a professional has written this book, and not a professor. Deutscher's characterizations are excellent, his analyses frequently so, and there are passages conceived and executed in the grand historical style.

An effort to restore Trotsky's fame is unnecessary as far as the specialist is concerned, and yet it is needed, after the prodigious efforts of the Stalinist school of distortion. Trotsky comes rehabilitated from Deutscher's hands though not whitewashed by any means. The attributes are developed on the wings of which he soared to greatness, but also the foibles and weaknesses that dragged him back to earth. Such are his sympathies with his subject, however, that Deutscher deals sadly with Trotsky's shortcomings and strives to round off the harsh and angular features of his character. He cannot bring himself to admit what he knows very well: that Trotsky, for all his versatile genius, was a child compared to Machiavelli in his understanding of human affairs.

Few errors and only one big distortion appear in this careful study. The Vyborg Manifesto followed the dissolution of the first, not the second, Duma, and the Mensheviks could not have polled half the votes in the Petersburg election of May, 1917, for the simple reason that they had a joint ticket with the Social Revolutionaries. Other errors must be attributed to prejudice rather than to oversight. Within the circle of his sympathies, Deutscher is strictly objective. But when he steps outside that circle to deal with the opponents of the October Revolution, his objectivity is strained and sometimes collapses. In his treatment of the extinction of the Menshevik republic of Georgia and the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, he is more the subtle propagandist than the historian. And in some of his references to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, not to speak of the Constitutional Democrats, the tsar, the Duma, and Witte, there is scarcely a pretense of objectivity. (Illustrations can not be given here for lack of space.)

A scholar with Marxist leanings invariably stumbles when he comes to the agrarian problem. Deutscher is no exception. In his narrative the problem does not receive its due weight nor does it appear in its true light. He gives only the surface reasons for measures taken against the peasantry, while ignoring the deeper-lying Bolshevik strategy of splitting and paralyzing the allied class in order to leave the proletariat (or its vanguard) with a monopoly of political power. He prefers to seek the cause of the drying up of the wells of Soviet democracy in the identification of the party with the state (p. 336) or in some other derivative phenomenon instead of in the simple circumstance that a minority serving solely the proletariat had seized control of a great agrarian country and could maintain itself in power only by a resort to terrorism or by renouncing the Byzantine rigidity of its dogma and espousing the cause of the peasantry as well as the proletariat. Deutscher's hero was as little willing as other Bolsheviks to follow the second course, and so he died in a distant land with a pick-axe in his brain.

While the author does not represent Trotsky as the friend of the peasantry,

and repeats his prophetic analysis of the helplessness of that class, he does conceal the depths of his subject's antagonism for the independent tiller of the soil. When Stalin depicted Trotsky as the enemy of the peasantry, he for once was not lying. He lied only when he depicted himself as their friend. And nothing in Deutscher's forthcoming and final volume on Trotsky will be more interesting than what he says, or fails to say, about what went on in Trotsky's mind as he sat in exile and watched Stalin do to the peasants everything that he, Trotsky, had only intended to do.

Hoover Library

OLIVER HENRY RADKEY

THE DYNAMICS OF SOVIET SOCIETY. By *W. W. Rostow*, in Collaboration with Alfred Levin, and with the assistance of others at the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1953. Pp. xvi, 282. \$3.95.)

HOW RUSSIA IS RULED. By *Merle Fainsod*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 11.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 575. \$7.50.)

A STUDY OF BOLSHEVISM. By *Nathan Leites*, Social Science Research Staff, The Rand Corporation. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1953. Pp. 639. \$6.50.)

THESE three studies examine political power in the Soviet Union as viewed and developed by the Bolsheviks, to the end of clearer guidance of American policy toward the Soviet Union. Each differs, however, in emphasis and approach. Though none is intended as a history, each utilizes historical data and seeks to find an understanding of present-day Soviet politics in the history of Russia and Bolshevism.

An economic historian, not a Russian specialist, and thus an uncommitted outsider, Mr. Rostow was asked by the Center for International Studies to summarize and integrate the findings of a large number of specialists on Russia. His interpretation is one which the specialists characterize as "a useful approximation," ably done. I concur.

In depicting how the various parts of Soviet society have moved in relation to one another Mr. Rostow deals primarily with the elements of political power in the Soviet Union and their interaction with nonpolitical factors rather than with the interaction on each other of all dynamic elements in Soviet society. He poses two questions: (1) What determines Soviet policy at home and abroad? (2) What are the prospects for change in Soviet society? The crux of his answer to the first question is the overriding importance to the Bolsheviks of the preservation and maximizing of their political power. Their crucial decisions, whether in retreat or advance, have always given priority to the short-run considerations of retention of power rather than to the long-run objectives of Marxian ideology and the proletarian revolution. The second question he can answer less surely, but he does see prospects of change: a major upheaval if the Soviet leadership can not

solve the succession problem; minor modifications toward widening areas of autonomy and policy formulation for the branches of the bureaucracy if the succession problem is contained.

Mr. Fainsod covers much the same territory as does Mr. Rostow and more, and in considerably more detail. His aim is "to analyze the physiology, as well as the anatomy, of Soviet totalitarianism and to communicate a sense of the living political processes in which the Soviet rulers and subjects are enmeshed." He begins with a historical analysis of the forces and factors that produced the Bolshevik revolution and transformed its character once power had been achieved. He then turns to the structure and role of the party in theory and practice. His exposition becomes in effect a documentation of Trotsky's classic observation in 1904 that in Lenin's view "the organization of the Party takes the place of the Party itself; the Central Committee takes the place of the organization; and finally the dictator takes the place of the Central Committee." Mr. Fainsod makes clear that the present totalitarian regime in Russia stems almost inevitably from Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and from his decisions of 1917 and after. Stalin did not distort Lenin's revolution; he carried it to its logical conclusion, ruthlessly and masterfully. The book next examines the other instruments of rule—the Constitution and hierarchy of Soviets, the bureaucracy, the police, and the armed forces. The last part deals with the impact of Soviet controls on factory and farm, the tensions they create, and concludes with an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet system.

Impressed more by the practice than the theory of the Soviet power scheme and concerned with its evolution, Mr. Fainsod makes his study less of a schematic description of the Soviet political structure than do Harper and Thompson and Towster in their earlier studies. Moreover, he had the opportunity of drawing upon the wealth of material derived from careful interviewing of Soviet refugees. This study, solid and highly competent, should take its place, if it has not already done so, as a leading work in its field.

Mr. Leites attempts to portray that aspect of the spirit of the Bolshevik elite which constitutes its conceptions of political strategy, its operational code. He confines himself, however, to an analysis of doctrine, which analysis he restricts in turn primarily to the entire recorded verbal production of Lenin and Stalin—this to the end of more accurate prediction of Politburo behavior. Judging by the numerous qualifications he attaches to his method and to his conclusions, one must conclude that he found himself with a difficult task.

Through some twenty chapters he notes the many facets of thought and attitude which can be said to embody the Bolshevik operational code. His presentation is essentially enumerative, which makes for choppy reading and difficulty in sustaining interest. Quotations occupy as much space as his text. Though the ratio of effort to results seems unusually high, it must be conceded that Mr. Leites has produced additional insight into the outlook and mental processes of the Bolshevik leadership. This is most clearly seen in his introductory chapter on

the Politburo and the West. Perhaps the fairest judgment of this book is to say that it pioneered its way across a broad desert only to find something less than the Garden of Eden on the other side.

University of California, Los Angeles

RAYMOND H. FISHER

Far Eastern History

THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA: THE FOUNDERS OF MODERN INDIA.

By Philip Woodruff. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. 402. \$5.00.)

THIS is a remarkable and delightful book, remarkable because of the extraordinary insight with which a complex and controversial subject is treated, delightful because of a felicitous and lively style which makes it a pleasure to read. Mr. Woodruff's colleagues among the retired members of the Indian Civil Service are indeed to be congratulated on their choice of a historian of the Indian services; the second volume, to be entitled *The Guardians*, carrying the story from 1858 to 1947, will be eagerly awaited. Mr. Woodruff's method is biographical, and not the least of its merits is the bringing forth from obscurity of many British administrators in India who have long deserved a better fate. Among these are: Henry Verelst, "the first of the district officers and the first of the revenue officers" as political empire began (p. 119); Jonathan Duncan, humanitarian, incorruptible governor of Bombay for sixteen years, 1795-1811; Robert Bird, who struggled for seven years, 1833-1840, to define the property rights of 23,000,000 people in the then Northwest Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) recording "the separate possession, rights, privileges, and liabilities of the members of those communities who hold their land in severalty, and the several interests of those who hold their land in common" (p. 296); and Herbert Edwardes, who tamed Wazir and Bannuchi alike and brought peace and order in the late 1840's to a turbulent part of the Punjab. Beyond these, we have new, fresh, and informed judgments on the great figures of Anglo-Indian history from the days of William Hawkins to those of the Lawrences. Yet the book is no mere series of biographical sketches. It is a thoughtful assessment of the British connection with India, illumined by these human stories. The flag is not blatantly waved, and Indian readers who do not respond to the author's profound knowledge of India and his care not to ignore the seamier side of the story while naturally emphasizing the good will surely be few.

The discussion of the Mutiny is especially notable. The story is told with much feeling, but with every attempt to be objective and to gloss over none of its unpleasant aspects. Rather, however, than dwell on the "savagery on both sides," Mr. Woodruff seeks to throw further light on the whole episode. He has carefully investigated the possibility that many army officers were attempting to convert the sepoys to Christianity. He concludes that there was more of this than

previous writers on the subject have realized. Reflecting upon his own experience as a district officer, he feels that students of the Mutiny have overlooked the most serious consequence of Dalhousie's annexation of Oudh in 1856. As long as Oudh was a princely state, sepoy recruits from Oudh could have their grievances, whether justifiable or not, directly redressed by the British Resident, who simply told the Oudh minister concerned to grant a sepoy's request. Once Oudh was annexed, the Oudh sepoys, who formed the most important element in the Bengal Army, had to lay their grievances before British district officers in their home districts who were obliged to investigate thoroughly before granting such petitions. Likewise out of the author's administrative experience comes the clearest brief exposition of the conditions under which land has been held in India, and of Indian revenue systems, Mogul as well as British, which has come to this reviewer's attention.

Mistakes in fact in Mr. Woodruff's work, such as the attribution of too saintly a character to Charles Grant (p. 179), are extraordinarily few. His touch is naturally less sure on those aspects of his theme which are not close to his own background and experience. He pays little or no attention to aspects of modern Indian and British economic history which lie behind so many of these colorful and vivid careers. One might sometimes think that in paternalism and trusteeship lies the full explanation of British activity in India. The economic revolution in the relationship between Britain and India in the period 1760-1840 is hardly mentioned. However, it was not Mr. Woodruff's purpose to cover this side of the story. He is raising an enduring monument to a small and gallant company, seldom over a thousand strong at any one time, who administered modern India until 1947.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

TRADE AND DIPLOMACY ON THE CHINA COAST: THE OPENING OF THE TREATY PORTS, 1842-1854. In two volumes. By *John King Fairbank*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volumes LXII, LXIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 489; 88. \$7.50).

LIKE most of Fairbank's scholarly works, this study and its separate volume of notes and data are solid additions to the edifice of Western historical scholarship on China. Over the past twenty years the author has worked in Chinese, Japanese, and Western sources to piece together one of the most intricate puzzles in modern history. Fairbank has shown concretely in this study, more than in any other work that comes to mind, how the Western and Chinese traditions merged to produce the treaty-port arrangements finally completed *ca.* 1860. In the past this story has been told almost exclusively from Western sources.

The first section, dealing with "China's unpreparedness for Western contact," is both the most stimulating and most controversial part of the work. In setting the problem of China's "response to the West," the author stresses the importance

of understanding "the traditional role of the barbarian in Chinese society" (p. 7). To those acquainted with Fairbank's earlier essays, this is not an unexpected theme.

The author's description of the eclipse of tribute by trade in the Ch'ing era is one of his pithiest sections. His absorption with the so-called Manchu-Chinese "dyarchy" seems to the reviewer less fruitful and infinitely more questionable. The distinctions drawn between the Chinese and Manchu hierarchies certainly are valid; to contend, however, that there was "no use in any measure which might benefit the country but destroy the dynasty" (p. 42) is to make the break between the Chinese and the dynasty overly sharp and antagonistic. I would, however, subscribe to his more moderate statement that Manchu foreign policy "was strongly colored by the fact that the Manchu empire embraced a good deal more than China proper" (p. 42).

The section devoted to the first treaty settlement is a masterly assessment and synthesis of numerous older and more recent Western and Oriental monographs. Both in this section and in those that follow, the role of the opium trade is carefully sketched and related to the legitimate enterprises of the Westerners and the Chinese. The designation of Ch'i-ying's policy of barbarian-management as "appeasement" (chap. vii) is somewhat out of harmony with the author's more judicious statement that "his [Ch'i-ying's] aim was to fit the novel relations with Britain into the orthodox framework of the Chinese imperial system" (p. 105). Fairbank, unlike many who have written on the subject before, faces squarely the opium problem in all its ramifications, and concludes that the failure to legalize the traffic in 1843 "split the foreign trade of China into two parts, legal and illegal" (p. 151). In the following chapters on the inter-treaty period he is able to illustrate repeatedly how this indecisive settlement contributed to the growth of friction.

The story, complex as it was before 1845, became even more involved with the steady deterioration of Manchu authority and the outbreak at mid-century of domestic revolt. Fairbank shows clearly the role of the Chinese (especially the Cantonese) in helping the foreigners break into the coastal interport trade. He relates the growth of piracy to domestic unrest, and the spread of domestic unrest to the foreign trade. Peking's ineptness, as well as the ambitions of the foreign traders, entered into the gradual "Cantonization" of the trade at Shanghai, and this, in turn, contributed to the imperial government's inability to manage the Taiping rebels. Out of this chaos Fairbank shows how the foreign inspectorate of customs painfully emerged in 1854 as part of a general solution "which gave special privileges to all foreign nations in China and yet . . . stopped short of the dismemberment or actual foreign administration of the country" (p. 371).

The conclusion seeks to depict in general the Chinese view of the treaty system. Fairbank suggests that for China it "supplanted the tribute system as a device for incorporating the foreigner into the universal [Chinese] state" (p. 465). So viewed, the treaty-port system becomes the joint creation of China and the

Western powers, even though matters, both Chinese and foreign, soon got beyond the control of Peking.

University of Chicago

DONALD F. LACH

THE DUTCH COLONIAL SYSTEM IN THE EAST INDIES. By J. J. van Klaveren, Lecturer of Economics, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (The Hague: the Author, Van Nijenrodestraat 88. 1953. Pp. 212. \$4.00.)

THIS book is essentially a description of Dutch economic policy in Indonesia, and especially of agrarian policy, from the period of the Dutch East India Company to the outbreak of the Second World War. The author follows a chronological approach, with the result that basic and recurring economic problems in Indonesia, such as the question of rural indebtedness, factors making for low productivity and population pressure, often do not receive detailed consideration. Moreover, the analysis of Dutch policies in the last fifty years is scanty compared to the extensive description given to the efforts at a reform of agrarian production in the years 1818-1870. The chief value of the book lies precisely in its treatment of policy in these early decades of the nineteenth century (chapters XII through XVI), a merit which is the greater because the English-speaking student has only a few, and then often inadequate, studies of these years in Dutch-Indonesian relations at his disposal.

Unfortunately Mr. van Klaveren's study is marred by errors in interpretation and in fact, by highly debatable subjective assertions, and by an apparent unfamiliarity with standard studies dealing with the detailed ramifications of his subject, an unfamiliarity which often invalidates his conclusions. For example, notwithstanding the increasing popularity among Indonesian scholars of the work and views of J. C. van Leur, the author still tells us that the Hinduization of Indonesia "was brought about by merchants and colonists" (p. 16), a theory which van Leur and his followers have pretty well exploded. On page 20 and again on page 195 the author informs us that only on a domanial system of land tenure could a structure of feudalism arise and that the Indonesian empires on the islands beyond Java lacked a territorial foundation. These assertions betray a rather grievous lack of knowledge of the ethnology of indigenous Indonesian cultures. Mr. van Klaveren holds that the economy of the islands beyond Java was "mercantile and mobile, a real money economy." In contrast Java had a "more natural economy" (p. 174). Such generalizations are dangerously misleading, for they ignore the overwhelmingly greater area of the islands beyond Java with a non- or undeveloped money economy, the far more intensive penetration of money economy in Java, as the island that was first occupied and most fully developed by the Dutch, and the danger of selecting money, in a given economy, as opposed to an economy based on *natura*, as a criterion of distinctive economic spheres in Indonesia.

Further examples of inadequate information and statements showing a lack

of historical perspective could be made concerning Mr. van Klaveren's work if space permitted. Suffice it to say that the bibliography is at best spotty, even for those phases of agrarian policy to which the author evidently has given the greatest attention. He has, for instance, ignored the valuable works by Platteel, Knibbe, Oranje, Boon, Zwart, and many others who have specialized in the nineteenth-century period of colonial Indonesia. Mention is made of Fischer's views on voluntary birth control, but the cogent criticisms of Fischer's views by van der Leeden are lacking; nor has the author tapped the immense riches in such periodicals as *Koloniale Studien*, *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* and the more recent *Indonesië*.

Michigan State College

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5404.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. xci, 1012. \$4.50.)

APART from a few items concerning the proposed revision of the 1920 treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and Siam, the rest of the diplomatic papers in this volume all relate to the Far Eastern crisis (pp. 1-458) and miscellaneous topics concerning China (pp. 459-705) and Japan (pp. 706-993). The papers dealing with the Far Eastern crisis are presented in chronological order; the others are grouped under fourteen topics for China and nine for Japan. An index, which like those of preceding years is not entirely satisfactory, completes the volume.

The greatest interest naturally attaches to those papers dealing with the Far Eastern crisis, and particularly with the gathering clouds of the war which was to break out in the following year. In the very first paper of the collection, a dispatch of January 6 from the chairman of the American delegation to the London Naval Conference to the Secretary of State, the British Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Robert Leslie Craigie, is quoted as saying that China and Japan were actively engaged in negotiating a nonaggression pact and that it seemed probable such an agreement would be reached in the near future. Three days later, in reply to an inquiry from Cordell Hull on this matter, our ambassador in China, Nelson T. Johnson, said he had heard no hint of any proposal for a nonaggression pact and expressed himself as "extremely doubtful that the Sino-Japanese controversy can be reduced to such a simple formula as that suggested by Craigie."

Johnson's reply countering Craigie's estimate of Sino-Japanese relations is typical of the generally excellent diplomatic reporting of what was once a corps of able foreign service officers in China. To be sure there is nothing particularly new in the volume as a whole, for the substance of what is reported here was also reported in the press and the academic journals of the time. This detracts nothing

ing from the credit due to the diplomatic officials. It adds, rather, to the stature of the now-decimated body of journalists and scholars who devoted their attention to the Far East in the thirties.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN DE FRANCIS

ZAIBATSU DISSOLUTION IN JAPAN. By *T. A. Bisson*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 314. \$5.00.)

THIS is a careful analysis of one of the major reforms of the American occupation of Japan: the reduction of the inordinate economic power concentrated in a few industrial and banking combinations and the substitution of "a competitive, private enterprise economy." Drawing on first-hand experience in the occupation and his past studies of Japan's economy, Mr. Bisson surveys comprehensively the published records (nine key documents are included as appendixes) of this important phase of the occupation. The resulting account is clearly written, well documented, and balanced in analysis.

The *zaibatsu*, the giant economic combines which have been the dominant feature of Japan's economic life since its development as a modern state, were tagged for dissolution and deconcentration for their unduly monopolistic position and their association with the military expansion of Japan. After a brief statement of the guiding principles of the occupation's economic reforms and a succinct description of the evolution and complex nature of the *zaibatsu*, Mr. Bisson weighs the alternative plans which might have been pursued in accomplishing the desired end. Although the author favors the case for nationalizing Japan's key industries over the dissolution program finally adopted, he admits that "given the controlling American influence in the occupation, no other decision on economic reorganization in Japan could have been expected."

Mr. Bisson's answer to the question, Did the effort to dissolve and deconcentrate the *zaibatsu* succeed? is gloomy indeed. The major portion of this attractively printed book is an analysis of the steps taken in the surgical operation on the monopoly situation. Of the four important measures taken to dissolve the holding companies and redistribute the stock ownership, deconcentrate the massive combine subsidiaries, purge the personnel of the *zaibatsu* monopolies, and enact legislation raising barriers against the return of the old system, only the first and part of the second, the author concludes, achieved any substantial success. Indeed, the "massive process of reconcentration" in the last few years has led him to the conclusion that only the "legal restrictions against the holding company represented in 1952 the final obstacle to an outright reconstitution of the combines." The watering down of economic reforms was undoubtedly a by-product of the United States's revaluation of the world situation in the face of the communist menace in Europe and Asia. This reappraisal gave Japan a role in the "cold war" which required its economic integration to be conserved and a limit placed

on decentralization. This primary cause for braking the economic reforms has not been neglected by Mr. Bisson but it needs greater emphasis.

It is important that the occupation of Japan be subjected to more careful scrutiny with greater historical perspective. A variety of general evaluations have already been attempted but the definitive account remains to be written. Evaluations focused on the promise and goals of the occupation have generally been pessimistic about the performance whereas reports focused on what could reasonably have been expected under the historical circumstances tend to be cautiously optimistic. General accounts will improve, however, only as more detailed studies of limited aspects of the occupation are produced. Mr. Bisson has made a major contribution in this direction.

Northwestern University

ROGER F. HACKETT

American History

HARVARD GUIDE TO AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Oscar Handlin, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Samuel Eliot Morison, Frederick Merk, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., and Paul Herman Buck*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 689. \$10.00.)

SEVENTEEN years behind schedule, the slow freight at last pulls into the witch yard with three members of the original crew and as many recruits picked up along the way. Early or late, the student will be glad of its arrival. Organized along the general style of its predecessor but about twice as large, the *Harvard Guide* also has a wider coverage than the Channing, Hart, and Turner *Guide* of 1912, particularly in the inclusion of materials relating to social and intellectual history. This is enough praise for any bibliography.

The student, though fully aware of the high degree of selectivity and condensation required in the compilation of the manual, still may find himself amazed both at what is included and what is excluded. For instance, I was a little puzzled at finding in the index under "Labor: . . . farm," a reference only to the period of the New Deal; and on page 211 under works on special subjects, agriculture, nothing for the period since 1860 except books on cattle and tobacco. But, on the other hand, I was pleased to find many further references to agriculture in later pages.

The first 246 pages comprise five chapters, including sixty-six essays dealing with methods, resources, and general materials. There is much good writing in those chapters, though in section 32, for instance, there is some lack of grace in expression, a certain degree of crotchetyness, and some confusion in terminology. For example, on page 100 "tilde" is used in place of the correct "macron" and there is an implication that a garble is the same as a bowdlerization; and on page 101 the reader is jarred by the statement that "The editor . . . leaves others

as is." But who would begrudge an author his little whimsies? One could also point out that Berry's translation of Langlois and Seignobos, mentioned on page 25, was published in 1898 (the date given for the French publication), that there has been no revised edition, and that Berry's original errors remain in the imprint of 1925.

But it is unnecessary to stress the relatively insignificant slips of various sorts. The big thing in a book of this sort is the index, which fills 143 pages and yet is not too long. In general, it is admirable, though the student will sometimes have to search diligently for what he is seeking. Perhaps this is inevitable, but I would suggest that entries such as "This Man Willkie" and "*History of [London] Times*" will not be found under *W*, *L*, or *T*. It is likewise disturbing to find after the entry *London Times, Official Index*, the note *See also Times*; to look for *Times* on page 675; and find there only *Times-Picayune*. But again, mercifully, such puzzles are not frequent. Also, it is discomfiting to find only one reference to sanitation, and that for the years 1820-1860 when sanitary measures were but slightly considered. The listing of authors and titles of books in the index could have been greatly improved, at little expense and without materially increasing its length, by giving citations to each reference, instead of only the first. In fact, Stillé's *Sanitary Commission* really *is* entered twice, once as a source and again as a special monograph, and, contrary to the policy stated in the preface, the second citation is the fuller of the two. The single listing in almost all cases does serve one good purpose. When the reader stumbles on a later citation and wants full bibliographical data, the index tells where to find it.

The suggestions made above are intended mainly for the help of students who probably will never read this review, and in the hope that they will make an excellent book still more useful. Finally, it is a great comfort to those of us who never can get anything in print exactly correct, to find that six prominent scholars, after seventeen years of overtime work, could not entirely escape the same fate. This fact in itself should be a stimulus to research.

University of Illinois

FRED A. SHANNON

CHARLES A. BEARD: AN APPRAISAL. Edited by *Howard K. Beale*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1954. Pp. x, 312. \$4.50.)

BEARD did not make it easy for those who would honor him. It is indisputable that his prestige was far higher ten or twelve years before his death in 1948 than it has been since. Ever the pamphleteer, he persisted in his "continentalism" (i.e., isolationism) a full decade beyond the point where it had any meaning for most Americans. The editor of this memorial volume notes that among the participants "those who disagreed with the point of view of his last two books were more numerous than those who shared Beard's intellectual position" (p. v). Yet Beard's remarkable accomplishments in the broad fields of politics and his-

orography deserve commemoration. It is surely proper to ask that a man be judged upon the basis of the whole of his life work.

This *Festschrift* consists of twelve "Beard-centered" essays and a bibliography of Beard's published works and of the principal writings about him. The essays are, for the most part, by leaders in the several fields in which Beard was interested. A good deal of overlapping and duplication, as well as a very marked unevenness in quality, was inevitable in a work such as this. Outstandingly good are three essays: Richard Hofstadter on Beard and the Constitution, Max Lerner on Beard's political theory, and Arthur Macmahon on Beard as a teacher. The late Harold Laski's view of Beard is interesting, more perhaps for what it tells us about Laski than for what it tells us about Beard. Eric Goldman's "An Impression" is disappointing because of its lack of substance. Other essays are Beale on Beard the historian, Merle Curti on Beard the historical critic, George S. Counts on Beard the public man, George R. Leighton on Beard's foreign policy pronouncements, George Soule on Beard's ideas on social planning, and Luther Gulick on Beard the municipal reformer. In a class all by itself is Walton Hamilton's "Fragments from the Politics," a deliberately manufactured collection of hunks of political thought, all the more irritating because some of them are interesting beginnings, middles, or ends. The most notable omission is a study of Beard's philosophy of history.

Except for the inexcusable absence of an index, the book is well arranged and attractively designed. Missing from the useful bibliography of Beard's writings by Jack Froome and Edmund David Cronon are his significant introductions to Ferdinand Lundberg's *Imperial Hearst* (1936) and to Silas Bent McKinley's *Democracy and Military Power* (1936) and his essay on Frederick Jackson Turner in *Books That Changed Our Minds*, edited by Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith (1939). Careful proofreading caught almost all mistakes, although it is a bit disconcerting to find California's most famous labor prisoner called "Frank" Mooney (p. 20).

There is inevitably a great deal of reverence in this volume, probably more than "Uncle Charlie" would have wanted. Beard was a passionate character: a man of wide and genuine learning and violent prejudices (against, among others, the military, the British, and the Great Man), ever the radical (sometimes appearing to be leftist, at other times reactionary), always with something of the air of the cracker barrel philosopher about him. Max Lerner makes perhaps the truest evaluation of all: "He was largely a theorist of power in its varied and bewildering forms—the party machine, the Presidency, the pressure group, the corporation, the press, the engines of propaganda and diplomacy, the wheelings and maneuverings of power politics in the international field. . . . His basic motivation was that of a satirist who is determined to strip away the phony and pretentious, and to unmask the realities, however unlovely they may prove" (p. 45).

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT E. BURKE

MESSRS. WILLIAM PEPPERRELL: MERCHANTS AT PISCATAQUA.

By *Byron Fairchild*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1954. Pp. xi, 223. \$3.50.)

THE last fifteen years have produced so many new studies of early American business enterprise that we should soon be able to form a comprehensive picture of the whole subject unlike anything we have had before. This study of the house of Pepperrell, though more restricted in scope, is a useful addition to the investigations of other firms by Baxter, Hedges, and Pares. The first William Pepperrell was a Devon man who came to the Isles of Shoals in the 1670's. After establishing himself in the fisheries there he went on to Kittery, married the daughter of a prosperous shipwright, and became the region's leading merchant. His son, of the same name, carried on the business but gained his principal distinction (and a baronetcy) as commander of the expedition which captured Louisburg in 1745.

Through a variety of family papers and other original sources Mr. Fairchild traces the history of the family from the arrival of the first William Pepperrell at Kittery about 1680 to the departure of his great grandson as a Tory in 1775. The focus of attention is on business activities: where the Pepperrells traded, whom they traded with, what ships they owned a share in, how much they paid their seamen, and how they changed their trade routes as times changed. The reader will find a wealth of detailed information on all these matters, especially for the years from 1713 to 1733, for which there is almost a cargo-by-cargo description of the Pepperrells' ventures.

Two significant generalizations emerge from the details. The first is that the trade of the Pepperrells was seldom triangular. They traded at different times with Newfoundland, the West Indies, North Carolina, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal, but their vessels generally shuttled back and forth between Kittery and one of these places rather than making a circuit of three or more ports. The second point is that the Pepperrells were not heavily engaged in any activity that required them to break the Navigation Acts. There are only occasional instances of carrying enumerated commodities to the wrong place or of importing European goods from non-English ports. The Molasses Act they seem never to have violated, even though they had traded in molasses with the French Islands before it was passed. Since the Pepperrells were highly successful by any standards, these facts will help to shape the larger picture of colonial trade that is now developing.

Brown University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1783. By *John Richard Alden*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xviii, 294. \$5.00.)

EVERY American historian and librarian has known for some years that Harper and Brothers had in the works a new multivolume survey of American

history designed to replace the old "American Nation Series." Eagerly they have awaited, carefully they will scrutinize the first volumes to appear. Do they live up to expectations? Will they become standard? How does the new series compare with the old? Should our library order it?

Obviously it is unreasonable to assess some forty-odd yet-unpublished volumes on the basis of the one or two which by chance appear first. For whatever it may be worth, however, my prognosis for the series, based on a reading of Professor Alden's *American Revolution*, is favorable. My prediction for this particular volume is that it is destined for a long and useful life. It is soundly organized, lucidly written, cogent in analysis, judicious in interpretation, accurate and wide-ranging in scholarship.

The new book is longer by at least a third than Van Tyne's comparable volume in the earlier series. The extra space enables Professor Alden to trace the military campaigns in greater detail. It is perhaps here that he is at his best. He describes actions, analyzes strategy and tactics, assesses results, in such a way that a non-military-minded reader can follow them with understanding and interest. His maps, incidentally, are excellent. Not avowedly a "revisionist," Alden nevertheless alters some older judgments accepted by Van Tyne. He has warm things to say of General Richard Montgomery on the American side, of Sir Guy Carleton on the British. For the generalship of Washington he has measured praise; for that of Howe, temperate criticism. Declining to compare Nathanael Greene's talents with those of his commander-in-chief, he says simply, "it is unlikely that any other American general could have surpassed [Greene's] achievements in the South" (p. 236). He gives relatively little space, as compared with Van Tyne, to George Rogers Clark and the war in the west. Charles Lee comes off better than he has usually done in the past, but this is not unexpected to those who have read Mr. Alden's book on that controversial soldier. If there is a "revisionist" thesis in this book, it is the suggestion (pp. 115-16) that Trenton, not Saratoga, was the turning point of the war. British control of the Hudson-Champlain line would not necessarily have broken the back of American resistance, Alden believes, but Washington's victory at Trenton may have revived a dying cause.

The nonmilitary aspects of the Revolution are not neglected. In general, Professor Alden accepts Jameson's notion that social changes accompanied the war, but he does not exaggerate them. He describes the plight of the Loyalists, but refuses to sentimentalize them. (Incidentally, he doubts that they were as numerous as is usually held, and points out that the familiar estimate—one-third Tory, one-third patriot, one-third neutral—is based on a remark John Adams made about attitudes toward the *French*, not the American revolution!) The much-abused Continental Congress, he thinks, actually exercised more sovereignty than historians have credited it with. He is not ashamed to say that it did well in issuing the Declaration of Independence. "Far too much," he submits, has been said against "that immortal proposition that 'all men are created equal'".

Presumably one reason for projecting a "New American Nation Series" was the belief that a half-century of American historical scholarship had uncovered new facts, produced new interpretations. Professor Alden's book bears out this belief. He incorporates into his narrative, for example, some of Benjamin Franklin's recently identified letters to the British press, the "secret" marching orders received by General Gage just before the eighteenth of April, 1775, the documents on undercover diplomacy used by Carl Van Doren. He accepts the Knollenberg thesis that there was no formidable "cabal" against Washington in the winter of 1777-78, but apparently rejects the Nettels argument that George Washington was in the forefront of the movement for independence before 1776. The bibliography is extensive and usable—critical in dealing with general accounts and source collections, selective in listing biographies and monographs.

With this volume and Professor Link's on Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive era, the "New American Nation Series" is well launched.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

SWEDISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FREEDOM, 1776-1783. Including a Sketch of the Background of the Revolution Together with an Account of the Engagements in which Swedish Officers Participated and Biographical Sketches of These Men. Volume I. By *Amandus Johnson*. [The Swedes in America, 1638-1938, Part VII.] (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Foundation. 1953. Pp. xiii, 692.)

THIS is the first of two volumes dealing with America, Sweden, and the American Revolution. The interesting and individual introduction begins with Dante, encompasses early modern thought and the development of England, France, Holland, and Sweden to 1775, and ends with Abbé Raynal's *Révolution de l'Amérique*. Following is a copiously documented section on the background of the American Revolution, centering attention on the mental changes that were the real catalytic agents, rather than on the economic and political events that punctuated the path to Lexington and Concord.

The bulk of the volume, six chapters, is concerned with the Revolutionary War from 1778 to the end of 1782 (in a chapter on the East Indies, to 1783). A chapter on armed neutrality and Swedish-American trade is followed by a final one on Sweden's attempt to secure a Caribbean island and on her negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce with the new republic of the United States. The vast amount of material collected and organized reveals that very few Swedes took part in the Revolution as Americans. The greater part served in the French army and navy, a considerable number in the Dutch navy against England, some few in the Spanish navy, and perhaps a handful in the Spanish and Dutch armies in the colonial field or in Spain's futile attempt to regain Gibraltar. Since many individual Swedes sought military or naval experience, the author has found evidence for many also in the British navy, although very

few seem to have sought service with the British army. Most of those in British service seem to have gone home when France entered the war.

The old Swedish tradition of alliance with France proved conducive to a neutrality which Vergennes found highly benevolent, Sweden taking part in the sleight-of-hand work by which munitions, supplies, and matériel found their way from Europe to the thirteen struggling colonies. The official leave to "seek experience in foreign service" seems seldom to have been refused, and seldom is it followed by any notation other than "sailed from France" or "assigned to duty with" some French regiment or other. The interesting reports from Swedish participants are written from the point of view of Paris and Stockholm, not with thought of London or Philadelphia. The most valuable new material comes from the letters of Creutz, the Swedish minister to France. The volume adds much to our knowledge, chiefly reinforcing what we knew before.

The errors, most of them typographical, are quite numerous but seldom distort the meaning beyond ready discernment. The style varies from a most vivid and lively one to occasional passages of stodgy and prosaic narration, but is in general well above average in clarity. The author promises that the second volume on this period will include biographical material and cultural details. The series when completed will comprise ten volumes.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

TRAITOROUS HERO: THE LIFE AND FORTUNES OF BENEDICT ARNOLD. By *Willard M. Wallace*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xiii, 394. \$5.00.)

THE War of the Revolution is a subject, like Cleopatra, that age cannot wither nor custom stale. In recent years much new work has been done on it, and some of the best by biographers. They have re-emphasized the importance of a few key figures whose will or willfulness, and whose conflicts with each other, played as real a part as armies in determining the outcome. This revived stress on individuals was bound to produce, at a time when treason is much on the public mind, a reassessment of the war's most notorious figure; it is scarcely accident that Benedict Arnold should have found a new biographer.

It is, however, surprising that he should have found two almost simultaneously. Thomas Flexner's *The Traitor and the Spy* has already been reviewed in these pages (LIX [Apr., 1954], 724-25). It is a double biography, in which Arnold and André are joined, like Siamese twins, by the accident of their brief co-operation. Mr. Flexner draws on considerable new material, most of it in manuscript and some in his imagination, and does not always make clear where one category ends and the other begins. *Traitorous Hero* is quite different. Its single focus gives it a unity that the other book lacks. Mr. Wallace, furthermore, approaches his material more soberly; on the crucial parts of the story he has unearthed little new evidence, but where it is lacking he has the candor to say

so. What was Peggy Arnold's role in the conspiracy? What did Arnold discuss so long with André when they met, and why did he give him the fatal documents? Where Mr. Flexner gives or suggests the answers, Mr. Wallace sticks to his last—and turns out sound historical workmanship.

A biographer's greatest temptation is partiality. He cannot understand a man's character without attempting to see the world through his eyes, and the attempt usually impairs his own critical faculty. Mr. Wallace is the exception. He underlines Arnold's many and great shortcomings and shows his treason for what it was, the explosion of an egoism unrestrained by doubt or patience. He is scrupulously fair to the mediocrities, such as Gates, with whom Arnold was constantly tangling. At the same time he substantiates his conclusion (p. 103) that Arnold was "the most daring and resourceful officer on the field of battle that the Revolution produced." The general's incredible energy and will to win made him a genius in action and then, when action was denied him, rotted out his soul. The rot became apparent in the postwar years (a period for which his manuscripts have revealed much new evidence), but it had been at work long before. From the day he opened communication with Sir Henry Clinton to the day he died, a slow nemesis pursued him.

In Mr. Wallace's concluding chapter he summarizes, with great effectiveness, Arnold's place among generals and traitors. But the most arresting verdict is one that he quotes (p. 300), and the fact that he has prepared the reader to accept it is a measure of accomplishment. "I must confess," wrote Talleyrand, "that I felt much pity for him, for which political puritans will perhaps blame me, but with which I do not reproach myself, for I witnessed his agony."

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Gerald Stourzh*. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, University of Chicago.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 335. \$4.50.)

THIS book is an interpretive study of Franklin's concepts and aims in matters of foreign affairs rather than a narration of his actions and negotiations in that field. Franklin's character was as many-faceted as were his activities. The analysis of his principles and motivations is therefore a complex task. It is one that is here completed with obvious exactitude, fullness, and objectivity. The results are presented in most readable style. All sorts of unqualified statements have been made by historians, philosophers, and others concerning Franklin's guiding principles. He has been variously called, to give a few examples, the embodiment of pragmatism, the symbol of the Age of Enlightenment, the apostle of reasonableness. No one of these characterizations is fully accurate. Many of them are totally inaccurate. If one fact emerges from this book it is that no single formula can correctly categorize Franklin's thought. He appears as the complex char-

acter he was—eminently reasonable and logical, sufficiently practical to value highly both the effective action and the well-ordered thought, sufficiently understanding to make patient allowance for the shortcomings of others while still preserving his own ideals. For him the problems of foreign affairs presented multitudinous gradations of importance. He realized that great affairs do not sort themselves out conveniently into sharply defined pros and cons but that between two extremes of possible action may be many alternatives from which to choose.

Franklin's ideas on foreign policy were based upon a sharp and accurate understanding of the basic factors of international relations. He was well aware of the economic, the strategic, the demographic, the geographic, and the ideological factors of power politics. He fully understood the anarchical basis of the nation-state system, while distrusting the balance-of-power theory as a means of preserving peace. He hoped for world harmony, yet was skeptical of plans for international organization to keep the peace. He expected that world peace might one day come, but only after a long period of gradual development. On this subject he was a short-range pessimist but a long-range optimist. The "isms" of his day never captured him. Whatever they were, he saw through them to underlying realities. He possessed an almost uncanny knack of adjusting his arguments and his actions to the needs of the moment in such a way as to further the ends he sought. Yet he was neither entirely opportunist nor entirely pragmatist, for underlying all his actions was an amazing consistency of aim and purpose. He knew enough to accept half a loaf when the whole could not be had, and to bide in patience the day when the rest might come his way.

The startling success of infant America's first ventures into the wilds of eighteenth-century European diplomacy was due in large part to the finesse of Franklin. The greatest statesmen of Europe knew this and paid to Franklin the deep respect which they normally accorded only to the best of their kind.

Dr. Stourzh has traced Franklin's ideas within the framework of Franklin's actions and has provided a running review of the events in which Franklin took part. There are few narrative sources of any consequence which have not been consulted. The description of America's relations with France is accurate in all major respects. The political historian of the period who is interested primarily in the sequence of events and only to a lesser degree in the intellectual processes of their prime movers, might find occasion to differ with the author on some minor points of factual interpretation. Undue reliance seems to have been placed here and there on the conclusions of other writers without sufficiently close attention to differing points of view that might well modify the mirrored interpretation. It is a real pleasure to find Silas Deane, the much-maligned first foreign agent of the United States, receiving in this book the credit due him for his great contributions to the opening of our relations with France.

The book is fully and carefully annotated in a most helpful way. Notes are consolidated at the end of the volume. The index is adequate. This is a volume

of substantial excellence which seems for the first time to provide a satisfactorily balanced interpretation of Franklin's ideas in the field of foreign policy.

Hunter College

JOHN J. MENG

THE FOUNDING FATHERS. By *Nathan Schachner*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1954. Pp. x, 630. \$6.00.)

To avoid any confusion it must be made clear at the outset that the term "Founding Fathers," as Mr. Schachner uses it, does not refer only to those men who wrote the Constitution at Philadelphia in 1787. In his opinion the term is more properly applied to that group of gifted and extraordinary men—which included not only Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, Madison, and Monroe but also Fisher Ames, Aaron Burr, John Marshall, Gallatin, and many others—who put the newly created government on its course and brought it through the rough uncharted waters of the first twelve critical years to safety. Many of these men qualify as founding fathers by any definition, but Schachner's distinction emphasizes his estimate of the importance of the Federalist period, extending from 1789 to 1801 and covering the administrations of Washington and John Adams.

The domestic and foreign problems facing the first chief executive and the handful of men who assembled in New York in the spring of 1789 to form the first Congress were indeed staggering. They had few precedents to guide them and there was a noticeable lack of agreement on many important matters, including the meaning of the instrument of government that had brought them together. Not all the colonies had even yet ratified the Constitution. Sectional differences, economic interests, and divergent theories of government divided not only those on whom rested the responsibility for transforming, as Charles Beard said, "mere words on parchment . . . into an engine of sovereign compulsion," but also the 4,000,000 inhabitants of the infant republic. Officials had to be selected, the machinery of government created, taxes levied, trade and commerce regulated, a fiscal system established, and a host of other problems solved. "We are in a wilderness," wrote James Madison, "without a single footstep to guide us."

The way in which the founding fathers met these problems and handled the great issues that arose in the following decade—the funding of the public debt, the creation of a national bank, the Alien and Sedition Acts—is a familiar story. Inevitably, those two great protagonists, Jefferson and Hamilton, take the center of the stage; the conflict between their philosophies of government forms the main theme of the drama. On this conflict, which found political expression in the program of the Federalist and Republican parties, Mr. Schachner has little to offer that is new. But his attitude toward the Federalists, whom he views with tolerance and sympathy, is in marked contrast to the Jeffersonian emphasis in much of the recent historical literature on the period.

Schachner is at his best when dealing with individuals. Author of biographies of Jefferson, Hamilton, and Burr, he is clearly more interested in men than in institutions. Throughout the book he focuses on the men, on the human drama. Nowhere does he present systematically the philosophy, program, and achievements of the two great parties of the day. To social and economic conditions he gives only perfunctory attention; rarely does he probe their relation to the political philosophy and program of each of the emerging parties.

It has been almost thirty years since the publication of Claude G. Bowers' *Jefferson and Hamilton*, the last comprehensive survey of the Federalist period. Since then much valuable work has been done on the period, and the contributions of many of its leading figures have been reassessed. The need for a fresh survey was clear and it is this need which Mr. Schachner has sought to meet. He has been only partially successful, for *The Founding Fathers* is essentially a political narrative, focused on individuals, bare of fresh interpretations, and with an undue stress on the dramatic. It is withal a lively and readable book, one that will attract the general reader and provide the undergraduate with an up-to-date text on the critical years of the American Republic.

Washington, D.C.

LOUIS MORTON

THE ADAMS FEDERALISTS. By *Manning J. Dauer*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 381. \$6.00.)

THE Adams Federalists were those members of the Federalist party who gave allegiance, however grudgingly, to President John Adams rather than to ex-Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Professor Dauer undertakes here to find out who and what they were, and why they followed the course they did. He has analyzed votes on selected issues in the House of Representatives in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Congresses, and in the first session of the Seventh Congress, or from March, 1796, through May, 1802. He has also examined Adams' political and economic ideas, and those of some of his contemporaries, by way of background for a discussion of interparty relationships. The book is, in short, an ingenious combination of statistical analysis, political theory, biography, and political history. Altogether, the resulting study is both interesting and significant. Professor Dauer shows how the Federalist party was from the start made up of both commercial and agrarian interests, how Hamilton's policies favored the commercial group while Adams gave at least equal weight to agriculture, and how Adams' actions were conditioned by his personality and his experience. Adams emerges from Professor Dauer's study not quite so inept a politician as he has sometimes been painted (though still too inept for successful party leadership), and closer in thought to Jefferson than he was to the Hamiltonians of his own party.

It was Adams' misfortune to be President during a period of party realignment, basically economic in its underlying causes but confused by foreign pres-

tures and by domestic issues that were not always relevant. The role of political parties under the Constitution was far from clear. No such development had been anticipated, and Adams was not flexible enough to adapt himself to it when it came. He held himself, as President, to be independent of party, and so the party leadership slipped easily into the too eager hands of Hamilton. Adams had a program which was not without congressional support, but it was never a party program in the sense that men stood for or against it at the polls. He failed to make himself the leader of a party, and so those moderates who supported him in Congress drifted over to the Jeffersonians or swallowed their reservations and went along with Hamilton. The alignment was substantially complete by 1800, and Adams left office a man without a party. His failure was personal. He had not learned the essential lesson—that a President must lead a party, no matter who gets hurt, or meekly abdicate his power and evade his responsibility.

Washington, D.C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

JAMES MADISON: SECRETARY OF STATE, 1800-1809. By *Irving Brant*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. Pp. 533. \$6.00.)

THIS fourth volume by Irving Brant in his extended life of James Madison covers an important period. The peaceful revolution of 1800 had overthrown the Federalists and brought Jefferson and the Republicans into office. Begun with bright visions of Utopia, it ended lamely with the fiasco of the Embargo policy and worsened relations with foreign powers which culminated during Madison's own administration as President in the War of 1812. But there were triumphs as well as defeats during these vital years, the most notable of which was the purchase of Louisiana and the final assurance that the West would remain an integral part of the Union. In all of these Madison had his part as Secretary of State.

The current volume continues the style and point of view of the preceding three, and possesses the same virtues and defects. Mr. Brant's industry and diligence in research are astounding. He has ranged widely and deeply in the sources, and it seems hardly likely that any further important material will be unearthed on Madison. For this the world of scholarship owes him a debt of gratitude.

But this very virtue carries within it the seed of its own excess. For Mr. Brant has sometimes been too lavish with his material, going off into side paths which, however interesting, have only a tenuous connection with the onward march of his hero's story. Judicious pruning would have added considerably to the artistic unity of the whole and would have brought the completed biography to manageable proportions. But in this failing, if it is one, Mr. Brant is not alone. The trend today seems to be to multivolumed lives which cast the Victorian three-decker "life and times" into the shade.

Another fault—and again one which is shared with most modern biographers

—is that the subject of the biography is literally the “hero.” Perhaps this is a rebound from the debunking era of the twenties; but this reviewer at least is convinced that it sins equally against that rigorous impartiality toward which the historian and biographer should aim in theory. Madison was without question one of the outstanding figures of his age, and it is the duty of his biographer to portray him as such. But it goes beyond the call of duty to knock down everyone else in order to exalt the hero, to make extravagant claims for him, to depict him without a single mar or blot, as Mr. Brant has done. Madison’s role as Secretary of State was important, but he was not responsible for the purchase of Louisiana any more than Jefferson himself was. If any credit must be assigned for that tremendous acquisition, it must be allotted to the sudden and unpredictable decision of Napoleon to sell. And Gallatin, who perhaps did more to shape history during these years, is completely overshadowed in the narration.

Mr. Brant’s partisanship betrays itself sometimes in other ways. His treatment of Aaron Burr is less than accurate. In describing the contest for the presidency in 1800 he “proves” the thesis that Burr conspired to supersede Jefferson by marshaling every bit of evidence, primary, second-hand, or mere assertion, in favor of that thesis and overlooks equally weighty evidence against. Such, for example, are omissions from Congressman Bayard’s letter to Allan McLane, Federalist collector of customs, declaring “I have taken good care of you” and “I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan [of removing Federalists from office].” Similarly he builds up a case against Burr’s public renunciation by letter of December 16, 1800, because the election tie was not yet known, but omits reference to the letter of December 23 to Jefferson, when it *was*. Mr. Brant is also vehement in his attacks on Henry Adams for alleged mistranslations from the French in his famous history. Actually, these were not so much mistranslations as variants, and even if Mr. Brant’s versions be taken as correct, they do not justify the tremendous importance he attaches to them.

In spite of these specific criticisms, however, the sheer mass and research of Mr. Brant’s volumes make them the source to which all students of history must turn in the future for any extended study of Madison and his times. They will not easily be superseded.

New York, N.Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

THE BURR CONSPIRACY. By *Thomas Perkins Abernethy*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 301. \$6.00.)

It is beginning to look as though the big questions connected with the Burr Conspiracy will never be settled. After years of patient investigation which included the study of “a considerable body of largely unexplored materials,” Professor Abernethy is content to allow the facts to speak for themselves. Not that there is the slightest doubt in his mind as to the guilt of Burr and Wilkin-

son and their associates, but pinning down the exact crime at the precise moment is something else again. In any event, Burr's purposes certainly shifted with his fluctuating fortunes.

According to Abernethy, the potentialities of the conspiracy "were so portentous that . . . next to the Confederate War it posed the greatest threat of dismemberment which the American Union has ever faced." How about the crisis of 1850? The author also suggests that the Burr affair was "only a little less momentous than the acquisition of Louisiana." Here again every person is entitled to his own conclusion.

Burr's hopes rested upon an explosive spirit of disaffection in the West, particularly in New Orleans where the Creoles had considerable legal and religious causes for their animosity toward Jefferson's administration, and on the intrigues of eastern Federalists, Yazoo and other speculators, and disappointed soldiers of fortune and office seekers. Success likewise depended upon a war with Spain, help from Britain (or from high Spanish officials prepared to connive at revolution in Latin America) and treason among certain United States naval officers.

Needless to say, the British, Spaniards, and naval officers were not obliging. Western nationalism proved to be an overwhelming force. Moreover, much of Burr's apparent support depended on his assertion of backing from Washington and on his maintenance of irreconcilable purposes. Jackson could look benignly on a Mexican adventure while Yrujo did sympathize with a move to break up the Union; but, sooner or later, Burr had to declare himself and thereby turn friends into enemies. Wilkinson, "the most skilful and unscrupulous plotter this country has ever produced," wavered in his support of Burr for almost a year before his hand was forced in October, 1806.

It may be that the plot failed chiefly because Wilkinson "adhered to his turn-coat pattern with chameleon-like consistency," but it is more likely that Burr's case was hopeless before Wilkinson's defection. The general did not double-cross his fellow conspirator for no reason; his shrewd judgment in this crucial instance once more demonstrated the superior wisdom which made Burr look like a babe in arms.

The Burr Conspiracy is an unadorned, complete narrative of events from the conferences of Wilkinson and Burr in the Philadelphia home of Charles Biddle in the summer of 1804 through Burr's farcical trial and the whitewash of Wilkinson in 1807. With the exception of his tangential excursion with Zebulon Pike, the author sticks to straightening out the thousands of facts and hundreds of individuals that complicate the conspiracy. Burr remains a somewhat more shadowy figure than Wilkinson and both conspirators are subservient to the plot itself.

This last word on one of the great dramas in our history would have been vastly improved with the inclusion of a few maps and perhaps with a summary of previous findings in the controversy. But until new evidence is discovered, which seems unlikely, the spinners of theories regarding the great American

mystery must turn to Abernethy's competent and scholarly volume for the facts which mark their point of departure.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

HORACE GREELEY: NINETEENTH-CENTURY CRUSADER. By *Glyndon G. Van Deusen*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, for American Historical Association. 1953. Pp. 445. \$5.00.)

THIS biography of Horace Greeley is at times like the man himself: "suggestive, inspiring and disappointing." The best general study available, it has shortcomings due at least in part to a cantankerous and contradictory subject who often seems bent on frustrating his biographer.

Nevertheless, Mr. Van Deusen has constructed a careful chronological account based upon his own intimate acquaintance with the Clay-Weed era and a hard-won knowledge of the Greeley sources. His range includes the whole life, from Fourierism to family tragedy, but the author usually concentrates on Greeley the Whig-Republican, a conservative whose job was journalism and whose predilection was politics. National and state elections, crusades for government action on high tariffs or internal improvements or free farms, a dangerously disordered progress to and through the Civil War, unrequited love for public office—all provide main lines of development.

The text is accompanied by enigmatic chapter titles which dramatize rather than describe, a scattering of contemporary illustrations plus one happily unorthodox selection from George Price of the *New Yorker*, some seven pages of bibliography, an index on the thin side, and footnotes sheepishly tucked away at the end of each chapter (this last is surprising in a book published under the direction of the American Historical Association from income of the Beveridge fund).

Greeley is fairly portrayed as a symbol of aspiring America, the great editor who shared his dream of national glory with the millions. But he also is revealed, and conclusively, as fundamentally shallow, an idealist who paid regular obeisance to expediency, a noisy reformer who preached well but practiced poorly, and a fierce partisan whose unappeased appetite for political office overcame his taste for truth. The author observes approvingly that "many an honest fellow had come to the conviction that, while Horace was a great man, he was scarcely fitted for the responsibilities of high office."

The fact that so many people, politicians and plain citizens alike, fell into the habit of not voting for Horace Greeley raises a fundamental, and unanswered, question. How much political influence did Greeley really have? Democrats defeated him at the polls, and fellow partisans like Weed and Seward and Lincoln and Grant paid their respects to the power of the *Tribune's* press while they systematically flouted the editor. Perhaps there is no dependable way of calculating Greeley's strength, but a thorough examination of his journal-

istic weapon might have helped. Further, an organized analysis of the major political-economic changes in Greeley's America would have established a dependable background against which the man could be judged in clearer perspective.

This would be especially true for the period after the Civil War, where the author fails to develop the character of the business force which gained control of the Republican party and the federal government. The biographical result is that the fundamental meaning and irony of Greeley's own presidential crusade are obscured. Erratic to the last, the defeated candidate died calling himself liberal, and fighting Republicans who were building a conservative business state from the same plans Horace Greeley had worked on all his life.

George Washington University

RICHARD C. HASKETT

INSIDE LINCOLN'S CABINET: THE CIVIL WAR DIARIES OF SALMON P. CHASE. Edited by *David Donald*, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1954. Pp. ix, 342. \$6.50.)

HISTORIANS of the Civil War have long recognized that the editing of the wartime diaries of Salmon P. Chase by a competent scholar would rank second in usefulness only to a first-class biography of Lincoln's able, humorless, vain, self-righteous, ambitious Secretary of the Treasury. With his *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet*, David Donald has obliged, and the result is the most satisfactory job of its kind since Howard K. Beale's magnificent *Diary of Edward Bates*.

Large portions of the Chase diaries, now unhappily divided between the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library of Congress, have previously been available in print. But the portions published in the Warden and the Schuckers biographies of Chase, suffering from earnest amateurism, were disjointed, inaccurate, and, of course, incomplete. Another portion, contained in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1902 (Vol. II), is a tantalizing fragment almost entirely innocent of editing.

The present volume covers the period December 9, 1861, to May 1, 1865. Some of the material, particularly that dealing with the election of 1864, has not heretofore appeared in print. Most important lacunae in the Chase version of Civil War Washington are periods of about ten and a half months from middle October, 1862, to late August, 1863, eight and a half months from early October, 1863, to late June, 1864, and four months from November 27, 1864, to March 31, 1865.

The printed text runs 226 pages and is divided into eight parts (parts 3 and 4 paralleling the 1902 version), each with a brief prefatory statement. Forty-eight pages of notes and comments deal with the diaries themselves, correcting errors, identifying persons and places, providing supplementary information, and breathing life into some of the more pedestrian of the Secretary's efforts.

A penetrating, forty-five page assessment of Chase serves as the introduction

to the volume. It makes no pretense of adding anything new to the Chase saga, but it is concise, comprehensive, and balanced. While he failed to become President, Chase "achieved an unusual record of distinguished service in all three branches of the Federal government." His public services "were unquestionably important, but whether they were admirable is a matter upon which neither contemporaries nor later historians have agreed."

Extremely influential early in the war, Chase watched his position gradually deteriorate until by 1863, aside from his arduous Treasury duties, he had been reduced to the contemplation of various crack-pot schemes and his own Presidential delusions. Regretting the "attitude of embattled virtue" which made Chase father confessor to contemporary extremists and fanatics, Mr. Donald views his Presidential maneuverings temperately. He makes a particularly good case for his point that, although criticisms of Chase's fiscal policies may be sound economically, they are "essentially unhistorical."

A good working index rounds out a solid editorial job which suffers only in that the notes are at the back of the book.

Colgate University

CHARLES R. WILSON

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. By *Clement Eaton*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. ix, 351. \$5.50.)

THE author of this book has succeeded well in what he set out to do. He has written a well-balanced book and has compressed in a compact style a great deal of information. It is factual rather than discursive down a great many enticing lines which could have been followed. The author makes no sweeping generalizations, though it must not be inferred that he fails to express judgments or take a point of view on occasion. This is especially true in his discussion of battles and military campaigns, where he frequently judges the mistakes of commanders. His clear and restrained treatment of the war itself is an admirable feature of the book.

The author has integrated the many forces, factors, and conditions which make up a people's existence. A few chapters take care of the organization and operation of the government; there is a chapter on diplomacy and a chapter on naval operations. Of the fourteen chapters five may be said to deal definitely with military operations, in which the life of the soldiers as well as of the generals is taken up. The author gives excellent short sketches of the principal military commanders. Social, economic, and cultural conditions in the Confederacy receive adequate attention. Striving to be impartial and finding it not too difficult since he was born in the South and received much of his formal education in the North, the author has shown some of that impartiality by the names he has applied to the war. Mostly it is Civil War, which is the sensible term, but as a concession to extreme Southerners he uses infrequently War for Southern Independence, though never the cumbersome War between the States.

In discussing the perennial question of why the South lost the war, the author's answer is indicated in his chapter heading "The Loss of the Will to Fight." There should be little disagreement in his conclusion that the Southerners never put their full resources, human and material, into their war effort. He does not hazard a guess as to what might have happened if they had done so.

One of the features of the book is the exploitation of manuscript materials, much of which has not heretofore been used. Quotations from such material add spice and atmosphere to the narrative but have overturned no previous historical findings, and, of course, the use of manuscript material by no means has been neglected in other writings on the Civil War and the Confederacy. Probably the most important of the manuscripts and certainly the one the author has used more than any other is the Robert G. H. Kean diary, which will soon be published.

In attractiveness and effectiveness, this book suffers somewhat by the absence of maps and other illustrative material. Although it is well documented by footnotes, the many sources used have not been gathered together into a bibliography, the lack of which will be felt by serious scholars.

University of Georgia

E. MERTON COULTER

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT: THE NADIR, 1877-1901. By *Rayford W. Logan*, Professor of History, Howard University. (New York: Dial Press. 1954. Pp. x, 380. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Logan's study provides, first, an account of the whittling away of the post-Civil War guarantees to the freedmen which took place under successive presidents from Hayes to McKinley and, second, a survey of attitudes toward this process as publicly expressed in selected newspapers and magazines, primarily "Northern." The study will serve admirably to convince those foreign critics of America referred to by the author that "greater inequalities" than those now existing were suffered by Negroes during "earlier periods in our history." When he has finished Professor Logan's book, any foreign critic will have to agree that the immediate past has seen a remarkable reversal of trend in American race relations which could not have been forecast by the blindest optimist in 1901.

A major problem presented by this book is one of semantics. The study is divided into two parts. Eight chapters in the first part cover "the life" and six in the second cover "the thought" of the period. A final, semi-reminiscent chapter lists positives upon which the "progress" of the past forty years has been based. "The life" is conceived of as the political, legal, and economic status of the Negro and "the thought" as what was said about that life. The result is that, instead of a book about the Negro in American life and thought, we have a series of analyses and summaries of what was presented by white Americans as definitions of the Negro in American life and sometimes the

counterverbalisms of other white Americans and of Negroes when they were able or willing to answer back. The study is, then, a record of a great debate, worth studying in its own terms if it be remembered that debates take place in words and that the words of debates are not always identical with the truth.

Professor Logan presents much new material, large parts of it based upon the researches of graduate students at Howard, but that the Negro's actual physical presence had any relation to the shape of towns, of public morals and ethics, of theories of literature or the arts, or a host of other aspects of "life and thought" is only lightly touched upon. Footnotes, printed at the back of the volume without running chapter or page headings, are, as is usual in this method of printing, difficult to use; the index is adequate; there is no bibliography.

Lincoln University, Missouri

ULYSSES LEE

PIONEER'S MISSION: THE STORY OF LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER.

By *William B. Hesseltine*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1954. Pp. ix, 384. \$4.50.)

LYMAN C. Draper was not a great man. He was not a great archivist, as anyone who has used the Draper Collection can testify. He was not a great historian, as anyone who has read any of the few books that he wrote knows. But he was a great collector and he laid wide and deep the foundations of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, upon which his successors have built one of the greatest institutions of the kind in the country. As Dr. Hesseltine says, Draper was not "an originator . . . but . . . he was an energetic adapter of other men's ideas, and a pioneer in carrying new ideas to the frontier." He "was a typical American promoter . . . a believer in publicity, and missed no opportunity to advertise himself, the Historical Society, the city of Madison, and the State of Wisconsin." In 1866, however, he hoped for a federal appointment that might facilitate his historical studies.

Draper's concept of the functions of a historical society was modern. As early as 1854 he "pointed out that historical societies had a duty to collect contemporary materials, which, in time, would become the sources of history." During the Civil War he advertised for and collected for the society much war material, and in 1869 he asked for information for the society on so wide a range of social activities that it could be said that he was laying foundations for what later was called the "New History."

This biography may serve to dispel some legends that have grown up about the Draper Collection. Many scholars appear to think that it was assembled for the Wisconsin Historical Society. As a matter of fact, Draper began his collecting long before he went to Madison and he retained the collection as his private property until his death in 1891, when the society acquired it with the rest of his property. Draper was a dealer as well as a collector, especially of autographs, and he became an expert in this field. Moreover, at least after 1876,

he was jealous of his collection and sometimes refused access to it to other scholars and collectors. Fortunately, the society has made the collection readily available to scholars and much effective use has been made of it, despite its somewhat weird arrangement. Fortunately also, the society has successfully warded off claims of others to part or all of the collection.

Draper was something of a squirrel. He appears to have saved every document that came into his hands, and, as a consequence, the Draper Correspondence, which is distinct from the Draper Collection, has provided Dr. Hessel-tine with an invaluable mine of data. Not content with this, however, he has searched the papers of many of Draper's contemporaries, not only in the holdings of the Wisconsin society but also in those of other repositories; and his brief essay entitled "Materials for a Biography" reveals the fact that ample materials were available. The "Notes to the Text," which unfortunately are assembled at the back of the book instead of being at the bottoms of the pages where they ought to be, reveal the extensive use that has been made of these materials. Dr. Hessel-tine writes well, despite occasional infelicities such as "the Reverend Shane," and his book makes a real contribution to our understanding of the evolution of cultural activities in the nineteenth-century Middle West.

Library of Congress

SOLON J. BUCK

THE PAPERS OF WILBUR AND ORVILLE WRIGHT: INCLUDING THE CHANUTE-WRIGHT LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS OF OCTAVE CHANUTE. Volume I, 1899-1905. Volume II, 1906-1948. By Marvin W. McFarland, Editor. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1953. Pp. lv, 673; xxvii, 677-1278. \$25.00.)

FIFTY years after the epoch-making flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, the private papers of the Wright brothers are published for the first time; although it should be noted that several hundred of these letters (or more accurately, excerpts) were edited by Fred C. Kelly and published in 1951. Marvin W. McFarland, of the Library of Congress Aeronautics Division, has rendered a magnificent service in editing and annotating this great mass of material comprising almost 1,300 printed pages. The diaries, personal notes, and letters reveal the warmth, wit, and affection, also the integrity, of these two aviation pioneers.

The Wrights became interested in the possibilities of a flight in early childhood, but not until 1896, when they began to read articles in newspapers and magazines about gliders, especially the flights of Otto Lilienthal, did they undertake the serious study of gliders. Letters written in May and June, 1899, to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution seeking literature on gliding testify to their determination to approach the study scientifically. The extensive correspondence with Octave Chanute, covering the years 1901-1911, reveals a strange kinship of minds on the part of these three men. One can trace in chrono-

logical detail every major principle that was developed in the early years of aviation history. Charts, tables, drawings, and involved mathematical calculations appear throughout the correspondence. There are numerous tables showing wind-tunnel experiments, notebooks on propellers, and a number of articles, lectures, and highly technical papers. Among the most important papers that appeared early in the collection is the significant lecture which Wilbur Wright gave before the Western Society of Engineers, meeting in Chicago, September 18, 1901.

But the letters reveal much more than charts and papers. They reveal the many-sided qualities of the Wright brothers, their outstanding inventiveness, and their business acumen. In their contract dealings with foreign business houses, banks, and with the house of J. P. Morgan, their New York agent for handling foreign exchange, they demonstrated an intimate understanding of business deals. The Wrights mastered just about every scientific principle in aviation history. When, in 1919, Orville Wright was asked what he regarded as the most "significant episode" in the birth of flying at Kitty Hawk (Wilbur died in 1912), he said that after he and Wilbur had discovered that the tables of air pressure then in existence were entirely unreliable, they were led into the designing and construction of a wind-tunnel and apparatus to be used in the tunnel for measuring the lift and draft and the center of pressure on acrofoils. "It was really this laboratory work," he added, "that made possible the construction of our first power flyer." Orville's views were sought on all kinds of matters relating to aviation and its effects upon society. At the close of World War I he declared that "the aeroplane has made war so terrible that I do not believe any country will again care to start a war." He did not think a separate air service, detached from Army and Navy, would be for the best interests in national defense.

Mr. McFarland's extensive editorial notes add immeasurably to the value of the *Papers*. He and his staff of able assistants have not only explained for the lay reader the meaning of many technical terms but, more important, they have clarified numerous incidents and events, mostly the personal relations between the Wright brothers and those persons with whom they had business deals, not always the most friendly. Finally, one of the most interesting facts connected with this monumental publication is the story of how these papers were preserved and how at long last they came to be deposited in the Library of Congress.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

ELIHU ROOT AND THE CONSERVATIVE TRADITION. By *Richard W. Leopold*. [The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. x, 222. \$3.00.)

THIS concise and easily read biography is not designed as a competitor of Philip C. Jessup's massive two-volume work (*Elihu Root*, 1938). The author acknowledges his heavy indebtedness to Jessup's research. Though he has had

the advantage of using some manuscript collections that were not available to Professor Jessup and differs in some points from the latter's conclusions, the differences do not seem to be of great significance.

Professor Leopold's small volume, in keeping with the series to which it belongs, is an interpretation rather than a full-length portrait. Aside from shedding some valuable sidelights on Root's personality, it deals almost exclusively with his part in public affairs. Root's adherence to the "conservative tradition," which is emphasized throughout, did not handicap him in his service as Secretary of War (1899-1904) and Secretary of State (1905-1909), but, as senator from New York (1909-15) and as prominent private citizen and elder statesman thereafter, he often stood in opposition to the trend of his age. A constructive period was, therefore, followed by one of comparative frustration. Positive achievements were few after 1909. He supported Wilson in the repeal of the Panama Canal Tolls Act. He helped draft the statute of the World Court. He was a useful member of the American delegation at the Washington Conference of 1921-22. What else? He was the principal author in 1915 of a new constitution for the state of New York, which the voters rejected. He proposed the plan of getting the United States into a League of Nations made safe by reservations, a plan defeated by the intransigence of Wilson and the irreconcilables. He devised the "Root formula" for American entry into the World Court, which the Senate eventually refused to take. For his constructive work one must go back to his years in the cabinet, his terms in the War Department, where he worked out the details of a colonial system for the United States and reorganized the army from top to bottom, and in the State Department, where he did much to make the United States a "good neighbor" to both Latin America and Canada.

This is a well-organized, well-written, and scholarly book. Scholars, in the reviewer's opinion, would be better pleased with it if the editor of the series had permitted occasional footnotes. It is tantalizing to be told that "Some historians, however, believe . . ." or "At this point reports of what happened vary . . .," and then to be left guessing at the identity of historians and reports. In writing (p. 59) ". . . the Senate has never consented to go beyond the Root formula [for arbitration treaties]," the author seemingly overlooks acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court in August, 1946. The statement (p. 143), "Seven votes stood between the United States and membership in the League of Nations," rests upon the hardly tenable assumption that Wilson would have ratified the treaty with the Lodge reservations. Aside from a few such minor points as these, it is difficult to find fault with Professor Leopold's performance.

University of Buffalo

JULIUS W. PRATT

GEORGE N. PEEK AND THE FIGHT FOR FARM PARITY. By *Gilbert C. Fite*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 314. \$4.00.)

THIS is much more than the story of one man. It is the vital chronicle of an important period of re-examination of and definitive change in one part of our national economic institutions. Professor Fite has diligently combed public records and private papers to bring together a historical document that is both authentic and alive. The rich detail of incident, needed by the serious student, would be almost overwhelming to the general reader, but the author has handled his materials with a skill that keeps the many strands from tangling and that keeps the reader conscious of a growing pattern of development.

George Peek was an industrial executive whose farm implement business was a casualty of the post-World War I farm depression (and some dubious managerial judgment). From personal experience he derived a poignant sense of the indispensability of farm prosperity to national economic soundness. His business background also gave him some oversimplified hunches as to how such prosperity might be brought about. Peek was not only the outstanding leader of the crusade that, after more than a decade, culminated in the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933; he was also the first administrator of that act, for which post he was fundamentally disqualified by the very qualities that made for success in the crusade. After seven months he was displaced.

Electing to tell his story in terms of its dynamic leader, Professor Fite incurred the risk of portraying a vast social movement as the shadow cast by this man. But whilst he stresses the indispensable value of Peek's personal contribution to a movement, he frankly reveals limitations in the quality of the man's equipment for sound guidance. He was an ingrained isolationist, a domineering company executive or government administrator, opinionated, insubordinate, and resentful, but withal extravagant in giving of his labor and his fortune to a purpose from which he could not possibly reap personal gain. As to the movement itself, Professor Fite's indefatigable marshaling of pro and con arguments and attitudes gives the reader the first-hand material on which to make his own evaluations. Instead of a contrast of jet black and pure white, we are given the amazing variety of shadings of gray out of which the whole picture of social change emerges.

Having said all this as to the scholarly qualities of this book, I must express an uneasy suspicion that while the scholar was busy elsewhere—no doubt with his teaching chores—a nasty little gremlin sneaked into his study one day and got access to his manuscript. This alien sprite wrote in a number of colorful words and phrases extraneous to the objective narrative being unfolded—such as “frantic opposition,” “bitter attack,” “laissez faire attitudes toward agriculture”—“prejudice against the farmer's cause,” “blinded to reason” (Hoover), “vitriolic veto message” (Coolidge). At such points one gets a momentary impression, foreign to the book as a whole, that Professor Fite is himself carrying the torch for the farmer's cause—that cause being synonymous with what the farmer wanted or felt would exorcise his difficulties.

SECRETARY STIMSON: A STUDY IN STATECRAFT. By *Richard N. Current*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 272. \$4.50.)

THIS is not a biography. It is a critical analysis of Stimson's participation in foreign affairs (1906-1945) at such junctures as he was, successively, United States attorney for the southern district of New York under Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of War under Taft, colonel of artillery in World War I, special agent in Nicaragua and governor general of the Philippines under Coolidge, Secretary of State under Hoover, and Secretary of War under F. D. Roosevelt and Truman. He is carried rapidly through the first two of his four busy decades, wherein he moved to press the Panama suits against the New York *World*, to violate Mexican sovereignty, to kill the League of Nations first and to use it afterwards, to supervise Latin-American political outcomes and to teach the Filipinos the lessons of British imperial policy.

The analysis of the last two decades stresses the "Stimson Doctrine" of non-recognition used as a preliminary to economic and military sanctions "laying down the ideological basis for eventual war" (p. 113). This use Stimson could not sell to Hoover, who sought to use nonrecognition as a moral substitute for economic pressure and military sanctions, looking to peace. Meeting more success with F. D. Roosevelt, Stimson argued that economic sanctions would stop Japanese military advance and preserve peace. Disappointment in this prediction did not weaken his abundant faith in "aggressive self-assertion for the nation as well as the individual" (p. 10); he urged a declaration of war before Japan attacked, felt relieved by her attack although concerned to clear himself of blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster, and moved vigorously into a very broad interpretation of "military necessity" throughout the war.

Assailed by few doubts, he was not naturally disposed to consider thoughtful alternatives to vigorous action—to speculate whether a pledge that the Japanese might retain their sacred emperor might bring their surrender before more drastic action, or whether insistence upon unconditional surrender might help to create a vacuum into which communism could flow, or whether the job of policing the postwar world might prove hard even for the strong sinews of Uncle Sam. His basic consistency, despite many inconsistencies, says *Current*, was belief in peace through force.

Current queries whether Stimson had a full measure of the integrity, wisdom, and selflessness attributed to him by notable associates, and whether his actual legacy to the oncoming generation is not, indeed, sharpened aggravation of international tensions. In emphasis and interpretation there may be many to moderate *Current's* vigorous indictment; yet the historical evidence he marshals and the international trends rampant in the 1950's guarantee that his queries will be very seriously considered. In the far future, historians may perhaps approximate that cool detachment presently unattainable and conclude that Stimson was as much

the creature of his environment as creator of it. His greatest significance, to this reviewer, rests in the fact that a person of his mental and emotional characteristics was repeatedly acceptable to American administrations.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

INTERNATIONALES JAHRBUCH FÜR GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT. Band II. (Brunswick, Albert Limbach, 1953, pp. 391.) The current volume of the international year book devoted to the teaching of history seeks to further the aims of co-operation by historians and history teachers across national frontiers. In recent years there have been Franco-German conferences in Paris and Mainz, Danish-German co-operation on the Schleswig-Holstein problem, an American-German conference in Brunswick, and a UNESCO seminar on history teaching at Sèvres. The content is mainly in German, but there is much material in English and some essays in French and Spanish. Lucien Febvre and François Crouzet explore lucidly the international foundations of French culture, while other writers discuss problems of teaching history in Mexico, England, the United States, and France. There are essays on some phases of Franco-German and Danish-German relations in the past. The major part of the book is devoted to the proceedings of a conference of American and German historians and history teachers, May 12-23, 1952, at Brunswick. The recommendations of both groups regarding the improvement of the teaching of history are recorded. Of special significance is the section in which Germans review American textbooks in history and Americans review German texts. It must be confessed that the German reviews are more thorough, more painstaking, and more critically penetrating, but often less balanced and less objective than the reviews by the Americans. The remainder of this interesting and informative volume contains reports of various historical conferences in several countries. It is easy to gain the impression that the historical profession in Europe is seriously concerned with the problems of elevating the teaching of history to standards not hitherto reached with respect to international understanding. It would have been helpful to learn to what extent these efforts are meeting with acceptance or resistance. Be that as it may, this volume and its successors should prove enlightening on some aspects, at least, of the status of history teaching in several countries.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, *New York University*

LE XVI^e SIÈCLE VU PAR LES AMBASSEADEURS VÉNITIENS. By *Orestes Ferrara*. Translated from the Spanish by *Francis de Miomandre*. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1954, pp. 596, 980 fr.) This substantial volume lies somewhere between popularization of a high order and large-scale scholarly synthesis, and it has some of the qualities of both. Its title, which faithfully translates that of the original Spanish edition (Madrid, 1952), is misleading: the book is primarily concerned with political and diplomatic events; and it deals, after some scrutiny of the New Monarchies, merely with the period from the first French invasion of Italy to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Nor (fortunately) is the book's view of history limited by the particular vantage points of the Venetian ambassadors, whose *Relazioni* would seem, in any case, to be already among the best known sources of European history. The author has woven the judgments of the Venetian observers into his text wherever possible, occasionally quoting at considerable length, and he seems excessively respectful of their authority. But for the most part he uses these and other sources to illustrate or to lend a flavor of authenticity to his story. Except on particular points, the book is thus not a reconstruction based on the sources but a detailed narrative based on a varying acquaintance with recent scholarship. The main outlines of its subject are familiar enough, but the account is presented here with grace, with the insight and authority of long

study, and with a wealth of new and colorful detail. Among the special qualities of the author's treatment one may note his profound disapproval of Charles V, his tendency always to place the most favorable construction on papal policy, and his marked interest in legal questions. Ferrara is at his best when he is sketching the broad outlines of a diplomatic situation or untangling the confused strands of negotiation. He is less satisfactory when he moves beyond the narrow limits of diplomacy and political intrigue; where broad generalization is required, he retreats into the familiar clichés of the popular Renaissance. The historian may be disconcerted by the book's great concern with the dramatization of personalities and episodes, its occasional rhetorical frivolity and other traits of popular history; but he will find also an attractive and comprehensive account such as is available nowhere else.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, *University of Illinois*

CATHERINE THE GREAT AND OTHER STUDIES. By G. P. Gooch. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. xi, 292, \$5.00.) G. P. Gooch has long been esteemed for his studies of Frederick II and Maria Theresa. His new volume, apart from the inexplicable inclusion of an irrelevant and unremarkable essay on Bismarck's *Erinnerungen*, is devoted entirely to the eighteenth century. It completes a distinguished portrait trilogy of the three most celebrated "enlightened despots." Other essays, which, like that on Catherine II, have in large part previously appeared in periodicals, explore the Enlightenment in a lively account of the foremost Parisian salons of the mid-1700's, those of Mmes. Geoffrin, du Deffand, Necker, and Mlle. de L'Espinasse. The enormous influence exerted on European intellectual life by this feminine quartet is made altogether intelligible. And finally, the author moves into an analysis of the historical writing of that most brilliant ornament of his time, Voltaire. Professor Gooch's portrait of Catherine II does not break new ground; but rarely has a more fascinating picture of this extraordinary woman been drawn. That she restored the authority of the throne and engaged in a highly successful foreign policy is well known; that she succeeded, further, through her contacts with the Enlightenment of the West in removing some of the stigma of barbarism associated with Russia, is, perhaps, less appreciated. Certainly, much of her work remained in one form or another until 1917; some of this work even survives to the present in its own peculiar Soviet guise. Dr. Gooch tempers his admiration for the tsarina, however. Whether Catherine had any real grasp of the larger underlying forces of her age is doubtful. The forces producing a Pugachev she could not comprehend; while the French Revolution, a product of the very principles she professed to admire, was for her senseless anarchy. She talked Rousseau, but could not really understand his famous thesis that a government might lose the respect of its people and thus forfeit its claim to survive. A few of these pages may occasionally cloy. After all, the story of Catherine's twenty-one "favorites" has worn a trifle thin. But in the end Professor Gooch is hard to resist. He writes in the great tradition of Hazlitt and Douglas with an urbanity, wit, and felicity of phrase which, happily, will only further confound those who identify scholarship with pedantry.

DOUGLAS K. READING, *Colgate University*

NAPOLEON AND THE AWAKENING OF EUROPE. By F. M. H. Markham, Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. vii, 184, \$2.00.) This volume, edited by A. L. Rowse, is part of the "Teach Yourself History Library," which "has been planned to meet the needs and demands of a very wide public" and is intended "by way of a biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme" with authorship by "people of good

academic standards" (p. vi). It is a small, compact, clearly written book, definitely for the general reader, not the trained specialist. It is based largely on secondary sources, intelligently used. It contains a short bibliography stressing available works in English and a brief index generally limited to names of persons and places. On the debit side it may be said that in places it is too compact. For example, it may be doubted whether the general reader will get anything out of the brief discussions of the various Napoleonic constitutions. Nor, in this particular case as presented in this book, does an individual provide a successful opening to the period, particularly one entitled, "the awakening of Europe." It would seem that more might have been made of that subject. On the larger, credit side may be mentioned the balanced, reasonable treatment of Napoleon himself, neither adulation nor unreasoning condemnation but what appears to be a just recognition of both virtues and accomplishments and faults and failures. The military campaigns are described very clearly with an explanation of their social as well as their political significance. Many of the generalizations—a book of this size must, of course, deal largely in generalizations—seem quite apt, for example the discussion of whether Napoleon consolidated or repudiated the Revolution (p. 63). While designed for the general reader, the book never tries to attract by use of the sensational or even picturesque. It should be helpful to the intelligent layman and to the student of other periods of history who want to learn about the skeleton, not the brass buttons, of the Napoleonic period.

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE, *Thomaston, Connecticut*

DER WIENER KONGRESS UND DIE EUROPÄISCHE RESTAURATION 1814-15. By *Karl Griewank*. (2d ed.; Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1954, pp. 406, DM 10.50.) Efforts of the powers to redraw the map of Europe frequently inspire historians to examine earlier delimitations. For the information of the British delegation to Paris in 1919 Sir Charles Webster wrote the best book on the peacemaking of 1813-1815. In 1942 Professor Griewank presented a new German political history of European boundary drawing from 1813 to 1815, based on diplomatic materials in Prussian, Austrian, and French archives and on standard published sources and scholarship. Half the book describes the negotiations at Vienna on problems of central Europe which he considers most important and most difficult. In 1942 he attributed his investigation to "the responsibility with which the German historian today has to see and to set forth the problems of ordering Europe in the past." He summarized his position, and then ended the book, in popular jargon: "on the formative force of its leading peoples a continent must arise significantly organized around its center and without the participation of powers foreign to its spaces." That view remains. While the author traces the emergence of a central European structure out of the divergent efforts of the five great powers, "the European oligarchy," he emphasizes the importance of Metternich and Castlereagh. In their work he sees, not without occasional inconsistency, the establishment of English supremacy on the Continent and in the world. Although in detailing German nationalist views on the peace-making he gives some good marks to Metternich and especially to Austrians such as Stadion, he sympathizes with ambitions of the Prussian military and political leaders, which he has studied earlier. In a powerful Prussia he sees "a point of crystallization for new ordering in central Europe." Many of the extensive additions to the original text elaborate on German nationalist interests. The author, now of Jena, has also emended frequently and sometimes mollified statements. Thus, the "imperialist" desires of Russia become "special" desires, and the terms of discussion for Jewish problems change a bit. Finally, one reader regrets that the book still lacks an index.

D. E. EMERSON, *University of Washington*

RELAZIONI FRA L'ITALIA E GLI STATI UNITI. By Howard R. Marraro. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, 6.] (Rome, Ateneo, 1954, pp. 317, L.1600.) Composing this volume is the series of lectures delivered by Professor Marraro at the Scuola di Storia del Risorgimento of the University of Rome during his recent tenure of a visiting lectureship under Fulbright auspices. The University of Rome acknowledged Professor Marraro's contribution in a most generous manner by publishing the lectures in honor of Columbia University's Bicentennial. The purpose of these lectures was to introduce the Italian student to the history of American-Italian relations from the eighteenth century to the unification of Italy in 1870. The material describing the contacts between the two peoples is divided for convenience into three categories: (1) the diplomatic relations between the various Italian states and the American government; (2) the cultural relations as reflected in the appearance of the Italian language and literature in American schools, in the acceptance of Italian plays and music, and, briefly, in the activity of Italian refugees, immigrants, and exiles in the New York area during the first half of the nineteenth century; and (3) the American reaction to the Italian struggle for independence as reflected in the press, literature, etc., of the period. A long appendix is included reproducing the poems written by Americans such as Whittier, William Cullen Bryant, and Bayard Taylor honoring the efforts of the Italian patriots during the various phases of the wars for independence. Much of the material for the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Italian states is taken from Marraro's splendid two-volume compilation, *The Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* (see AHR, LIX, [January, 1954], 348-49) and from his earlier publications in the same field. The degree to which Americans were interested in the Risorgimento is astonishing in the light of the flood of poems and prose dedicated to Italian patriots and to the Italian cause. Equally revealing is the affection and esteem in which Garibaldi was held by the Americans during his short sojourn in the United States. These lectures introduce a novel and, I dare say, extremely effective way of presenting America to foreigners. It is to be regretted that, in the question of cultural relations, the role of the Italians in America as it affects Italo-American relations is limited, with few exceptions, to that of the Italians on the eastern seaboard. The whole field of early immigration into the central valley and to the Far West remains to be thoroughly explored for virtually every phase of human relationship.

GEORGE A. CARBONE, *University of Mississippi*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

ANCIENT HISTORY OF WESTERN ASIA, INDIA, AND CRETE. By *Bedrich Hrozný*, Professor of Oriental Languages and History at the Charles University, Prague. Translated by *Jindřich Procházka*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. xiv, 260, \$12.00.) The need for good popularizations of the results of scholarly research in the field of ancient Near Eastern history has often been stressed. An "ancient history" by the late Professor Hrozný, well known for his contributions to the decipherment of the Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts, would be expected to go far in satisfying this need. That the results are somewhat wide of the mark must be attributed to his predominate interest in languages rather than in history. By far the longest chapters in this work summarize his attempt to decipher the Proto-Indian and Cretan scripts. His method and results, neither of which has been accepted by the great majority of linguistic scholars, have influenced and circumscribed his views of ancient Near Eastern history. His method rests upon the ethnical and linguistic relationships of the peoples concerned, and, as though to promote the understanding and acceptance of his linguistic views, his historical account is narrowly political and ethnical in emphasis. For this reason, the history of Indo-European peoples is stressed—he believes both the original Cretans and Proto-Indians to have been ethnically and linguistically Indo-European—Egyptian history is not considered and he ends his historical account at the end of the second millennium B.C. with the collapse of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Despite such limitations, this work is of value as a general history of western Asia from paleolithic times to 1200 B.C. Professor Hrozný's wide historical and linguistic knowledge illuminates the account of the migrations and interrelationships of the numerous peoples involved, and wherever his views are novel they are proposed with all due reserve. His treatment of political history is complete and compact; he appears to have mentioned all known rulers and to have summarized concisely all important facts concerning them. His discussion of Sumero-Babylonian civilization in one short chapter is too sketchy to be of much value, but there is a longer and more adequate discussion of Hittite civilization. The

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

long chapter on the Cretans is exclusively ethnical and linguistic, while that on the Proto-Indians is broadened by adding a description of the archaeological finds at Mohenjo-Daro. The volume is well illustrated with 144 figures and 10 plates, some of which are colored. Footnotes are few, but the text contains frequent references to scholarly literature. The chronology followed is that of Sidney Smith. There are two excellent maps and a full index.

NELS M. BAILKEY, *Tulane University*

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Supplementary Volume, THE INDUS CIVILIZATION. By Sir *Mortimer Wheeler*, Sometime Director-General of Archaeology in India. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 98, 24 plates, \$3.75.) In 1950, the Penguin Books published Stuart Piggott's excellent *Prehistoric India*, in which the Indus Valley or Harappan civilization was treated within its context in an account of the whole pre- and protohistoric development of India (as the eastern flank of a generalized Middle Eastern culture area). Now comes R. E. M. Wheeler's highly perceptive study of the Indus civilization itself. Wheeler is a master of archaeological craftsmanship in the field, a scholar with an active and imaginative mind, and a lucid writer. He has himself carried on excavations at the two key Indus Valley sites, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, in which he brilliantly succeeded in bringing considerable order to what was a degree of chaos left by earlier excavations. The result is a very good book. The Indus Valley civilization, which Wheeler tentatively brackets between 2500 and 1500 B.C., still seems "to spring into being fully grown." Wheeler believes "it is legitimate to affirm that the *idea* of civilization came to the land of the Indus from the land of the Twin Rivers, whilst recognizing that the essential self-sufficiency of each of the two civilizations induced a strongly localized and specialized cultural expression of that idea in each region." Actually, in what Professor Kroeber would call "style," the Indus and Mesopotamian civilizations are quite different. Wheeler thus lays his finger on one of the central problems of culture-historical reconstruction: How are we to understand the transmission of disembodied ideas?

ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD, *University of Chicago*

CULTS AND CREEDS IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT. By *H. Idris Bell*. Being the Forwood Lectures for 1952. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. x, 117, \$4.75.) Clement of Alexandria once remarked that pagan "philosophy, acting as a guide, prepared the way for Christianity." An eminent British papyrologist now adds to the full story by revealing how pagan religious beliefs, illustrated in the papyri of Greco-Roman Egypt, likewise facilitated the Christian triumph. The publication of these four revised but unexpanded lectures represents another of Mr. Bell's successful attempts to present the results of scholarly research to the general reader. His main interest here is "the mental world of the average man" in ancient Egypt as viewed against the backdrop of pagan and Christian intellectual and religious development. The specialist also will find useful this concise and provocative treatment of the Christian background and the large number of footnotes added primarily for him. The first lecture ("The Pagan Amalgam") is introductory, while the final lecture on "The Christian Triumph" is a brief survey of Egyptian Christianity to the time of Constantine with reference to the papyri only in connection with the growth of the Christian community. The two middle lectures ("The Jews in Egypt" and "The Preparation for Christianity") represent the heart of Mr. Bell's contribution. The papyri reveal much concerning the size and extent of Jewish communities in Egypt, their relations with other inhabitants and the Ptolemaic and Roman rulers, and changes in their religious beliefs and practices. With respect to the preparation for Christianity the papyri reflect "an increasing superstition and credulity" which Bell

considers to be "not a decay of religion but rather a new orientation of the religious consciousness" which, by emphasizing "a more personal relationship to the deity" and by a syncretism which reduced all deities "to varying manifestations of one divine principle," paved the way for Christianity (p. 65). There is a full index, a select bibliography for nonspecialists, and a list of the cited standard editions of the papyrus texts.

NELS M. BAILKEY, *Tulane University*

SOPHOCLES AND PERICLES. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1954, pp. xi, 187, 25s.) This book is a study of "the relations between the two greatest men in the greatest period of Athenian history" (p. 1). The conclusion is that Sophocles and Pericles, though by no means enemies, still represented opposing tendencies, or two aspects of the greatness of Athens. Pericles stood for rationalism, humanism, progress, Sophocles for religion and the preservation of values proved sound; though in private life it was Sophocles who was the humane and human good companion, Pericles who remained remote and Olympian. Both men were Athenian through and through, and in their unqualified love for Athens the opposition is, in part, reconciled. Thus, perhaps, Ehrenberg's conclusions may be restated, oversimply, of course, but even he is forced to oversimplify. His interpretation of Sophocles is open to attack. He must assume that he had some kind of program. The poet's claim that he represents men "as they ought to be" is taken to mean that he "wanted to teach something," "that his heroes were to be 'models' of behavior" (pp. 158-59; better stated, p. 20). It is equally likely (I think more likely) that Sophocles merely meant that he created tragic heroes as tragic heroes ought to be created, but, whatever he meant, could anyone seriously model his behavior on that of Sophocles' Ajax, Creon, Heracles, or for that matter Oedipus himself or Electra? And if we cannot so press it, does the phrase "model of behavior" mean anything at all? Again, as to the religiousness of Sophocles, Ehrenberg rather steps around *Trachinians* and *Electra*, which offer some difficulty. His restoration of Pericles is hard to quarrel with. The tyranny-in-democracy, the absorption in Athens (rather than Athenians!), above all, the magnificent integrity of the man, have not been better stated. It is, I think, simplification, not wrong-headedness, that makes Ehrenberg speak as if there were never any respectable opposition to Pericles, and all who crossed him on political grounds were "oligarchs" (p. 82, see also pp. 86, 129, 138, 140). Then, too, simplification leads into queer positions. It is Socrates, the "rationalist," who took Antigone's line of "I must do this, you can not stop me" and died for it (mentioned, p. 162; but understood?). Despite all this, I think Ehrenberg is right in his main thesis and antithesis. *Oedipus Tyrannus*, which starts with plague, is the intellectuals' tragedy as well as the tyrant's tragedy. "Sophocles stood for the old Polis, and with Pericles began its dissolution" (p. 164). I agree, though not everyone will. Whatever anyone may think of such matters, this is a stimulating book.

RICHMOND LATTIMORE, *Bryn Mawr College*

DER AUFBAU VON SALLUSTS *BELLUM JUGURTHINUM*. By *Karl Büchner*. [Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, Einzelschriften, Heft 9.] (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1953, pp. 104, DM 9.) Sallust's importance in the development of Roman historiography, and his services in raising the literary level of history, have drawn a number of scholars, especially in Germany, to investigate the composition and literary structure of his works. It is plain to most students that Sallust constructed his works in large dramatic divisions or "acts." There has, however, been disagreement as to the divisions and their significance; and Professor Büchner, who is well known for his other studies of Roman literature and Roman political thought,

has contributed yet another analysis because he feels that not enough attention has been paid to the literary devices which Sallust employs to mark off his literary divisions. The author believes that these devices are more plainly visible in the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, in which Sallust was more sure of his material and his purpose, than in the earlier *Bellum Catilinae*; thus the study of the "Jugurtha" will throw light on the literary technique of the "Catilina." Most of the monograph consists of a detailed analysis of the text in which all aspects of its dramatic, literary, and historical composition are carefully examined, and the results are discussed in their bearing on Sallust's value as a source. The author concludes that although Sallust is not strictly accurate in his reporting of events, he produces a result which is closer to the real truth than a work would be which merely registered the events as they occurred. There is an appendix on the problem of the chronological distribution of the events of the various years of the war, and another excursus on the structure of the "Catilina."

G. DOWNEY, *Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks*

IL PRINCEPS CICERONIANO E GLI IDEALI POLITICI DELLA TARDA REPUBBLICA. By *Ettore Lepore*. (Naples, Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1954, pp. 448, L. 2500.) There have been numerous efforts to expound the nature of the Ciceronian concept of the *princeps*, particularly with regard to the *De Republica*. Two interesting lines of endeavor are (1) to analyze the relationship of Cicero's political theory to Greek thought and (2) to try to ascertain any possible advocacy of monarchy by Cicero, with Cicero as the possible theorist for the Augustan principate before the event. The subject, by now fairly hackneyed, is redeemed in the case of the present book by the fact that the author has undertaken his investigation along broader lines than have his predecessors—semantically, politically, philosophically, historically, and in the light of an analysis of Cicero's postconsular career. It is an elaborate book, with comparisons with Platonic and Aristotelian theory, etc. A brief review cannot do justice to Lepore's careful development of his argument, with his useful collection and exposition of ancient passages. Lepore appreciates the fact that Cicero was a thoroughly intellectual man, more interested in theory than were many of his contemporaries, but still quite definitely a practicing politician and a practical statesman. Cicero was theorizing within the social structure of Rome as he knew it, and this book shows how Cicero's views on statecraft grew and altered in the course of his career. There were of course Hellenic influences behind his ideals, but it is noteworthy that Cicero was thinking within the framework of the Roman constitutional history and idea of liberty. Lepore decides that Cicero was not substantiating monarchy but that he was putting a new meaning into the traditionally Roman word of *princeps*, which can be identified in Cicero with the *consilii publici auctor ac senator bonus* as well as with the *prudens vir*, the *rector* or *moderator rei publicae*, or even the *princeps libertatis*. Cicero's stress is upon individual initiative and responsibility, upon *auctoritas* as opposed to the resources (*opes*) and personal power (*potentia*) which were supposed to be the usual political supports of Rome's governmental aristocracy. Cicero was in search of a *summorum civium principatus*, not a justification for "Pompey's principate" or the future Augustan principate.

WALTER ALLEN, JR., *University of North Carolina*

ÜBER RÖMISCHES RECHT IM RAHMEN DER KULTURGESCHICHTE. By *Eberhard F. Brück*. (Berlin, Springer, 1954, pp. viii, 168.) At a time when the conflict between executive and legislative powers unfolds once again in our republic it seems particularly opportune to bring to the attention of the American reader a

much neglected area of juridical studies, i.e., those devoted to Roman law. For a long time this gap in the realm of American scholarship has been keenly felt. Men like Charles McIlwain long called in vain for a general reappraisal of the common law against the background of Roman law. Of late there has been some revival. At Harvard, E. Bruck devoted many years to research and teaching in that field. This slender volume of previously published essays is an amusing testimonial of the contemporary—and, let us hope, not temporary—reversal of past conditions. One can merely hint at the wealth of stimulating and thought-provoking material here so eloquently and elegantly presented. The first essay most pertinently discusses the technique of aristocratic political leadership within the framework of a quasi-democratic constitution. A transition from the politico-religious area to the one in which the author for many years has most happily added to our understanding, i.e., the concept of the *donatio* both between living persons and by testament, is represented by the second essay. The conflict between the *ius civile* and the *ius sacrum* forms the basis of this study. It rightly shows that sociological and economic, as well as intellectual, changes precede by many years the open recognition of such conflicts in the realm of law. Perhaps the most important section of the volume is the third essay, a masterly summary of the religious, intellectual, and political evolution of the principle of donations for (not only by) deceased persons, showing the Greek background of a legal technique by which through testament the donors successfully kept their memory alive. The institution of the *donatio* is further analyzed, from a different angle, in the chapter entitled, "Paulus, die Kirchenväter und der 'Fröhliche Geber' im römischen Recht: *Liberalitas* und *Animus donandi*." The pagan Greco-Roman gentlemanly attitude of the "proper" or the "noblesse-oblige" motivation is contrasted with the Judaeo-Christian insistence on "joyous" giving, but it was not until the reign of Justinian I (527–565) that this viewpoint infiltrated successfully into Roman law when *piae causae* formed the wedge for a more general recognition of the "joyous" spirit in giving. "Das Gespenst des Fröhlichen Gebers im mittelalterlichen und modernen Zivilrecht" continues this investigation into the period of the vulgar and early Byzantine law.

FREDERICK H. CRAMER, *Mount Holyoke College*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 7. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D.C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 141, \$7.50.) The present volume contains four essays, the first three of which are concerned with Byzantine iconoclasm. In the first essay Gerhart B. Ladner has traced in brilliant fashion the idea of the image (*eikōn*), from early Christian theology and Platonic metaphysics down to the doctrines of St. John of Damascus, the fathers of the second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 787), and the intransigent Theodore of Studion. Ladner also emphasizes the close connection between the use of the imperial image in the pagan emperor-cult and the later Christian adoration of the emperor on the one hand and, on the other, the use of the image of Christ (and the Virgin and saints) in early Christian art and worship. Paul J. Alexander has sought, in the second article, to show something of the original and constructive thought which the initiators of the second period of iconoclasm brought to the movement (815-843), which Alexander regards as "the philosophical climax of the entire [iconoclastic] Controversy" (p. 37). Most writers have regarded the second period of iconoclasm as the willful and intellectually exhausted repetition of the first period (725-787). The iconoclastic Council of 815 emphasized, however, that pictorial representations of Christ and the saints were "spurious images" (*pseudonymoi eikōnes*), but spurious in a different sense from that meant by this term at the famous Council of Hieria in 754, the true image being in fact only the spiritual imitation of the virtues of Christ and the saints—an icon so to speak to be seen only in the heart by the mind's eye—for the true image of Christ is to be discerned only in the human soul, i.e., in man himself when he has attained to the saintly virtues. Following the views of Fr. George Florovsky, Alexander associates this idea with Origenism (cf. *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 17-18). Alexander also publishes, as an appendix, a new edition of the "definition" of the Council of 815, which is an improvement over

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

those of the late Daniel Serruys and Professor Ostrogorsky (pp. 58-66). The third essay, by Fr. Francis Dvornik, supplies some lively and interesting illustrations of the survival of iconoclasm beyond the events of 843 (celebrated in the Byzantine Feast of Orthodoxy); Dvornik shows his good friend, the Patriarch Photius, as the stalwart champion of image-worship against the iconoclasts of the later ninth century and even as the instigator of the redecoration of churches with icons. In the last article Deno J. Geanakoplos sketches the diplomatic background to the very important battle of Pelagonia (in western Macedonia), fought apparently in October of 1259. Geanakoplos gives also detailed analyses of the sources relating both to this diplomacy and to the battle. Although the reviewer has found himself in disagreement with some of Geanakoplos' assumptions, the article is very useful and reveals a thorough knowledge of the subject. The volume itself is, as usual in this series, very handsome. It ought to be: it costs \$7.50.

KENNETH M. SETTON, *Columbia University*

LE ROYAUME LATIN DE JÉRUSALEM. By *Jean Richard*, Ancien membre de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Preface by *René Grousset*. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1953, pp. 367, 800 fr.) Jean Richard has presented, as René Grousset states in the preface to the volume, a critical survey of the crusades, which embodies the results of recent scholarship, a study "long lacking and hoped for." Since Röhrich's basic work, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (1897) many specialists in this field have uncovered additional facts, especially from Arabic and Syrian sources, while M. Richard himself has had access to new materials in the Vatican and has further utilized the late studies of Orientalists, which open a vista into the important and rather overlooked Asiatic background of the crusades. The contributions of American scholars, especially those of John La Monte, have received careful attention, as have recent studies of Bréhier, Abel, Vincent, Cahen, and others. The book consists of three parts, divided into twenty-seven chapters, containing mainly a succinct review of the military and political developments of the kingdom of Jerusalem (with only incidental references to Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa). While these chapters repeat in general the material found in Röhrich, Stevenson, and Grousset, there are even here valuable additions and interpretations, which justify the author (as he states in the introduction) in hoping that he has added some new facts to the knowledge of the Latin Orient, and, one may add, many stimulating sidelights. To the reviewer the most valuable chapters deal with economic, social, and religious developments. On these points much effort has been expended in recent years and the results have been based to a certain extent on conjecture, as is clear from the numerous question marks. Unfortunately this can not be avoided because the sources are very scanty. Several chapters deal with feudal relations and royal power, one with the Latin Church and the fairly tolerant attitude toward other religious groups, others with the military orders, another with the relations between merchants and rural proprietors (*bourgeois et colons*), one deals with the position of the native population, another of the state within the state of the Italian merchants, and one traces the contacts with Mongols and Mameluks. Since the book does not follow a chronological pattern, an index would enhance its value. It certainly is a study which will be welcomed by all students of the crusades.

JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN, *Indiana University*

LOS FUEROS DE SEPÚLVEDA. By *Emilio Sáez*, *Rafael Gibert*, *Manuel Alvar*, and *A. G. Ruiz-Zorrilla*. With a Prologue by *P. Marín Pérez*. [Publicaciones históricas de la excma. Diputación Provincial de Segovia. Serie 1a. Colección de documentos

para la historia de Segovia, Vol. I.] (Segovia, 1953, pp. lii, 923, 23 plates.) Sáez' critical edition of these influential Latin and Romanceado municipal codes, with exhaustive institutional, linguistic, and topographic commentaries by his collaborators, constitutes a major contribution to the literature of medieval Castilian urban history.

C. J. BISHKO, *University of Virginia*

THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE: LAURENTIAN TEXT. Translated and edited by *Samuel Hazzard Cross* and *Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor*. [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 60.] (Cambridge, the Academy, 1953, pp. 313, \$5.00.) As explained in the preface by Professor Sherbowitz-Wetzor this translation of an important Slavic source is based on the English version published by the late Professor S. H. Cross in Volume XII (1930) of the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*. The new edition incorporates the original introductory article by Professor Cross and a revised translation of the Chronicle. It also includes commentaries on the text which Professor Cross accumulated after the publication of 1930, a selected bibliography, a table of the princes in the main principalities, a genealogical table of the House of Rurik, and an index of names. Each page of the Chronicle is now conveniently dated at the top. The Russian names and titles are transliterated, although the use of "g" as in "Slov'ev" (p. 39) or "Ob'em" (p. 220) is not explained. The editor also fails to explain the not self-evident abbreviation "Spb" which he rightly uses instead of Leningrad in mentioning books published before the First World War. The original translation of the Chronicle represented quite a remarkable achievement but was not faultless. The present edition has eliminated a great many errors, inaccuracies, and omissions; however, one notices occasional editorial oversights. On page 51 "Rhinocolura" is rightly changed to "Rhinocurura," the missing "and the other Libya" is inserted, but the missing "Pisidia" is still left out. On page 220 one finds both "povest'" and "povest'," "let'" and "let," "Fedoseva" instead of "Fedos'eva," and also the title of Istrin's book erroneously transcribed. Incidentally, the full title of this book in the selected bibliography (p. 291) contains five errors. These and other editorial slips detract somewhat from the value of a work which otherwise has shown many improvements over the earlier edition.

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE AGE OF THE STURLUNGS: ICELANDIC CIVILIZATION IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Einar Ol. Sveinsson*, Professor of Icelandic Literature at the University of Iceland. Translated by *Jóhann S. Hannesson*. [Islandica: An Annual Relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University Library, Volume XXXVI.] (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 180, cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.50.) Originally published in Icelandic in 1940, but here appearing for the first time in an English translation, this study by a distinguished Icelandic specialist in the field of Old Icelandic literature deals with an era which the author rightly describes as "not only one of the most fateful periods in the history of Iceland but also one of the most remarkable stages in the development of its culture." *The Age of the Sturlungs*, properly deriving its name from one of the great and highly gifted families which dominated the national scene in that day, was a turbulent and tragic age politically speaking, an era of bloody civil strife resulting in the submission of the Icelandic Commonwealth to a foreign power. Fortunately, there is a brighter and more attractive side to that period of gloom and national tragedy, for it was also an era notable for its literary and cultural activity, the age of Snorri Sturluson, Iceland's renowned historian, and of the nameless writers of the Icelandic sagas. The author strikes at the very heart of the matter in the follow-

ing characterization: "The contrast between conscious, disciplined cultural achievement and the frenzy of unrestrained vitality is the outstanding characteristic of the age and the riddle of its life." Through a penetrating interpretation of the many facets of that fateful but fascinating age, Dr. Einar Olafur Sveinsson brilliantly illuminates "the riddle of its life," to the extent that his book constitutes not only an excellent study of the period in question but also is an equally stimulating and revealing guide to the rich literature of thirteenth-century Iceland. The author is a master of a vivid and varied, often highly poetic style, which makes the task of the translator anything but easy. Mr. Hannesson has, however, succeeded admirably in that respect. He has also added a very useful index and genealogical tables which furnish needed orientation for the reader not versed in Icelandic family history, a basic factor in any account of the period. RICHARD BECK, *University of North Dakota*

THE RECEIPT OF THE EXCHEQUER, 1377-1485. By *Anthony Steel*, Principal of University College, Cardiff, and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xl, 501, \$11.50.) This book is the product of a quarter-century of research in the receipt rolls of the medieval English Exchequer. The title is perhaps misleading, since it is not a history of the institution, the Receipt of the Exchequer. Nor is it concerned with either the total income of the crown or the branches of the revenue. Rather Mr. Steel calls his achievement "a kind of calendar of the receipt rolls" (p. xvi). He gives us figures to show how much of the revenue on the receipt rolls, year by year, was real and how much nominal, how much cash and how much assigned on future income, what were genuine and what fictitious loans. Then, decade by decade, he analyzes the classes and individuals of the realm who were involved in these various transactions. From these analyses he draws political inferences. Most notably, he concludes that there was a steady decline in royal revenue over the century, and he suggests that neither Lancastrian nor Yorkist kings were ordinarily able to command sufficient financial support from their subjects. He also presents interesting new evidence concerning the payment of usury on loans to the crown. Mr. Steel is a worker in the field of administrative history. He is not interested in economic analysis, and his constitutional observations must remain tentative until other exchequer records can be studied in the same detail as the receipt rolls. Concerning administration, he himself questions whether the receipt rolls are a good measure of royal revenue under the Yorkists, and it may well be that the doubt should be extended back to 1399. There are still unsolved problems about the practice of assignment and fictitious loans, and the explanation of the *prestita restituta* given here is not completely satisfactory. Misunderstanding the role of the feoffees of the duchy of Lancaster has led to some minor errors. Although problems remain, Mr. Steel has done a number of useful things in this book. It will find its place on the shelf beside the works of Tout, Jenkinson, and Ramsay, which in part it supersedes.

FRED A. CAZEL, JR., *University of Connecticut*

LES AFFAIRES DE JACQUES COEUR: JOURNAL DU PROCUREUR DAUVET, PROCÈS-VERBAUX DE SÉQUESTRE ET D'ADJUDICATION. Volumes I and II. Edited by *M. Mollat*, Professeur à la Faculté de Lille, with the collaboration of *Anne-Marie Yvon-Briand*, *Yvonne Lankers*, and *Constantin Marinesco*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section, Centre de recherches historiques, Affaires et gens d'affaires, 1, 2 bis.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1952, 1953, pp. xxiii, 387; 391-696.) The dramatic career of Jacques Coeur—merchant extraordinary, industrialist, financier, mine owner, shipping magnate, and as a result treasurer of the royal household,

master of the mint of Paris and Bourges, member of the king's council, friend of pontiffs, crusader—is appealing to our business-minded age. What little has been written about him, however, has for the most part been more fiction than fact. The publication of Dauvet's *Journal* now supplies us with a significant and needed primary source. Jean Dauvet was an active and devoted official of Charles VII and Louis XI whose chief work was as attorney general in charge of the confiscation and disposition of Coeur's property. This painstaking task occupied him for four years and took him to Tours, Blois, Orléans, Paris, Rouen, Berri, Langres, Languedoc, Lyonnais, and Bourbonnais. The *Journal* presents a wealth of material concerning Coeur's manifold activities. The present edition is definitive, having been edited by experienced scholars. The introduction is a model, and the bibliography is very helpful. There are superb indexes of persons, places, and terms. The thirteen-page table of contents comprises an excellent chronological summary of Dauvet's experiences. The *Journal* is a worthy addition to the scholarly series "Affaires et gens d'affaires" and will be of great value to the student of fifteenth-century France.

ERVING E. BEAUREGARD, *University of Dayton*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

THE NATION AND THE NAVY: A HISTORY OF NAVAL LIFE AND POLICY.

By Christopher Lloyd, Senior Lecturer, Royal Naval College, Greenwich. (London, Cresset Press; New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. xiii, 288, \$3.75.) Lloyd is the third Greenwich historian to produce a compact, readable volume of British naval history in the past thirty years. In 1924 Geoffrey Callender brought out his *Naval Side of British History*, and in 1936 Brian Tunstall's *Realities of Naval History* was published. Each of them devoted more space to analysis than to "the battle and the breeze" aspects as Lloyd calls them, but Lloyd goes still further in broadening the concept of what constitutes naval history. In contrast to the original research in his *The Navy and the Slave Trade*, he introduces relatively little new evidence in this volume, but he does provide an able and readable synthesis of all sides of Britain's naval development. He acknowledges a particular indebtedness to *The Navy of Britain*, written by his Greenwich colleague Michael Lewis and to Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond's *Statesmen and Sea Power*; the influence of those two excellent volumes is evident throughout the work. Perhaps the chief contribution of the Lloyd volume is the inclusion of scores of colorful, pertinent quotations which add much to the readability of the book while helping to give the flavor of the manifold aspects of the subject. Now and then some of the more general statements seem open to question, particularly, in view of the 1812 experiences, the statement that

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

"British gunnery proved superior to that of all other nations" in the Georgian era, while the statement that the *Lusitania* was sunk "with the loss of 2,000 passengers, most of whom were Americans" is definitely wrong, as is the citation of "S. E. Morison, *Life of Sims*." The story is carried from the days of Henry VIII to the Washington naval treaty of 1922. There is no comparable survey of American naval history. One must read Davis or the Sprouts for policy, Knox for meticulous operational detail, Fletcher Pratt for colorful narrative, and the rather spotty volume of the Annapolis historians for certain other aspects, but none of those books portrays, as Lloyd does, the development of naval life afloat and organization ashore. But the Royal Navy, of course, was a "major league" organization some three hundred years before the United States Navy attained that status.

ROBERT G. ALBION, *Harvard University*

BRITAIN'S POST OFFICE: A HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Howard Robinson*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. xiv, 299, \$4.25.) In his *The British Post Office: A History*, published in 1948 by the Princeton University Press, Professor Robinson produced a comprehensive history of the postal service of Great Britain, a book that will long serve scholars as the standard reference on this important subject. Rarely does an author rewrite such a book for another audience, but Robinson has taken time to essay a shorter and more popular version for the British reader. The layman will doubtless consider the latter to be by far the better book, and many a scholar will find it more interesting and stimulating because purged of excessive detail. This second effort, the reviewer feels, is in better proportions; the slow-moving opening chapters of the earlier work have been telescoped, and there is more emphasis on recent expansion. Whereas the earlier work came down only to the eve of World War II, this volume contains a good chapter on the strenuous services of the Post Office during that crisis. It should be emphasized that this is in no part a mere condensation of the larger work. The reviewer in comparing the two books has looked in vain for the repetition of a single sentence; very rarely is even the same phraseology encountered. Some of the old examples and quotations are used, but just as often new ones are employed as though the author had continued his research after 1948, of which, indeed, there are many indications. There has been more use this time, with benefit to the work, of unprinted archives of the Post Office itself, also of several manuscript collections not noticeably drawn upon for the earlier work. Obviously the author has spent more time with original materials in Britain, has soaked up more of the physical background and atmosphere, and has had the blessing and full co-operation of Post Office officials. Lord De La Warr, the Postmaster General, contributes an appreciative introduction. Several important appendixes, compiled from official records, are an innovation in this volume. All illustrations have been changed: many interesting ones this time are taken from record books of the Post Office. There are fewer maps, and the bibliography is shorter, but both are adequate for the general reader. We have here a rare doubly distilled product—an author's further refinement of his own good work. For research scholars the earlier volume cannot be fully superseded, but added material and added thought make this a fresh and, probably, a more significant contribution. It represents history writing of a high order.

OLIVER W. HOLMES, *National Archives*

THE WRITINGS OF ROBERT HARRISON AND ROBERT BROWNE. Edited by *Albert Peel* and *Leland H. Carlson*. [Sir Halley Stewart Trust Publications. Eliza-

bethan Nonconformist Texts, Volume II.] (London, George Allen and Unwin for the Trust, 1953, pp. ix, 560, 35s.) This is the second volume of a proposed seven-volume series of Elizabethan Nonconformist texts. The first volume, *Cartwrightiana*, containing some miscellaneous minor writings of Thomas Cartwright, was published in 1951. Historians are always glad to get accurate reprints of basic texts and students of Puritanism must be grateful for this series. It will not revolutionize our knowledge of English Congregationalism—all the material in Volume II is known to historians, and much of it has been available in modern reprints. Nor is Dr. Carlson's introduction intended as a fresh study of the documents; for the most part he limits himself to a brief discussion of the bibliographical problems. It is perhaps ungrateful to complain, but if the intention is to make these texts available to a wider audience, is it not a pedantic mistake to include all the heavy paraphernalia of "scientific" documentation? The writings are printed *literatim* and *verbatim* with every printer's error, every abbreviation, and every peculiarity of Elizabethan typography copied exactly; the pages are liberally sprinkled with square brackets containing original page names, "sic," "verso," "recto," etc. The result is an unattractive volume which is difficult to read and which will repel all except the most determined students. Surely this runs counter to the purpose of the series. Even from a scholarly point of view one may object to the inclusion of all the printer's errors. In the preface to Browne's "Answer to Master Cartwright" (p. 430), Professor Carlson writes: "The temptation to print one of Browne's works in attractive form, duly paragraphed and properly punctuated, has had to be sternly resisted. Had those works appeared in a printed dress as attractive in appearance as this manuscript, some of the conjectures which have been made about Browne would scarcely have been given the light of day." But I repeat that this is perhaps ungracious criticism. I am glad to have the volume in my library and will no doubt send graduate students to the copy in the college library.

RICHARD SCHLATTER, *Rutgers University*

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN WILKES AND CHARLES CHURCHILL.

Edited with an Introduction by *Edward H. Weatherly*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xxvii, 114, \$2.75.) This correspondence consists of sixty letters preserved in the British Museum Additional Manuscripts and two from the Guild Hall Manuscripts which were exchanged between Charles Churchill and John Wilkes from June, 1762, to November, 1764. The correspondence begins in the month of the first issue of the *North Briton* and continues to the death of Charles Churchill. Churchill was already widely known in 1762 as the author of the famous *Rosciad*, a long satire on English actors; Wilkes had occasionally written for the *Monitor*, an opposition weekly. His career still awaited the famous *North Briton* No. 45 of April, 1763, which was to catapult him to the center of the popular political arena. The correspondence deals for the most part with the *North Briton*, which Temple and other foes of Bute encouraged Wilkes to start in opposition to Smollett's pro-ministerial weekly. But it also touches a wider range which should interest students of English literature and society. Here in an epistolary style frank, witty, and often shocking are bits of news of the political figures of the day, of Hogarth, Garrick, and Sterne, and abundant evidence of the promiscuous moral lives of Wilkes and the talented clergyman. Mr. Weatherly's collection contains a good introduction which puts the correspondence in its context and disentangles the legal and political threads of the Wilkes affair. And the task of dating the letters and identifying the events and personalities has been done with thoroughness, perhaps in part with a punctiliousness increasingly prevalent among our countrymen who edit historical

and literary works. The specialist who uses this work does not require, for example, a footnote translation of *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* and certainly not a translation of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. GEORGE B. COOPER, *Trinity College, Hartford*

WELLINGTON AND HIS ARMY. By *Godfrey Davies*. [Published in Co-operation with the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.] (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; San Marino, Huntington Library, 1954, pp. x, 154, \$3.00.) The author confesses that this interesting little volume resulted from a rereading while he was ill of Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Peninsular War* and of his *Wellington's Army*. The reader was impressed that the Wellington revealed by Sir Charles differed somewhat from the man described by historians of his civilian career. Mr. Davies was thus led to study for himself "the sources for the Peninsular War and Waterloo." The resulting seven chapters on "Wellington the Man," "Wellington the Soldier," "Wellington and His Officers," "Officers and Men," "Amusements and Recreations," and "Wives and Children" scarcely fulfill all the expectations suggested by the title of the book; they do, however, contribute interesting human sidelights on the great captain who fought Napoleon and on the army he led. Mr. Davies might well agree that the thought which inspired him to undertake this study probably led him to err as much on one side as he feels that Oman did on the other. He seeks to redress the balance. But his essays will interest a reader curious about the habits of life in a British army on the march before the nineteenth-century reforms and before war became the major enterprise of mass slaughter by mechanical devices it was destined to be in the twentieth century. Not that one in his right mind, even in Wellington's day, embarked on war abroad if he had a tolerable opportunity to abide at home in peace. W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

GLYN'S, 1753-1953: SIX GENERATIONS IN LOMBARD STREET. By *Roger Fulford*. (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1953, pp. xvi, 267, \$4.50.) Mr. Fulford has written a semipopular history of one of the most famous English private bankers. He takes the reader rapidly from the founding of the firm in 1754 to the sale of the business to the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1939. The reader is given some significant information, such as that on the financial crisis of 1772, on railway financing after 1840, and on Canadian activities of the house. As suggested, the outstanding characteristic of the partners was probably integrity. There is considerable detail on the politics of the leading partners but relatively little on methods of business and conditions of work. Those economic and business historians who desire a comprehensive appraisal of Glyn's operations must wait for someone to investigate and use the information on the house in the Public Record Office, in railway and banking periodicals, in the Public Archives of Canada, and in the semiannual balance sheets published by the firm from 1885 to 1939, to mention a few sources. RALPH W. HIXY, *New York University*

A STUDY IN TRADE-CYCLE HISTORY: ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1833-1842. By *R. C. O. Matthews*, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Lecturer in Economics in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xiv, 228, \$5.00.) R. C. O. Matthews in his study of trade cycles from 1833 to 1842 explains those fluctuations of trade which were so important yet so inexplicable to the early Victorians. By combining the penetrating tools of modern economic analysis with intensive historical research in the period, he has been able to lay apart the complicated causes behind these important economic events, to explain the rising prosperity from 1833 to 1836, the short acute

depression of 1837, the uneven recovery from 1838 to 1840, and finally the deep and pervasive depression of 1842, a depression whose severity was hardly equaled until 1930. Though he continually emphasizes the complexity of the economic forces behind these events, he does single out, as the principal cause of these fluctuations, the changing course of domestic investment. The great expansion of investment after 1832, largely in railways and textiles, and financed by the sudden multiplication of joint stock banks, led to the boom of 1836. But in that very expansion lay the seeds of depression. The "irrational optimism" of the English investor soon drove capital investment beyond profitable limits; and when those limits were exceeded investment dropped and a depression followed. "The slump," Matthews concludes, "was the logical sequence of the boom." Matthews also points to contributing causes. The depression of 1837 and 1842 in the United States, for example, weakened the market for British exports, while the bad harvests of 1839 and 1840, by raising the cost of bread, reduced the demand for manufactures. Both these events, by weakening the market for British manufactures, helped bring on the depression of 1842. But basically the cause of the depression lay in the banks and exchanges of London and Lancashire. There the unpredictable psychology of the investor, alternating between overconfidence and exaggerated caution, produced those recurrent cycles of prosperity and depression which so deeply affected the well-being of the early Victorians. DAVID ROBERTS, *University of Washington*

RADICAL LEICESTER: A HISTORY OF LEICESTER, 1780-1850. By *A. Temple Patterson*, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Southampton. (Leicester, University College, 1954, pp. x, 405, 30s.) Political radicalism in Leicester was related not only to the prominence of Nonconformity in the community but also to the almost chronic distress of the hosiery trade, the town's staple manufacture, and to the antiquated arrangements of that industry. Domestic workers in the hosiery trade in Leicester still greatly outnumbered the factory hands even in the 1840's and furnished one instance where the worst working conditions of the early nineteenth century existed not in the new factories but in industries in which older methods of organization had lingered on. Mr. A. Temple Patterson in his agreeable and useful account of Leicester over seven decades shows a firm grasp of the intricate relation of these religious, economic, social, and political developments. Though his method of presentation is quiet and unspectacular, he avoids the errors of the more old-fashioned type of local history, conforms to modern standards of scholarship, and offers a wealth of facts in a narrative which, though episodic, is also careful and well organized. Of particular interest is his treatment of municipal government and the struggle for municipal reform, a subject that can perhaps be studied more profitably on the local than on the national level. The story of the old corporation of Leicester in the last several decades before the Act of 1835, its election maneuvers, particularly in the election of 1826, and its unrepentant last-ditch fight against the reformers of the 1830's, is absorbing. It is to be regretted that Mr. Patterson's move from Leicester to Southampton has induced him to give up his original intention of bringing the history of Leicester down to 1914.

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE, *State University of Iowa*

IDEE E DOTTRINE IMPERIALISTICHE NELL'INGHILTERRA VITTORIANA.

By *Ottavio Barié*. (Naples, Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1953, pp. xii, 326, L. 2200.) 'This is an excellent piece of work,' which deserves to be translated. I do not know of a better book for someone embarking upon a study of the British Empire or of imperialism in general; the clarity of the author's conception will

make it a delight for the general reader and the specialist, too. The author set out to "describe the evolution of the English concept of empire from the epoch of Manchester free trade and anti-colonial Liberalism to that of imperial federalism and of the mystical, missionary and racist pananglicism of the end of the nineteenth century" (p. vii). His purpose was not to narrate the history of the empire, nor to analyze its economic foundations, however important, but to describe the "sentimental and idealistic elements [of a period in which they] . . . complemented and sometimes even determined men's conclusions on economic, commercial and financial matters" (p. 315). He has not offered a critique of imperialism, but the best possible materials for a critique of the imperialist idea, on the assumption that "only the examination of the concepts and doctrines of the various groups and individuals can . . . clarify the multiple aspects of the problem" (p. xii). Only rarely has the author betrayed his own attitude, as when he describes overseas expansion as part of the "natural historical evolution" of Britain (p. 99), or when he compares Beaconsfieldism to modern totalitarianism (p. 144). Otherwise, he has made himself one with each of his subjects in turn, by a mastery of the sources and a successful effort at sympathetic understanding. The summation of each individual's contribution to imperial thought is often a model of succinctness, as in the characterization of Seeley (p. 179).

GORDON GRIFFITHS, *University of California*

ALEXANDRA: EDWARD VII'S UNPREDICTABLE QUEEN. By E. E. P. Tisdall. (New York, John Day, 1954, pp. vi, 308, \$4.50.) Pleasantly written for today's public, a life of Queen Alexandra (1844-1925) cannot but have some interest for a generation rightly impressed with the "magic" of British monarchy. "Alix" was an authentic beauty, a genuine personality, bore a sufficiency of healthy children, and was satisfyingly unpolitical. What more could be asked for in a Princess of Wales and Queen Consort? Unpredictable she was in the little things—her "I go!" became legendary—but her patience under trial, her adaptability to circumstance, her unself-conscious gaiety and sympathy were traits of a stable character. Her vagueness and unflagging unpunctuality were matched by directness of action and unfailing memory for faces. Mr. Tisdall has gathered from scattered printed materials the accessible facts and stories about Alexandra's life; the results are agreeable if not important. For the first thirty years his characters hardly come alive, and the author's somewhat airy way with dates and historical events is occasionally irritating or confusing. Some unbased *obiter dicta* on political matters are easily ignored. Gradually accumulation of anecdotes and impressions ends in a fairly rounded portrayal. It is always, however, Alix as she appeared to others, for of letters or direct discourse by her there is strikingly little. The twelve illustrations are familiar, and the book is indexed.

HENRY DONALDSON JORDAN, *Clark University*

EMPIRE BY MANDATE: A HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Campbell L. Upthegrove. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1954, pp. 239, \$3.50.) In this account of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission as it related to Nauru, Togoland, the Cameroons, Tanganyika, Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan, Dr. Upthegrove seldom lifts his eyes from his sources, chiefly the minutes of the Mandates Commission and the reports of the British Colonial Office on the administration of the mandated territories. There are, therefore, despite a few feeble gestures, no real attempts to put the problem of governing quasi-internationalized dependent areas in its setting or to evaluate the mandatory experiment as it operated within the British Empire. The dust jacket suggests that

the book possesses great topical significance because of the current social, economic, and political unrest in underdeveloped areas. The manuscript, however, was completed as a doctoral dissertation in 1941 and apparently has been reproduced verbatim. There is no item in the bibliography dated later than 1940. The frequent textual references to "now" and "the present" all concern the period before American entry into the Second World War. The cross references are worse than useless, for they relate not to the printed text but to the typescript of the dissertation, one reference citing page 263 in a volume of 239 pages. At this point the diligent reader may avoid complete frustration only by recourse to the fairly adequate index. The writing is undistinguished, the proofreading is careless, and amazing errors have crept into the work. The reader is informed, for example, that Humphrey Milford was editor of *The British Yearbook of International Law* and of the *Survey of International Affairs. Empire by Mandate* may have some slight value as a brief summary of Britain's relations with the Mandates Commission, but it cannot stand comparison, even in its more restricted area, with the earlier published (but more recently written) *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeships* of Duncan Hall.

PAUL L. HANNA, *University of Florida*

MORRIS ALEXANDER: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Enid Alexander*. (Cape Town, Juta, 1953, pp. xiii, 256, 21s.) This anecdotal biography of a peripheral figure in modern South African politics is a case study in the decline of the Cape liberal tradition as represented by Morris Alexander. Establishing his Constitutional Democrat party rather than move with the Unionists into the South African party, which he considered illiberal, a decade later he found that this was the only vehicle available to him. When it joined Hertzog Nationalists as the United party, Alexander went along, and with a few others fought helplessly while it ended the old Cape native franchise. He saw his party make concessions to anti-Semitism, openly supported by the Malanites, in the 1937 Aliens Act. There is a measure of tragedy in his statement on that occasion to the assembly that he was its only member to have sat in the old Cape lower house. The writer forgives Dr. Malan, because after 1945 he dropped anti-Semitism. During the Pact administration Alexander had better relations with him and other Nationalists than with Smuts, of whom he had a cool opinion. Inevitably, however, he supported Smuts in the 1939 crisis, in which the author says that Hertzog rejected a plan to ignore the parliamentary verdict and maintain neutrality by martial law. If such a proposal were made, it would indicate that the neutralists did not believe that either an election or a referendum would help them. There are some odd slips. The Cape gets an assembly nine years after it had one (p. 126), and it is startling to read that union in 1910 extended the Cape colored vote (p. 127). There is an unfortunate omission of a leader in the group defending the Cape native vote, Senator F. S. Malan (p. 183), and Fusion is made to come two years early (p. 199).

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

THE GENTLEMAN OF RENAISSANCE FRANCE. By W. L. WILEY. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xii, 303, \$5.00.) Basing his book on original sources and relevant later literature Professor Wiley assists us toward a lively participation in the activities of the French nobleman of the sixteenth century—depict-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ing his *moeurs*, etiquette, dress, education, his life at court and in the country, in tournament and war. This *gentilhomme* would stand out with greater clarity, however, if the author had realized and portrayed the contrasts between him and the gentleman of Castiglione's earlier Italy and the gentleman of Elizabethan England. For the nobleman described here is essentially the developed medieval chevalier, not the Renaissance *Cortegiano*. This was clear to Castiglione, whose great book noted that "the French recognize only the nobility of arms and esteem all else as naught." Not for them that love of knowledge and concern with literary and artistic culture associated with the humanities. As the most "complete gentlemen" of France Professor Wiley chooses and portrays the Chevalier Bayard and the Maréchal de Brissac, men of chivalric honor and quality indeed. But neither these nor the others whose exploits enliven these pages represent or embody the well-rounded gentleman of the civilization properly called Renaissance; their humanity is incomplete in comparison with that of Duke Federico of Urbino, Baldassare Castiglione, Sir Philip Sidney. The book whets the appetite for more information. We come to realize that for full comprehension of its theme we need more thoroughgoing search and criticism of available sources, and more penetrating thinking on the social phenomena, ideas, and culture of this so-called golden age of the French nobility. Surely some part of the explanation of the qualities, deficiencies, and differences in the make-up of "gentlemen" in sixteenth-century Europe—from place to place and from generation to generation—is to be found in the character and effects of prolonged civil and international conflict and war. Following upon Italy's loss of freedom (by 1530) came the decline of "honor" and the standards of the Italian gentleman's conduct and culture; in France the ideal which Francis I envisaged hardly came to birth, the careers of "arms" and of "letters" never merged to shape individuals of a more ideal aristocratic class. And we need to realize more profoundly how the deep religious divisions of Reformation and Counter Reformation and of thirty years of intransigent war ravaged France and reduced the number and the quality of her aristocratic families.

ERNEST W. NELSON, *Duke University*

L'ÈRE DU RAIL. By L.-M. Jouffroy. Preface by Raoul Dautry. [Collection Armand Colin: Section d'histoire et sciences économiques, no. 286.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 224, 12, 250 fr.) This is one of Armand Colin's many semipopular books on rather technical subjects. For scholars it has the defects of a somewhat scanty bibliography and of clarity obtained too much at the expense of factual information. It deals chiefly with France, but has brief sections on the problems of transportation throughout the world. The author also interprets the influence of transportation in the light of human geography and demography; but these subjects are dealt with too briefly, so that, while the interest of the reader is aroused, the impression left on his mind is not clear. This little book has good points which the American scholar should not overlook. Monsieur Jouffroy has long been an authority on transportation and bears the name of a distinguished inventor in that field in the late eighteenth century. In 1932 he published a book in several volumes on the Est railroad which is a masterpiece of both exposition and of bibliographical information. In his present little book of *vulgarisation* there is an excellent account of the older methods of transportation in France and their effects on the social life, urbanization, and economy of France and the different classes of its population. There are also shrewd comments and much information on the changes brought about by the railroad, and, in the twentieth century, on those created by the competition with coal of gasoline, other forms of oil as fuel, and electricity. The most important manifestation of this competition, the automobile, is properly emphasized. This is

not a convenient book for the American scholar, but it is useful and informing, because the author writes from great knowledge and experience.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM, *University of Michigan*

RÉALISATIONS FRANÇAISES DE CARTIER À MONTCALM. By *Gustave Lanctot*. (Montreal, Chantecler, 1951, pp. 210.) In this book the author has brought together a collection of articles which have been published previously in various journals during the period 1918-1948 in order that they may be more available. Of chief interest to students of Canadian history are the articles entitled "L'établissement de La Roche à l'île de Sable"; "Les premiers budgets de la Nouvelle-France"; "Les troupes de la Nouvelle-France"; "Le dernier effort de la France au Canada." The first deals with the La Roche settlement on Sable Island as a deliberate, planned event, not accidental; the second gives a fragmentary but useful picture of government expenditures in New France; the third is a reproduction of certain documents; and the fourth is an account of the fate of the last French convoy sent to Canada. The other articles are more popular in character, the last in the book, "Réalizations de la Nouvelle-France, de Cartier à Montcalm," being a useful summary essay to put into the hands of students.

R. M. SAUNDERS, *University of Toronto*

LEMOYNE D'IBERVILLE: SOLDIER OF NEW FRANCE. By *Nellis M. Crouse*. (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1954, pp. ix, 280, \$4.00.) A biography of the outstanding "Macabee of New France" in English is long overdue. Americans claim him almost as much as Canada does, for his career touched many phases of the history of the continent: Hudson Bay, New York, New Orleans and Louisiana, and explorers like Radisson, La Salle, Hennepin, Tonty, Jean Peré, Pénicaut, and others. This is a very readable account of Iberville's life, based on most of the available printed material. There is little that is new to the experienced delver in Canadiana, but most of the data has been so scattered that it is highly convenient to have it all assembled within the covers of one volume. No manuscripts are cited, though many known to be in existence would have been of some importance, such as Iberville's plan for attacking New York and his excellent review of early French exploration in the Hudson Bay country. Iberville's relations with several of the earliest explorers in that area and about the Great Lakes, such as his own father and uncle, need much more investigation than is given them in this book. For example, it is only Iberville among Radisson's contemporaries, who gives correctly the details of the latter's Hudson Bay and French career. The volume is thoroughly documented, though a very confusing and old fashioned style is followed in the footnotes. A reader must search through many pages to find the last citation made by the author under an "*op. cit.*" reference. Some strange references turn up in the bibliography, such as "Archives des colonies. In the Public Archives at Ottawa." It would be an astute reader who would infer from this item that the author was referring to a tremendous body of manuscript material in Paris! To be sure, copies are available in Ottawa, but an inexperienced reader would never make that deduction from the item as printed. Another misleading item reads: "Rich, E. E., ed. *Copy-Book of Letters Outward, etc.* 1948." Again, a reader would need second sight to conclude that this volume contains the early correspondence of the Hudson's Bay Company. There are numerous other strange citations. The work is a fine example of book-making, has an excellent index but only two maps, and is supplied with something extremely rare for an early French explorer—an authentic portrait.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

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JUAN II DE ARAGON (1398-1479): MONARQUIA Y REVOLUCION EN LA ESPAÑA DEL SIGLO XV. By J. Vicens Vives, Professor at the University of Barcelona. (Barcelona, Teide, 1953, pp. 420, ptas. 300.) This volume is the first full-length study of Juan II, king of Navarre and Aragon, and father of the Ferdinand whose marriage to Isabel of Castile united Spain under the joint rule of *los reyes católicos*. Besides producing a detailed personal and political biography based on a wealth of archival documentation, Professor Vicens has pondered deeply the chronic difficul-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ties of governing "Invertebrate Spain"; and he sees the fifteenth century as the era in which the internal political problems of Spain began to take their distinctive modern shape. Most interesting from this standpoint is his treatment of the Catalan revolution of 1460-72, in which the struggle to preserve regional liberties against the authoritarian pretensions of the king was mingled with bitter class conflict between the commercial landowning oligarchy on the one hand, and the peasants and the *menu peuple* of Barcelona on the other. The policy of Juan II tended to support the peasants and the urban masses, without, however, being sufficiently sensitive to the force of regional sentiment. A proud and politically experienced aristocracy risked civil war under the banner of regional liberty, and both sides invited French intervention. When, after a long siege, Barcelona capitulated in 1472, Catalan commercial prosperity had been ruined, and neither the conflict between peasant and landlord, nor that between regional autonomy and central authority, had been satisfactorily resolved. Without expounding his viewpoint in detail, the author evidently sees painful analogies between this fifteenth-century revolution and the recent Spanish Civil War: class conflict between the wealthy Barcelona oligarchy and the syndicates of peasants and workers; separatist demagoguery in Catalonia and incomprehension by the central government of the psychological importance of regional autonomy; readiness of the combatants to ruin their country physically and morally by attracting foreign intervention.

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SIMON RUIZ ET LES "ASIENTOS" DE PHILIPPE II. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section, Centre de recherches historiques, Affaires et gens d'affaires, VI.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 135.) "Nothing," Thorold Rogers believed, "would be more instructive in the interpretation of the struggle between the United Provinces and Philip the Second . . . than information on the rate at which Philip's bills were discounted at Genoa and elsewhere." After a lapse of seventy years, some of the data which the English historian considered so significant have been brought to light by a French scholar working in Spanish archives. Rogers, perhaps, would have been puzzled by the devious ways in which Philip II financed his imperial plans beyond the Pyrenees. As the title of M. Lapeyre's study suggests, the *asiento* was the chief financial instrument for placing funds at the disposal of army paymasters and civilian agents of the crown in Flanders and Italy. The following *asiento* may serve to clarify the subject. In Namur, on September 28, 1577, Pero Ruiz, a Spanish banker from Medina del Campo, contracted to deliver 192,000 reals in specie to the order of Juan of Austria, in Paris, before October 21. (Ruiz already had the money at Nantes.) In return for the promised specie Juan gave Ruiz a bill of exchange for 16,000 *escudos*, payable at the treasury, in Madrid, ten days after sight. The third part of the *asiento* was a royal license authorizing Ruiz to export from Spain 24,000 *escudos* "in gold or silver, as best suits him." The exchange on Madrid commanded a premium of almost nineteen per cent, which covered Ruiz' expenses in the transaction, interest on the investment, and insurance against the (very real) risk that the king would not live up to the *asiento* in full or on time. Thanks to the Ruiz papers, only recently deposited in public archives, Lapeyre has been conspicuously successful in unraveling the intricacies of international finance in the period in which treasure from the Indies was seeping out of Spain to pay Philip's mounting expenses in Europe. The Ruizes were not the most powerful merchant bankers in the sixteenth century, but they had confidential and profitable contacts with "the strongest [banking] houses of Lyon, Antwerp, Lisbon, and Genoa." In their subservience to the demands of Philip II, and of Charles V before him, the bankers mobilized immense resources for

the uses of war and political intrigue, while the drying up of investment in commerce and industry paved the way for Spanish decadence in the seventeenth century.

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THE SALE OF PUBLIC OFFICE IN THE SPANISH INDIES UNDER THE HAPSBURGS. By J. H. Parry. [Ibero-Americana: 37.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 73, \$1.50.) Dynastic wars had drained the coffers of Spain. Philip II, compelled by necessity, authorized the sale of certain offices and introduced the practice in the Indies. The author shows how once the floodgate was let down the system developed with astounding rapidity. Before long the whole of Spain and the Indies became infected with an evil that cost the crown much more than it produced. It lowered the morale of officials, spread a creeping paralysis over the administration, minimized public confidence in royal justice, and sapped the strength of the empire overseas. More than a mere sale of offices the practice proved to be the abdication of royal authority in basic functions. The passing of the Habsburgs did not end the evil which continued somewhat modified until it was abolished by a law of the Cortes in 1812. The present study traces the origin of the practice and discusses in summary but scholarly fashion the sale of notarial offices, miscellaneous fee-earning offices, municipal dignities, and salaried offices. The law and procedure of the system is likewise summarized. The short monograph is a thorough, compact analysis of a phase of Spanish colonial administration that has long been needed, a worthy contribution to the Ibero-Americana series.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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REGERING OCH ALLMOGE UNDER KRISTINAS EGEN STYRELSE: RIKSDAGEN 1650. By *Georg Wittrock*. [Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, Volume XLI.] (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells, 1953, pp. xv, 269, kr. 15.) Professor Wittrock has here brought together the complaints of the Swedish peasants, the discussions of the Council and the Riksdag thereon, and the comments and decisions of the young queen, in the period 1645-1650. The theme is the conflict between the rising power of the nobles on the one hand and the broader interests of the monarchy and the country people on the other. This detailed account continues an earlier study by Wittrock on the period of the queen's minority (Vol. XXXVIII, 1948, in same series); it is of significance both socially and politically. Readers lacking a mastery of Swedish can get the essentials from the twelve-page English summary, although it must be added that both summary and text assume a knowledge of Swedish conditions in the seventeenth century that is as foreign to most as is the language itself. The Thirty Years' War increased greatly the wealth and pretensions of the Swedish nobility. Gustavus Adolphus had begun a system of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

acquiring support by donations and sales of land and tax rights to nobles; Christina, especially after she was declared of age in 1644, felt forced to extend this policy. But its dangers increased as the nobles returned from war, with experience in lands where men of their class were real masters. Preservation of the historic Swedish freedoms was not easy. Some amelioration and control were obtained over excessive demands for taxes, workdays, and services to travelers; in the sensational case of Lars Fleming, who introduced the "wooden horse" to punish recalcitrant peasants, the charges of the victims were sent to the high court by the queen, and the peasants won a cancellation of their contract with Fleming. Real serfdom was not permitted in Sweden, but in this period it was threatening; Christina's insistence on law and custom helped the peasantry to retain their ancient rights against what appeared to be a "trend of the times."

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

MODERN GERMAN HISTORY. By *Ralph Flenley*, University of Toronto. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1953, pp. xii, 406, \$6.00.) Dr. Flenley's text on modern German history is a well-intentioned book. He is quite properly dissatisfied with the character and the quality of existing surveys of the field and he is also to be commended for his desire to give more attention to the liberal currents in German history as well as to integrate social, economic, and cultural history with the political. His pages on Goethe are, as a matter of fact, the best in the book and he also has some finely written pages on German liberalism (although it is hard to see how he can lump Arndt, Goerres and the Burschenschaften with the liberalism of Rotteck and Welcker). The realization of the author's plan, however, is not too happy. In the first place he attempts to cover too much within the compass of what is, after all, a relatively short account. He begins with the sixteenth century, devoting almost one third of the volume to the period before the nineteenth century. The result of attempting to cover such a vast field is an account which, for the most part, provides little more than what you would get if you assembled all the paragraphs dealing with Germany out of a reputable and good-sized text on modern European history. Moreover, the twentieth century, which suffers most in the usual survey, is here too accorded very summary treatment. The book is also marred by several other defects. It is poorly written,

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with many colloquialisms, stylistic and grammatical errors, and often clumsy and ludicrous phrases (which do not reflect too well on the publisher's editors). There are numerous typographical errors as well as many factual inaccuracies. Among the latter are: The title of Friedrich List's main work is "A National System of Political Economy" and not of "National Economy" (p. 162). Emperor Francis II of Austria died in 1835 and could, therefore, hardly be an epileptic in 1848 (p. 171); the author obviously means Ferdinand I. Stephan Born was not a Marxist "agent" (p. 176); he differed with Marx on many fundamental issues. In the light of Sauter's new material it is necessary to revise the statement that Friedrich List was "the father of German railways" (p. 242); this title should go to Josef von Baeder. Windthorst was anything but "short-sighted" (p. 274); the meaning would have been clearer if the author had said "near-sighted." The I. G. Farben was not organized as such until after World War I and should therefore not come under discussion of economic developments before the war. The Pan-German League was organized by Karl Peters in 1891 and not by E. Hasse in 1893 (p. 316). A very erroneous impression is given by a statement that the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils "deliberated as to whether they should go with the government or the communists" (p. 347); it was crucial for the course of the German revolution that the councils in Germany were always under the control of the Majority Socialists, and this fact had a great deal to do with keeping Germany from going communist in 1918-1919. The author's discussion of economic councils under the Weimar Republic would have been less confusing if he had consulted Nathan Reich's *Labour Relations in Republican Germany*. Walther Rathenau was assassinated in 1922 and therefore could hardly have participated in the rationalization of industry (p. 359), although his theories, of course, and his work during the war were influential. Einstein was not a refugee from the Nazis (p. 376); he left Germany long before.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College*

RUDOLF VIRCHOW: DOCTOR, STATESMAN, ANTHROPOLOGIST. By *Erwin H. Ackerknecht*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953, pp. xv, 304, \$5.00.) This study of Rudolf Virchow is a contribution of unusual interest. The author presents a brief life history of this outstanding scientist followed by an analysis of his work not only as a doctor but as a statesman and anthropologist. The contributions of Virchow to medicine, particularly in the field of pathology, were of such importance as to number him among those great scientists of the last century who laid the foundations for modern medicine. The student of medicine will doubtless be surprised to learn, as stated in this volume, that Virchow's role on the German political scene was of such importance that, "Bismarck was so annoyed by the little professor that he tried to get rid of him by a challenge to a duel." The author has so skillfully portrayed each of the roles that Virchow played, in terms of the contemporary life of his time, that this volume constitutes a valuable contribution to the literature on modern European history.

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ART UNDER A DICTATORSHIP. By *Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xxii, 277, 45 plates, \$5.50.) This very courageous and scholarly book might well be considered a key to an understanding of the history of the visual arts under the dictatorships of the twentieth century. The book is a documentation of the main restrictions and dictated directions of the visual arts practiced in Nazi Germany. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt is alert also to the essential similarity between "national socialist" art as dictated and financed by the Nazis and "social realism" art which is part of the communist threat to individual freedom of expression. The book presents the case history of Hitler's Germany and the sinister events

of those three decades in the areas of Nazi control. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt integrates several recent circumstances and events in the United States and brings the problem to our own threshold. The restriction of the subject to the visual arts was a logical limitation imposed by the author's interests. Books by other former members of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, United States Office of Military Government in Germany, have related the story of the Nazi seizure of European public and private collections. Informed people everywhere, too, are aware in a general way, of Goebbels' (also the Communists') interest in the press, the cinema, radio, the concert, and theater as media for controlled propaganda. But the sometimes subtle, sometimes high-handed and criminal subversion and direction of the visual arts by the dictators have not been so well known. The peculiarly well-qualified Dr. Lehmann-Haupt views the whole problem with the detachment of a political scientist and the understanding of a creative artist. The book includes interviews with living victims (and the stark testimony of the dead) of Hitler's Germany and occupied Europe, of post-World War II East Germany, of Russia and her satellites, as well as the evidence of the dictators' official and unofficial actions, plots, programs, and publications. A very minor technical translator's error will be noted by military historians. On page 92, Oberkommand Wehrmacht (OKW) should be translated "High Command of the Armed Forces," not "Army High Command." In keeping with this correction, the German navy and air force war-art programs paralleled the army organization related on page 92; for a time all were under the command of Herr Major Luitpold Adam.

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THE REBIRTH OF AUSTRIA. By *Richard Hiscocks*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. ix, 263, \$3.50.) The author of the above volume, a Canadian by birth, as British Council Representative in Austria from 1946 to 1949, had the opportunity to consult many important figures in Austrian public life. Making full use of these contacts, Mr. Hiscocks has written a solid, interesting survey of Austrian affairs since 1945. Not only has he given a good account of the political and diplomatic history of the Republic, but he has dealt adequately with the economic and social problems of the little country and the amazing cultural revival that has taken place since the war, in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles. Running like a red thread through the volume is the contrast between the Russian policy of close co-operation in establishing a democratic republic in 1945, unhindered by restraints or attempted dictation, and the vexatious Russian obstructionism of more recent years. At the onset, the Soviet military authorities co-operated to the utmost with Dr. Renner in establishing an Austrian coalition government, which they allowed to remain relatively independent of Russian interference. Keenly disappointed and offended over the results of the November, 1945, elections, when Communists were elected to only 4 of the 165 seats in the National Assembly rather than the large number—perhaps 40 per cent (p. 42)—which they had expected to obtain, the Russians definitely changed their attitude toward Austria from one of co-operation to one of obstruction. If before 1946 they ever seriously intended to give the Austrians their freedom, the Russians from that time on have constantly frustrated all efforts to sign a peace treaty which would give the Austrians their independence. In fact, in the fall of 1950 they went so far as to encourage the Austrian Communists to wage a series of general strikes aimed at wrecking the Austrian trade union movement and eventually turning Austria into a "People's Democracy"—eastern European style. Mr. Hiscocks' volume can be read with profit by everyone interested in the spirited struggle of the Austrian Republic to obtain freedom and in Russian policies in central Europe.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

L'AUSTRIA E LA QUESTIONE ROMANA DALLA RIVOLUZIONE DI LUGLIO ALLA FINE DELLA CONFERENZA DIPLOMATICA ROMANA (AGOSTO 1830-LUGLIO 1831). By *Narciso Nada*. [Università di Torino, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Volume V, fasc. 3.] (Turin, the University, 1953, pp. 193, L. 1100.) It does not seem to be in the least surprising that a diligent use of the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv of Vienna would be a source of enlightenment to scholars concerned with Austrian policy toward the Italian states during the revolutions of the Risorgimento, but it is only recently that Italians have found it possible to include these valuable materials in their researches. Almost inevitably, an honest use of the Austrian archives leads to a new view of Austrian intentions in regard to Italy, since the Austrian side of the argument was patriotically neglected in older writings, and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the preferred sources were those hostile to the "Holy Alliance." While it satisfied Gualterio, Bianchi, and other authorities on the subject to see the Austrians as motivated by a desire to impose the blackest reaction in Italy and by a sordid greed for territorial expansion (especially in the Papal States), later workers in the field like Mr. Nada, relying heavily upon the Austrian archives and enjoying a calmer outlook now that the hereditary enemy is laid low, can take a revised view and say: "Metternich's policy, though quite firm and exacting in its conservative inclinations, has appeared to me to be more moderate, more 'reformist' than it has been thought to be until now (and this, in my opinion, is the most important result of my researches)" (p. 4). In his sources and partly in his conclusions, Mr. Nada follows in the footsteps of Salata and of Pedrotti in their work on Austrian policy in the Parmesan and Modenese risings of 1831 and in those of Ruggero Moscati in his excellent and more comprehensive treatment of Austrian diplomacy in regard to Neapolitan affairs from 1821 to 1859. Within the compass of its short period, this study shows very well that Metternich never intended to violate his own basic principle of maintaining the Vienna settlement by indulging desires for territory in the legations and demonstrates his various feints and threats to have been directed against an increase of French influence in the peninsula and toward a strengthening of the papal regime. Prince Metternich made such a magnificent villain in the older historiography that it seems a pity to have him replaced by a merely villainous situation in which unreasonable radicals contended against unreasonable reactionaries, both courting another round of ruinous international war in Italy, but this is the valid and reasonable correction furnished by Mr. Nada in this monograph. GEORGE T. ROMANI, *Northwestern University*

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Near Eastern History

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GREECE: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY, 1939-1953. By *Bickham Sweet-Escott*. (New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1954, pp. vii, 207, \$4.00.) The author of this work is a banker by profession who served from 1939 to 1945 with the British Special Operations Executive (resistance movements) operating in the Balkans and elsewhere. He has divided his study into two equal parts, the first dealing with political developments and the second with economic. The latter is by far the more valuable. It consists of two chapters describing the evolution of the Greek economy from 1945 to 1953 and three additional chapters dealing in greater detail with various aspects of the national economy including agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing, mining, industry, commerce, finance, trade unionism, and social conditions. The appendixes provide supplementary statistical data on population, occupations, diet, agricultural and industrial production, foreign trade, budget figures, national debt, and volume of postwar assistance. The author's conclusions are not encouraging. Despite the progress made in recent years the Greek economy has not yet attained even the precarious balance of the prewar period. "Greece cannot continue indefinitely to import raw materials and manufactured goods on the present scale. At some time American assistance will come to an end, and Greece will then have to make ends meet. It cannot fairly be said that she is in sight of doing so at present" (pp. 152-53). The political half of the book provides a summary of events since 1939. The author obviously is not as familiar with the material in this field as he is with that concerning economic matters. His interpretation of political developments is consistently "official," sometimes to the point of naiveté. This is certainly the case when he states that the primary reason that Britain sent troops to Greece in the fall of 1944 was "to make it possible for relief to reach the country" (p. 133). Also he is unjustified in stating that "it is hard to see what other course was open" to King George when he accepted the Metaxas dictatorship on August 4, 1936 (p. 8). The day before the leaders of the two largest political parties had informed the king that they were ready to form a coalition government. When the author reaches the period of the battle of Athens of December, 1944, he admits that "controversy still surrounds the steps by which the dispute over the disarming of the guerrillas degenerated into civil war" (p. 35). But the account that follows is completely one-sided and fails to inform the reader of the issues in dispute. This book, in short, provides a useful survey of the economic development since World War II, but the political section needs to be balanced by other sources.

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Far Eastern History

THE MULTI-STATE SYSTEM OF ANCIENT CHINA. By *Richard Louis Walker*, Assistant Professor of History and Fellow of Trumbull College in Yale University. (Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1953, pp. xii, 135, \$3.50.) This stimulating study of an important and neglected subject, the political phenomena of the Ch'un Ch'iu period (722-481 B.C.), should be read by all students of political science and international relations. For specialists in ancient China it offers, within brief compass, the results of very wide reading and laborious research together with some bold and challenging hypotheses. Professor Walker will not have expected that all students will agree with these without reservation. Especially debatable is his apparent acceptance of two of his basic texts, the *Tso Chuan* and the *Kuo Yü*, as faithful reflections of both the events and the ideas of the Ch'un Ch'iu period. Henri Maspero, in a study which Walker cites in a note (p. 109, n. 21), concluded, in part upon the basis of its long-range predictions, that the *Tso Chuan* could not have reached its present form before about 300 B.C. This reviewer, in a critical study also cited by Professor Walker (p. 208, n. 20), brought evidence to show that while the historical facts in the *Tso Chuan* are no doubt accurate, many of the conversations it records have certainly been added later. Yet Professor Walker seems to accept conversations, uncanny predictions (see p. 51), and all as part of the historical record. The dating of the *Kuo Yü* seems, if anything, more questionable. These facts do not invalidate Walker's work, but they do throw doubt on some of his conclusions, such, for instance, as his contention that certain phenomena attributed by Ch'i Ssü-ho to Chan Kuo times really took place earlier. A recurrent theme is the insistence that "there probably never was much of a Chou empire to break to pieces" (p. 13). The author's principal source on this point is an article published in 1935 (*American Journal of International Law*, XXIX, 616-35) by the late Roswell S. Britton, who was rather more tentative on this point than Walker is. It has long been recognized that the early Chou empire did not include, as tradition insists it did, such areas as the state of Ch'u. But it was a considerable empire for all that, with a very interesting organization. This is attested not only by the transmitted literature but also by many authentic and revealing bronze inscriptions. Neither the article by Britton nor this book by Walker gives evidence that their authors were conversant with these latter materials. Despite these and other points on which issue could be taken by this reviewer, he feels very real gratitude to Professor Walker for giving us the results of his extensive and at times very ingenious researches in this difficult and little-known field. The notes alone are a gold mine of useful bibliography. It is to be hoped that in a future edition Professor Walker will make his material more available for reference by adding an index.

H. G. CREEL, *University of Chicago*

SOUTH CHINA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: BEING THE NARRATIVES OF GALEOTE PEREIRA, FR. GASPAR DA CRUZ, O.P., FR. MARTIN DE RADA, O.E.S.A. (1550-1575). Edited by C. R. Boxer, Camões Professor of Portuguese, University of London, King's College. [The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. CVI.] (London, the Society, 1953, pp. xci, 388.) One way to understand Chinese history and society is through the cool-minded description of Westerners whose experiences and observations may supplement Chinese sources. In this respect the volume under review is a useful contribution to sinology. It contains three narratives depicting South China by pioneer Portuguese and Spanish visitors in 1550-1575. The first narrative was written by a Portuguese merchant, Galeote Pereira, who was captured in 1549 by Chinese coast guards and exiled from Foochow to Kwangsi, where he eventually escaped. He jotted down what he saw and what he was told. The second was penned by a Dominican friar, Gaspar da Cruz, who used Pereira's work as a main source. Cruz had worked in India and Cambodia before he spent several months in Canton in 1556 and thereafter he went to Malacca and Ormuz; hence in *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, there are chapters dealing with all of these places. The third account by a Spanish friar and mathematician, Martin de Rada, was made from his letters written in 1575 about the journey from Manila to Fukien, and about, *inter alia*, Chinese scientific knowledge, population, and national revenue. He advocated the conquest of China. These three narratives contain valuable information about the judicial system, prison conditions, municipal administration, public transportation, agriculture, industry, art and architecture. The authors believed that sixteenth-century China was a country where justice and peace were well maintained, art and industry highly developed, and roads in many ways more advanced than those of Europe. The poverty-stricken Chinese were better off than the British and Portuguese. However, their descriptions are not free from exaggeration and error. The editor, Professor C. R. Boxer of the University of London, is an authority on the early Western literature about the Far East. His introduction and footnotes demonstrate his profound knowledge. His painstaking editorship still leaves room for sinologists and linguists to delve into Chinese history and gazetteers for identification of Chinese place names and official titles. S. Y. TENG, *Indiana University*

WAR IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1793-1815. By C. Northcote Parkinson, Raffles Professor of History, University of Malaya. (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. 477, \$8.00.) *War in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1815*, is Professor Parkinson's third book, but we hope not his last, dealing with these years. In his *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1815*, he dealt with British commerce in the East; *The Trade Winds*, which he edited and to which he contributed two of the essays, treated British overseas trade during these twenty-two years. *War in the Eastern Seas* parallels the volume on trade with the naval and military history of the East Indies station which stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Professor Parkinson plans to write a monumental history of the British naval wars from 1793 to 1815 in which he will deal with these wars in other parts of the globe as he has done in this volume with those in the Eastern sphere. While using a variety of source material he has drawn most heavily on the letters in the Public Record Office of the commanders-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope and East Indies stations. The book is divided into an introduction and three chronological periods divided at 1802 and 1809. This forty-page introduction is a very fine descriptive survey of the colonies and trading posts of the various European powers from the Cape to China. Students of economic and imperial history who may not be particularly interested in the details of naval warfare which the volume treats so fully will find this introduction well worth reading. Professor Parkinson is most effective when he analyzes the reasons why

England was more successful in the Eastern seas than her several European rivals. Although the colonies of other nations were affected by the war, the book naturally deals mostly with the clashes between the principal rivals, England and France. The author avoids the straight narrative approach by analyzing the fundamental strategic objectives of both Britain and France and the tactical choices before each commander in every naval encounter. This approach enables the reader to avoid the feeling of the inevitability of events which is so often found in military and naval history. One defect which may prevent the volume from having a widespread appeal is the almost total absence of accounts of the wars in Europe and of internal developments in England and France. That Professor Parkinson has the ability to provide such accounts is shown by his superb three-page summary of the naval war in the Indian Ocean from 1794 to 1801 at the end of Part I of the narrative. Why he did not repeat this performance at the end of other chapters and especially at the end of the book, puzzles the reviewer. Perhaps when he has written his complete history of the naval wars from 1793 to 1815 this difficulty will disappear. There are a few typographical errors but not enough to mar the pleasure of reading a good piece of research well presented.

DONALD GROVE BARNES, *Western Reserve University*

LIANG CH'I-CH'AO AND THE MIND OF MODERN CHINA. By *Joseph R. Levenson*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXVI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 256, \$4.00.) Central in modern Chinese history has been the problem, faced by China's intellectuals, of how to modernize yet at the same time retain confidence in their ancient civilization, and thereby in themselves. Among the men who have struggled with his problem, the journalist, scholar, and political reformer Liang Ch'í-Ch'ao (1873-1929) unquestionably holds an eminent position. In many ways, indeed, his life epitomizes the desperate psychological need of an entire generation somehow to accommodate a dying Chinese tradition to the relentless encroachments of a dynamic West. The present work treats Liang along two lines. The first is a biographical account of the outward facts in his life. The second is an analytical study of the intellectual syntheses—and the inherent contradictions in each of these syntheses—successively formulated by Liang in his attempts to reconcile Chinese civilization with the West. Despite the author's disclaimer in his preface of any attempt to make an inner psychological study of Liang as an individual, the purely biographical portion of his volume is not wholly satisfactory. Though there is a mass of detail—some nonspecialists may perhaps at times think too much detail—its nature is such that it fails to add up to any clear-cut picture of Liang as a human personality, influencing and being influenced by other personalities. Only two pages, for example, suffice to cover his entire boyhood until the age of sixteen; only two sentences, his entire married life! Perhaps, however, the difficulty lies less with the author than with his sources, for Chinese biographical writing has traditionally tended to ignore the private lives of its subjects unless these have a manifest bearing upon their public careers. The analysis of Liang the thinker on public issues, on the other hand, is a brilliant achievement, not merely because of its expert handling of a very complex configuration of intellectual forces but especially because it successfully demonstrates how this configuration is dynamically compelled to change from epoch to epoch. Too many studies on modern China concern themselves with events and movements in the abstract; too few of them with the thinking of the individuals involved in these movements. The present volume blazes a new path which it is hoped many scholars will follow. It should be of profound interest not only to specialists but to all persons who wish to see what happens when Western ideas and ideals impinge upon an ancient non-Western civilization.

DERK BODDE, *University of Pennsylvania*

MODERN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY. By *Werner Levi*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1953, pp. 399, \$5.50.) Professor Levi has undertaken to discuss a subject of great complexity and importance. Starting with the Manchu Empire in the nineteenth century, he traces China's foreign policies through the early Republic and period of Nationalist rule into the opening years of Communist power. His purpose, he indicates, is not to describe events in great detail, but rather to analyze and interpret. The book considers or touches upon many of the major topics it might be expected to contain. At times the analysis is useful. Unfortunately, in too many places it is superficial and contradictory. The author states, for example, that not long after the Russo-Japanese War the imperial government of China "set out . . . to create nationalism in the Empire." Apparently the term, nationalism, is confused here with the throne's slightly modernized version of the traditional emphasis on the relations of ruler and subject. The fact that Peking cited the example of modern states in its edicts and announced plans for a constitutional monarchy does not mean that it was seeking to promote nationalism. Of the contradictions two instances are typical. The view is expressed that the early conflict between the Manchu government and the Western commercial powers "appeared much more difficult of reconciliation than in reality it would have had to be." But a few pages later the existence of an irreconcilable conflict is suggested by two assertions: that imperial "society did not need trade, which could only lead to its destruction" and that the foreigners' demands for equal treatment "struck at the roots of Chinese society and threatened to undermine the position of the ruling classes." Again, the author declares that the doctrine of the Chinese Communists is a poor guide to their foreign policy and that it is better to rest an analysis of their course on "traditional and basic factors . . . such as national security, geography, or resources. . . ." Yet he declares elsewhere that Peking's policy toward the United States has been determined by the Communists' doctrinal view of the American social order. The discussion of United States-Chinese Communist relations is, in general, unsatisfactory. The failure to look into Stilwell's recall as a major turning point, and the scant references to MacArthur's influence on China policy some years later, are symptomatic. So, too, is the dismissal of the "Great Debate" about China on the ground that it "had little to do with the facts" and "belongs, not to Chinese history, but rather to the sad history of American party politics." The subject, nevertheless, demands consideration, since political use of the China issue in this country has had crucial effects on American policy toward China and must have influenced Chinese Communist policy toward the United States.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER, *Detroit, Michigan*

CANADA AND THE FAR EAST, 1940-1953. By *H. F. Angus*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. x, 129, \$3.50.) What makes Professor Angus' book a significant contribution to the literature on international affairs is his analysis of the attitudes and opinions which shape Canada's external policies in general and her Asian policies in particular. The author is not content with a survey of Canada's relations with various Asian countries—China, Japan, Southeast Asian countries, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon—but looks "deep below the surface for the hard core of self-interest, sentiment, prejudice even, which . . . lies hidden" (p. 106). Although a handbook rather than a detailed treatise on international relations, the book is well documented, based largely on the excellent publications of the Canadian Department of External Affairs which were not available at the time when Professor A. R. M. Lower wrote his *Canada and the Far East* (IPR Inquiry Series, New York, 1940). The most thoughtful and original chapter is that

on "The Nature of Canadian Nationalism," which reveals the masterful touch of a political scientist long familiar with public opinion trends in Canada. The fact that Canadian nationalism has a mission, i.e., "to lead the middle powers in the construction and maintenance of a peaceful world," should be of particular interest to American statesmen and political scientists. For although the major aims of the foreign policies of the United States and Canada are essentially similar, there have been differences of opinions which were to be accounted for by the occasional lack of consideration on the part of the United States of the aims and aspirations of the young confident Canadian nation. On the other hand, as is confirmed in this book, if Canada is duly consulted by the United States in the formulation of major international policies, she will undoubtedly go the distance with her powerful neighbor. Canadian policy toward the greater part of Asia is summarized as having three aspects, namely, "the fulfilment of Canada's obligations as a member of the United Nations," "the establishment of collective security," and her "interest in checking the spread of communist power" (chap. 4, esp. p. 32). In reviewing the operation of such a policy, however, the author almost completely refrains from any criticism and shares the general complacency in Canada that Canadian foreign policy is in "safe hands." For Canadian foreign policy is based on Canadian opinion which, in the last analysis, is formulated by her statesmen. As long as Mr. Lester Pearson's policy conforms to the "Canadian average" or "weighted average," there can indeed be no effective criticism (chap. 11). The weakness of the book is its almost entire lack of analysis of the situation in Asia and the varied aspirations of various Asian countries with which it deals. Thus it is possible, for instance, for the author summarily to dismiss the alliance of Asian nationalism "with communism to overcome the powers of landlords and money-lenders . . . as a sort of perversion" (p. 9). All in all, the book is a brilliant analysis from a strictly Canadian point of view of the principles of Canadian policy toward East and Southeast Asia. It is not without dull pages and sections. But that dullness is not the author's fault; for never since Arthur Meighen's insistence on the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has the Far East been one of the primary concerns of Canadian external policy.

PING-TI Ho, *University of British Columbia*

United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

PIÈRES CONTRECOEUR ET AUTRES DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT LE CONFLIT ANGLO-FRANÇAIS SUR L'OHIO DE 1745 À 1756. Edited by *Fernand Grenier*, Professeur au Petit Séminaire de Québec. [Université Laval, Publications des Archives du Séminaire de Québec, I.] (Québec: Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, pp. xi, 485, \$10.00.) This is the first volume of a projected series of publications which in the future will make part of the rich manuscript holdings of the Archives du Séminaire de Québec more readily available to historians. Since the seminary has a limited staff and is not always able to permit visiting scholars to make immediate inspection of its collections, this series is especially welcome. The present volume includes a comprehensive index, a list of documents published in the book, an excellent bibliography, and is annotated with care and exacting scholarship. Chosen from the Viger-Verreault collection are documents arranged in chronological order relating to the Anglo-French struggle for the Ohio region in the 1750's. Claude-Pierre Pécaudy

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

de Contrecoeur emerges from these pages as a capable French officer who was awarded the cross of the Order of Saint Louis for his services. As commandant of Niagara he cared for the troops moving south from Canada; and later he assumed command of all the posts in the Ohio area and directed the construction of Fort Duquesne. The French side of the Jumonville affair and events leading up to the British defeat on the Monongahela in July of 1755 are also revealed in this volume. Of particular interest to the specialist are the forty-eight pages devoted to French translations of Washington's journal of 1754, the original of which has not been located. Printed in parallel columns are the extract of the journal from the Viger-Verreau collection and the longer translation which was published in Paris in 1756 (part eight of the *Mémoire contenant le Précis de Faits*). The texts of the two versions are sufficiently different so that it appears that two separate translations were made; and it is also evident that the same English text was used. Although the editor has given a summary of the long-standing controversies relating to this journal, he apparently did not have an opportunity to consult Douglas Freeman's scholarly critique. It is hoped that subsequent volumes in this series will maintain Professor Grenier's high standard of historical editing.

WILBUR R. JACOBS, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

ELISHA KENT KANE AND THE SEAFARING FRONTIER. By *Jeannette Mirsky*.

[Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. viii, 201, \$3.00.)

Our American heroes of the Arctic have been pretty much forgotten. This vivid, absorbing, fast-paced narrative will restore to living memory the career of one of them, Elisha Kent Kane (1820-1857). Springing from a Philadelphia family of culture and substance, he found opportunity to travel widely, acquire a medical degree, and engage in minor forms of public service. He was with Caleb Cushing on the mission to the Far East, and for President Polk he performed a confidential task that took him to Mexico City. With the early life of the subject dealt with in the first four chapters of her book, Mrs. Mirsky in the remaining eight presents Kane in his reputation-winning roles of Arctic traveler and explorer. He was medical officer on the U.S. Grinnell expedition of 1850-1851, and leader of the expedition of 1853-1855. From these voyages he gathered the experience and scientific knowledge recorded in his two books, published in 1853 and 1856. The two expeditions on which he served set forth with the intention of finding Sir John Franklin's lost party. In the course of these searches, unsuccessful, Kane learned how to live in the Arctic as the Eskimo lived, in respect to food, clothing, and transport. Mrs. Mirsky writes entertainingly and picturesquely of the northern perils, heroisms, and adventures of the exploring parties with which Kane was connected. He stands revealed as a highly intelligent, resourceful man, one who advanced the techniques of successful Arctic exploration by taking over Eskimo principles. Mrs. Mirsky hints at rather than demonstrates how Kane's primary adaptations afterward were taken up and pushed further in Arctic work by his successors. The nature and descent of his later influence are thus inadequately shown. The volume is attractively printed and bound. Footnotes have been eliminated; a brief bibliography is furnished. Welcome would have been a more detailed map of the Arctic than the one furnished, and also a likeness of Kane himself.

FULMER MOOD, *University of Texas*

CONFEDERATE AGENT: A DISCOVERY IN HISTORY. By *James D. Horan*.

(New York, Crown Publishers, 1954, pp. xxii, 326, \$5.00.)

The central figure of James D. Horan's study of Civil War espionage and conspiracy is the "mastermind," Captain Thomas Henry Hines, C.S.A., the "most dangerous man in the Confed-

eracy." This entertainingly written "discovery in history" presents initially a brief account of Hines's work in preparation for and in execution of General Morgan's raid in 1863, the capture and the controversial escape of the raiders from the Ohio Penitentiary, and subsequently develops Hines's important espionage work, based upon the Thompson-Clay mission in Canada. Hines repeatedly and easily passed over the border into the Old Northwest, where he established contacts with "choice spirits" and groups, with whom he plotted fantastic uprisings designed to detach the Old Northwest from the Union, burn Chicago, seize control of the Great Lakes, and free Confederates from prison camps. During 1864 diversionary raids into Maine and Vermont (Horan's account of the St. Albans raid is hilarious) were planned and executed, and conspirators attempted to burn New York City. Yet everywhere these wild schemes, significantly timed for election day of 1864, were either postponed indefinitely or frustrated by counterespionage agents. Mr. Horan has largely traversed familiar ground in retelling the story of the "hidden" or underground Civil War. Unfortunately his acquaintance with the period is inadequate. His account of the Knights of the Golden Circle after 1861 is unsatisfactory; he attributes disloyalty rather too freely to Northern Democrats (admittedly in a difficult position as wartime opposition leaders); and he fails to consider the wartime psychosis which afflicted hard-pressed Republican politicians of the Middle West. Although using for the first time the Hines Papers at the University of Kentucky and materials in the National Archives, the author does not document his devious pages by precise citations. Various errors cannot be listed, but historians will be startled to read that "the Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge, was one of the South's most loyal supporters" (p. 145). While Hollywood may be interested in this "discovery," sober students will continue to rely upon Wood Gray's *Hidden Civil War* or even Rhodes's fifth volume.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW, *Washington and Lee University*

GENERAL JO SHELBY, UNDEFEATED REBEL. By *Daniel O'Flaherty*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xiv, 437, \$6.00.) This is a biography of one of the most colorful Confederate cavalymen who fought in the Trans-Mississippi Department during the Civil War. John Newman Edwards, Shelby's adjutant, wrote two books on his exploits, and other writers have given him some attention. Edwards, in beautiful prose, pictured him as the heroic, hard-fighting knight of the border. In addition to Shelby's war record, this book covers his early life in Kentucky, business activities before the war, participation in the Kansas border troubles, the dash into Mexico, and his business and public career following the war. The thesis of the book is that Shelby was the greatest of the Civil War cavalry leaders, and had he been put in command in the West the Confederates would have captured St. Louis, held Missouri, and saved the West for the Confederacy. Instead he was kept in an inferior position. Whether on a raid, in battle, or protecting the rear of a defeated army, Shelby, by furious attack, spectacular movements, and unerring judgment, proved himself a field commander and tactician of the first order. The book is attractively written and holds the reader closely to the end. Unfortunately it is not based on careful and thorough research, and often the best sources are ignored. No bibliography is included, but the footnotes indicate that a secondary text often takes the place of a good primary source that was available. Often citations are inaccurate and not related to the text. There are many errors on the geography, military, and political events. For instance Dover is ten miles west of Waverly, not "five and a half miles east" (p. 27); Howard and Lafayette counties were not included in Order No. Eleven (p. 188); the western border counties

were not rabid secessionists in 1860, they voted for Bell and Douglas (p. 53). More important insofar as Shelby is concerned, the battle of Carthage (pp. 67-72) was not fought by two armies of equal size, nor was one (Sigel's Unionist) a well-trained one of professional "hired Hessians," while the Missouri forces were a group of raw recruits. Both bands were recruits, although Sigel's troops were probably better armed. Shelby did punish Sigel considerably, but Sigel fought a good rear guard action and Shelby did not crush a well-trained army with a crowd of young militiamen. Other instances of doubtful interpretation and insufficient research can be cited. Shelby was a skillful fighter, a hard rider, and a dashing figure but his definitive biography is yet to be written.

W. FRANCIS ENGLISH, *University of Missouri*

U. S. GRANT AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRADITION. By Bruce Catton. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. x, 210, \$3.00.) Misconceptions as to U. S. Grant's stature as a general seem to flow largely from historical writers without much basis for judging military matters and assessing generalship. The present reappraisal stems from distinguished British soldiers and military students: Major C. F. Atkinson and General J. F. G. Fuller, and to a less degree from Generals Sir Frederick Maurice and Colin Ballard. Colonel A. L. Conger of the United States Army also made a notable contribution. After writing the brilliant *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* (1929), Fuller made a frankly comparative study, *Grant and Lee* (1933), in which he refers to Grant as "the greatest general of his age, and one of the greatest strategists of any age." Though familiar with what the writers mentioned have said, Mr. Catton is not a mere transmitter of views of others, and his description of Grant's part in the Civil War is fresh and personal and reveals a careful study of the *Official Records*. It is quite adequate for a volume with the purposes of the present one, and it follows an equally adequate account of the thirty-nine preceding years, which hardly indicated the genius of the man to whom three armies would surrender. Mr. Catton says that Grant's career as President was unfortunate for him, and for the country, though, in the case of the latter, "less so, for Grant was symbol rather than cause of the darkness that came down after the war ended." Tempering this, he adds, "And that darkness was never absolute." Mr. Catton reveals the enormity of the problems that faced the ex-general, as well as the fiercely contending forces and implacable personalities of the era. One sees the mistakes, but also realizes that Grant's administration saw some notable achievements—especially in foreign relations and sound currency. If the race problem was not settled, could it have been? Catton states that Grant at least tried to point reconstruction "in the right direction." He terminates his brief consideration of the years after the presidency by describing how the original manuscript for the *Memoirs* shows the agony of the struggle to complete the work. Again it could be said: "What he had set out to do, Grant had done."

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS, *Indiana University*

PARDON AND AMNESTY UNDER LINCOLN AND JOHNSON: THE RESTORATION OF THE CONFEDERATES TO THEIR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES, 1861-1898. By Jonathan Truman Dorris. Introduction by J. G. Randall. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. xxi, 459, \$7.50.) The subject of pardon and amnesty following the Civil War has long needed serious investigation. It has had incidental consideration from many historians of the Reconstruction era, but no one has hitherto made anything approaching a comprehensive study. Dr. Dorris began his study more than twenty-five years ago under the direction of the late

James G. Randall, who wrote a stimulating introduction to this volume shortly before his death. Several articles by Dr. Dorris have been the most valuable of previous publications and they marked him as the man best qualified to handle the subject on a full scale. This excellent volume comes up to expectations. Based on extensive use of the amnesty papers in the National Archives, as well as other manuscript and printed materials, it examines the problem from the early period of the war when questions of loyalty and disloyalty arose in connection with prisoners of war to 1898 when the last of the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment were removed. In addition to chapters dealing with the general aspects of the problem there are special chapters on Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, other civil leaders of the Confederacy, and North Carolinians. A special chapter on North Carolina is justified on the ground that President Johnson gave that state special consideration, but the author expresses the hope that "it will encourage similar studies of the subject in other states of the Confederacy." One thing is abundantly clear from Dr. Dorris' volume: this was an exceedingly complicated problem. It involved not only political rights but also civil rights and property rights; it involved conflict between the Executive and Congress; and on many occasions it became a matter for the courts. The author occasionally wanders into areas not fully pertinent to his subject, but for the most part he has succeeded in making a clear and intelligible presentation and all students of this period of American history will be indebted to him.

BRAINERD DYER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

LINCOLN'S IMAGERY: A STUDY IN WORD POWER. By *Theodore C. Blegen*. (La Crosse, Wis., Emerson G. Wulling, Sumac Press, 1954, pp. 32, \$2.00.) "No one," Mr. Blegen observes, "seems hitherto to have brought together in somewhat comprehensive fashion the figures of speech used by Lincoln, and that inviting task seems worth doing for more than one reason. The imagery assuredly helps to explain the charm of the Lincolnian style, but it does more. It illuminates Lincoln's power and persuasiveness in the use of words. It catches and reflects his curious interest in and knowledge of the world of everyday things around him. It is of some value as a sounding of the folk wisdom of pioneer America, particularly the earlier Middle West. And, viewed in its totality, it adds something to one's understanding of the intellectual and cultural resources of a central figure in the history of the modern world." Most convincingly indeed, Mr. Blegen assembles and sorts Lincoln's figures into related groups, and with entertaining causerie weaves the groups into patterns illustrative of his thesis: "Lincoln's familiarity with the earthiness of pioneer farming, soil and implements and animals and produce," "plants, food, housekeeping and clothing," "illness, pills, and plasters; games and races; and ships and the sea," "prize fights, cards, races, and fishing." In no small degree, the everlasting image of Lincoln himself is limned in these figures with which he projected his thoughts—thoughts which "were in fact his, not the concoctions of ghost writers" who in "a synthetic era" have all but obliterated distinctive features of personality from the public expression of high political leaders by clothing their ideas and policies in machine-made garments of synthetic goods.

ROY P. BASLER, *Library of Congress*

THE CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS AND GRANT'S PEACE POLICY, 1870-1884. By *Peter J. Rahill*, St. Louis University. Foreword by the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1953, pp. xx, 396, \$5.00.) This book, published as Volume XLI of "Studies in American Church History," gives a comprehensive account of the activities of the

Catholic Church among the Indians during a very crucial period of Indian administration. Soon after Grant became President in 1869 he placed the Indian Field Service under the control of several religious organizations by delegating to them the authority to nominate agents for the various Indian jurisdictions. In the allocation of agencies the Methodists were given fourteen with a total of 54,473 Indians, the Presbyterians nine with 38,069 Indians, and the Baptists five with 40,800 Indians. To the Catholics, in spite of their long tradition of Indian mission work, were given only seven agencies with a total of 17,856 Indians. The Catholics felt that this distribution of agencies was grossly unjust and soon formed in Washington the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions headed by General Charles Ewing. Its objectives were to strengthen relations with the United States Indian Department, promote Indian missions, and secure a fairer allocation of agencies. Due largely to politics it was never able to add to the number of agencies assigned to the Catholic Church but it did excellent work in the establishment of schools and missions and won a signal victory for religious liberty for the Indians over certain non-Catholic agents who sought to prohibit priests from holding services or establishing churches and schools on their reservations. Grant's so called "Peace Policy" did not prove too successful and by 1882 was virtually abandoned. Ewing died in 1883 but the Bureau still lived on to establish missions and promote the welfare of the Indians. Though bitterly attacked at times, its activities were steadily expanded and it is today an official organization of the Catholic Church. This is an interesting and scholarly book which shows every evidence of long and careful research. Any person who reads it with care can hardly escape the conclusion that those charged with the administration of Grant's peace policy grossly discriminated against the Catholics and failed to give them the consideration which they deserved by virtue of their long record of missionary work among the Indians.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

THE MAKAH INDIANS: A STUDY OF AN INDIAN TRIBE IN MODERN AMERICAN SOCIETY. By *Elizabeth Colson*, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of Manchester. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press; Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1953, pp. xvi, 308, \$4.75.) This is an excellent study of the habits and problems of a group of modern American Indians, the Makah of coastal Washington. The preface sets forth the field methodology employed and is an unusually good statement of how anthropologists go about their job of undertaking field research. The body of the book is an acculturation study in depth, giving the historic causes that have led up to modern reservation conditions. Reservation life is subjected to a rigorously searching analysis of the functional interrelationships involved in the various Indian-White contact situations existing today. The conclusions are presented so that the reader is given valuable insights into the processes of culture change, particularly in regard to native peoples who have felt the impact of Western civilization. In short, this book might well serve as a model for any anthropologist who would attempt a field study of a group of modern reservation Indians. In fact, everyone interested in the practical problems involved in trusteeship over native peoples should consult this study. The twin processes of acculturation and assimilation are discussed along with the results obtained in a specific example where those processes have been deliberately conditioned by government policy.

J. A. JONES, *Indiana University*

THE OLD COUNTRY STORE. By *Gerald Carson*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 330, \$5.00.) The old country store was a vital institution when

the United States was a land of villages, crossroads trading centers, and primitive farm communities. Historians are generally aware of its utility as a community center and of its essential functions in the nineteenth-century American economy. Gerald Carson adds little that is new to this story, but he records with great charm the folklore with which oral tradition surrounds the country storekeeper. *The Old Country Store* is unabashedly romantic, anecdotal, and, at points, imaginary. The author, who retired young, healthy, and successful from the contemporary merchandising world, was here engaged in a labor of love rather than of professional scholarship. His limited excursions into general history are unfortunate—his description, for instance, of economic conditions in the 1780's might have come from the pen of John Fiske. He is completely at home, on the other hand, among the loafers around the potbellied stove; his reach for the cracker barrel is long, and his tall tales, outrageous. The author also has a sure grasp of the merchandising process. His study is focused on the society and operation of the store itself, but despite this concentration on the middleman, he takes frequent note of the increasing flow of goods from producer to jobber to storekeeper to customer. He describes the storekeeper's journey to the city warehouses for stock, and his negotiations with the drummers who later made such trips unnecessary. He records the early competitive threat of the peddler, the more ominous rise of the mail order houses, and the bankruptcy which came with the Ford car. He gives a nod to evolving credit institutions, as the storekeeper proceeded from barter to bookkeeping. General analysis is not the author's purpose, however; instead of offering dates, statistics, and summarized facts, he attempts to convey a sense of the sight and smell of goods on the storekeeper's shelf, and he lingers fascinated over the sharp trading which kept his subjects solvent. *The Old Country Store* is thus an impressionistic, though generally accurate, sketch, rather than a documented chapter in the record of the merchandising revolution in the United States.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *University of Wisconsin*

HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE. By *Courtney Robert Hall*, History Department, Queens College. (New York, Library Publishers, 1954, pp. xix, 453, \$4.95.) After a brief pass at American economic development from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the author settles down to describe with more detail the technological changes of the twentieth century. The exceptionally clear narrative is organized about transportation, particularly in the air, the chemicals, electric and communication industries, mining for metals and fuels, rubber, pulp and paper, the provision of clothing and food, and business and engineering machines. The volume concludes with two chapters, sprinkled with irrelevant *obiter dicta*, on industrial science in America's wars and in 1952. Although the book is written for the general reader, those addicted to a habit of analysis will inevitably raise the question, "What is 'Industrial Science?'" Since no elaborate definition furnishes a key to the answer, the narrative will have to supply it. Apparently it consists of science in industry or technology, including in that word both inventive and productive processes. In addition it apparently means a brief word about business organization and the size of business units. In some instances these take the form of success stories such as the readers of *Fortune* have become accustomed to. If this be industrial science, there are critical omissions in the history of it. On the one hand there is no treatment of technical or engineering education in the United States. This would seem a prerequisite to any discussion of invention, plant engineering, or industrial laboratories. In this connection there is no mention of F. W. Taylor and the efficiency movement. On the other hand, if business organization is to

be included in industrial science, the failure to pay any attention to the efforts to make a science of business, to systematize and rationalize organization and discipline within the industrial unit is a grave one. Only in the chapter on national defense is this defect partially met. The author rather disarmingly says, "this is not a book on labor problems." It would seem an obligation imposed by the title to include a discussion of the organization—I don't mean unions—of labor in productive enterprises. Perhaps it would be easier to re-define industrial science. It seems to be economic history with agriculture, labor, marketing, and finance subtracted.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, *Bowdoin College*

THE DOCTRINE OF RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT: ITS ORIGINS AND PRESENT STATE. By *Austin Ranney*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXIV, No. 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. xi, 176, cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) This essay is a comprehensive study of half a dozen scholars' interpretations published between 1870 and 1915. The author explores their commentaries on the nature of democracy, on political parties and their functions and efficiency, and on how parties might be improved. The divergence of opinions among these scholars is astonishing. Woodrow Wilson, for example, regarded political parties as indispensable to democratic government while Herbert Croly held that they might provide government that is "representative" but not "democratic." M. I. Ostrogorski saw less than any value whatever in permanent political parties and devised elaborate procedures for ensuring universal nonpartisanship. The pioneer venture in the theory of political parties was young Woodrow Wilson's "Cabinet Government in the United States" published in 1879 in the *International Review* edited then by Henry Cabot Lodge. Writing under the spell of Bagehot, Wilson proclaimed his theory of quasi-parliamentary government in the United States and as President came near demonstrating its practicability. Herbert Croly, however, maintained that presidential leadership was destructive of party strength and party leadership. A. Lawrence Lowell's outstanding contribution was that of the "brokerage" of political parties whereby public opinion can be expressed, the "broker" bringing together the voters and their government. Frank J. Goodnow's proposal to break the power of the party bosses by party primaries was vigorously denounced by Henry J. Ford as destructive of parties. Ford saw no sense in taking government away from the politicians and giving it to the people. It is fascinating to see Professor Ranney censuring these scholars for their inconsistencies with all the frankness of a hard-boiled director of a graduate seminar. They won't define "democracy" and they persistently shift back and forth between actual and ideal conceptions of "party" and of "party functions." They are "guilty of this shell game." Other apparent inconsistencies could be understood if the dates of the quotations were only noted. Woodrow Wilson's criticisms published when the House of Representatives was floundering before Czar Reed had established parliamentary order would inevitably contrast sharply with his comments in *Constitutional Government* published near the end of Theodore Roosevelt's vigorous presidential leadership.

WILFRED E. BINKLEY, *Ohio Northern University*

WILLIAM FREEMAN VILAS, DOCTRINAIRE DEMOCRAT. By *Horace Samuel Merrill*, Associate Professor of History in the University of Maryland. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, pp. vii, 310, \$4.50.) In *Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865-1896* (1953) Mr. Merrill surveyed a phase of American politics which theretofore had received very little attention as compared with Republicanism, regular or insurgent, or with third-party movements. Now, in a well-

documented and judiciously written biography of a leading Midwestern Bourbon, William F. Vilas (1840-1908), of Wisconsin, he adds a dimension to his previous study and increases our understanding of the successes, and still more of the failures, of the post-bellum Democracy in the state and in the nation. One of the innumerable nineteenth-century Vermonters who made their careers outside of Vermont, Vilas rose to the rank of millionaire as a railroad attorney and timberland speculator in Madison, Wisconsin. In Grover Cleveland's first administration he served as Postmaster General and then as Secretary of the Interior, meanwhile becoming the President's closest cabinet adviser and crony. During Cleveland's second term he was the most faithful administration spokesman in the Senate. He held stubbornly to such tenets of old-fashioned "doctrinaire" liberalism as tariff reduction, civil service reform, efficient government, and "sound" currency. By present-day standards he was, of course, a thoroughgoing conservative if not a reactionary, though in many ways an enlightened one. He had much more in common with his friend and fellow corporation lawyer John C. Spooner and other regular Republicans than with the discontented farmer and labor elements of his own party. At the Democratic convention in 1896 his oratory, once the wonder of Midwestern Democrats, was completely eclipsed by that of William Jennings Bryan, and so was his national career. His public life had been rather barren, leaving little to posterity except for the high standard he had set as a zealous administrator in Cleveland's cabinet. The reader of his biography is likely to conclude that he is best remembered as a wise and generous friend of the University of Wisconsin, his alma mater, to which in life he devoted considerable attention as a regent, and to which at death he willed the bulk of his fortune.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *University of Illinois*

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, STALWART REPUBLICAN: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

By *William Carl Spielman*, Former Professor of History, Carthage College, Carthage, Illinois. (New York, Exposition Press, 1954, pp. 215, \$4.00.) In this slender volume Professor Spielman has attempted to present an up-to-date biography of William McKinley incorporating material published since C. S. Olcott's two volumes appeared in 1916. This he has accomplished only fairly well. Unfortunately, he has neglected many important contributions, among them Thomas A. Bailey's investigation of the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Julius W. Pratt's examination of the expansionists of 1898, and Alfred Weinberg's research on the concept of manifest destiny. More important, however, is that Mr. Spielman has failed to dig deeply, as a real biographer must, into the manuscript collection to learn the motives and feelings of McKinley and the men of his time. Although the author refers to the McKinley Papers in the Library of Congress, he apparently has made no use of them. While this collection yields only meager information, it does contain some important letters and memorandums. So too, the Hay Papers, the Root Papers, the Henry White Papers, the Russell A. Alger Papers, and the Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, to name a few, should have been consulted. Unfortunately too, Professor Spielman has not achieved his purpose of assigning McKinley his place in history, of recapturing his personality and character, or of presenting him as "a protectionist, builder of an empire, political-party leader, and patriot." For him and for most of us, McKinley remains as John Hay portrayed him, a man behind a mask. Whether or not there was a weak, vacillating second-rate politician or a leader of men beneath that mask continues an unanswered question. Few of the author's judgments seem to be his own, for he credits most opinions to earlier writers. His conclusion regarding the critical events preceding the Spanish American War reveals only a limited knowledge and understanding of the pressures of the times. For the gen-

eral reader, Mr. Spielman offers here a brief, essentially accurate biography of William McKinley; for the scholar, he provides little that is new.

EVERETT WALTERS, *Ohio State University*

THE REPUBLICAN ROOSEVELT. By *John Morton Blum*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 170, \$3.50.) While historians have pictured Theodore Roosevelt as one of the most dynamic and important political figures of modern America they have differed sharply in making him out to be a liberal or a conservative. This is easily understandable when Roosevelt himself was not sure whether he was a "conservative radical" or a "radical conservative." This difference of opinion also stems from the complex character of Roosevelt and from the fact that he frequently appeared to be a bundle of contradictions. Professor John Morton Blum of M.I.T. in an exciting, able, and provocative essay seeks to explain Roosevelt and to fix for him a more determined place in history. Mr. Blum's study does not explain the whole of Roosevelt but reinterprets "purposes and methods" of his public career which seemed to the author "to be characteristic or revealing." With learning, sympathy, understanding, and humor and from a remarkable point of vantage as an associate editor of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Mr. Blum has come up with a very important book. The major importance of Mr. Blum's essay is his emphasis upon Roosevelt as a conservative who showed more concern about the processes than the ends of government and who believed that the preservation of these processes depended upon change. Thus Roosevelt emerges as a do-something type of conservative who believed in change, gradual though it may be and within the framework of existing institutions, and who sought change through good administration and by appointing men to office who possessed the right moral fiber to conduct it. Mr. Blum also presents Roosevelt as a professional politician who made politics his career because he loved power. Yet in his drive for power Roosevelt avoided opportunism, "tempered his pragmatism with sympathy and morality," and at all times directed his power with expert information. Mr. Blum has some very valuable chapters that show the excellence of Roosevelt's group diplomacy in politics and his ability to deal with Congress. Especially interesting is the agreement between Roosevelt and Cannon and Aldrich over the dropping of the matter of a revised tariff for support of Roosevelt's plan to regulate the railroads through the Hepburn Act. Mr. Blum makes skillful use of his material here and through keen historical analysis throws fresh light on Roosevelt's lawmaking activities. Mr. Blum's study has certain shortcomings which mar it somewhat. One looks in vain for any fresh material on Roosevelt's political career after 1909. This was a disappointment since this era would have provided a fertile and much needed field for reinterpretation, and Mr. Blum's point of vantage could have been used most successfully here. One is also struck by the sympathetic and at times laudatory appraisal of Roosevelt, especially in his conduct of foreign affairs. Here may be a case of the author being taken in somewhat by his subject. Finally one matter of style is disturbing. One finds a number of awkward sentences that in some cases compress and in others attenuate the thought and which in both instances fail to convey clear meaning.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS, *University of Notre Dame*

IDEAS AND WEAPONS: EXPLOITATION OF THE AERIAL WEAPON BY THE UNITED STATES DURING WORLD WAR I; A STUDY IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, MILITARY DOCTRINE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS. By *I. B. Holley, Jr.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, LVII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 222,

\$3.75.) The inability of the United States Air Service in World War I to adapt technological advances to military techniques is the subject of Dr. Irving Holley's study in administrative history. The abortive attempts of the United States to produce battle-worthy aircraft despite a huge industrial potential and the vast amounts of money appropriated by Congress has already been chronicled. Unfortunately, past studies ignored a wealth of material in the National Archives. Dr. Holley has relentlessly traced and documented the military policy makers' failure to decide upon either a "doctrine" of air power—the respective roles of pursuit, observation, and bombing planes—or the production of specific types of aircraft. Even a research and development program was lacking. As a result, the United States-produced aircraft were only copies of Allied models—and not of the best models—which were obsolescent by the time they came off the production line. The only bright spot was the development of the 440-horsepower Liberty engine, which was installed in planes designed for other power plants! The Air Service's attempts to catch up with European developments by sending missions overseas were ineffective. By the time the missions' reports were digested in Washington, they were out of date. Furthermore, the Service's administrative organization separated the men responsible for manufacturing the planes from the men flying them. Consequently, the few planes finally produced in the United States were not suitable for their missions. Through this historical study Dr. Holley points out in no uncertain terms the prime necessity for providing a continuing administrative system with enough imagination and aggression to bring to fruition "the relationship of technological advance, military doctrine, and the development of weapons."

MARVIN D. BERNSTEIN, *Washington, D.C.*

WOODROW WILSON AND THE REBIRTH OF POLAND, 1914-1920: A STUDY IN THE INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN POLICY OF MINORITY GROUPS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN. By *Louis L. Gerson*, Instructor in Government and International Relations, University of Connecticut. [Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany, 58.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 166, \$4.00.) This book is more readable than the average doctoral dissertation. It is replete with footnotes, has an excellent essay on bibliography, several appendixes, and an index. There are no maps nor pictures although some of each, aptly chosen, would have added to the book. In the eighteenth century Poland was partitioned by three greedy neighbors, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The rest of Europe was uninterested and, on the whole, the Polish population was indifferent. Efforts of the few nineteenth-century patriots to arouse the peasants to a nationalistic revolt ended in failure. A lingering serfdom, an ancient Catholicism, and a rural individualism all helped to create an acceptance of partition. Early in the twentieth century Polish patriots hindered their nationalistic aspirations by dividing into several political parties. With ambitious leaders, with philosophies varying from conservative to radical, with divergent prejudices against their partitioners, the Polish nationalists were too divided to achieve their independence. For their own military advantage Austria and Germany feigned interest in Polish independence. Although the Polish kingdom was created in 1916, Germany informed the Poles that the territory they received would be at the expense of Russia. In retaliation Russia gave the Poles autonomy under her supervision. America's entrance into the war made Polish independence a reality. The author analyzes the gratitude of the United States for aid rendered by Poles in the American Revolutionary War, our traditional feeling for oppressed peoples, the world economic conditions, and the political pressure exerted by Polish-Americans during the war. Paderewski, an agent of the pro-Russian bloc of Poles, worked

through House and others to gain Wilson's friendship. The collapse of Russia, Austria, and Germany set the stage for Poland's restoration, not for immediate unity and independence. Many conferences were held to effect compromises on the complex issue of Poland's boundaries. Poland reborn, began to expand. As she did so American enthusiasm cooled. Not so with France who wished an expanded Poland. Professor Gerson has probably written the definitive monograph on this complex Polish independence issue.

GEORGE C. OSBORN, *University of Florida*

THE FUNDAMENTALIST CONTROVERSY, 1918-1931. By *Norman F. Furniss*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 59.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 199, \$3.75.) The notorious Scopes trial is here placed in the context of national religious and political trends during the 1920's, and the anti-evolution crusade is seen as a phenomenon not limited to the South. While lacking in the color of the late Frederick Lewis Allen's account in *Only Yesterday*, this book is a thorough, systematic, judicious, and well-documented study of the Fundamentalist movement, the outgrowth of a Yale Ph.D. dissertation directed by Ralph H. Gabriel. It is superior to and will supersede Stewart Cole's *History of Fundamentalism* (1931) and Maynard Shipley's *The War on Modern Science* (1927). It is organized largely on a topical basis. An introduction recalling briefly the famous scene at Dayton, Tennessee, is followed by a survey of the background and sources of the movement and an analysis of the characteristics of the Fundamentalists. The second part deals with Fundamentalist organizations and with the effort to outlaw the teaching of evolution. The third and longest section takes up the controversy within various denominations—Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Disciples—each in turn. There is an excellent bibliographical essay and an index. The book is based largely on a sampling of the vast periodical and polemical literature dealing with the subject, of which the Library of Congress holds the most extensive collection. It is regrettable that manuscript sources for this topic and for the history of religious thought in general are so hard to find, for they would lend a richness of insight which printed materials rarely supply. One could wish that Dr. Furniss had succeeded better in depicting the personalities and mentalities of such Fundamentalist leaders as William Bell Riley, John Roach Straton, and, above all, William Jennings Bryan. The study might also have been improved by more attention to the earlier history of the struggle over evolution and higher criticism and by more adequate recognition of the persistence of conservative evangelical theology in our own times.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

THE HISTORIAN AND THE ARMY, By *Kent Roberts Greenfield*. [The 1953 Brown and Haley Lectures, College of Puget Sound.] (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 93, \$2.50.) This little volume by the general editor of the United States Army's official history of the Second World War merits the attention of historians; for it represents a distillation of the experience gained in planning and executing one of the largest contemporary history projects ever attempted, a project notable for the general high level of scholarship which its volumes have achieved. Dr. Greenfield describes the general nature of his problem; explains by an example the particular problem of reconstructing the history of a battle, involving the attempt to pierce the fog of war; discusses the army's outlook on coalition strategy and the policies it tried to enforce; presents some observations on the nature of the United States Army as it developed during the war; and ends with a few general remarks, including the somewhat alarming reflection that "the primary mission of the Army under our present system is, quantitatively speaking, no longer ground combat, but administration." Once a note is struck which some readers

might think complacent. The author begins by saying that his series "is of general interest if only as an effort to make official history honest." The series is in fact an impressive example of objectivity; but those who know him will realize that he did not mean what this comment might seem to imply. The statement (p. 46) that the British "committed themselves to" an invasion of the Continent in 1942 goes rather beyond the facts. (Incidentally, American official historians seem to take the view that General Eisenhower's postwar remark, that he had come to believe that the British were right in 1942, is unfit for repetition.) The strategic controversies with the United Kingdom are carefully, and often enlighteningly, analyzed (the good point is made that the United States "power drive" policy made increasingly good sense as the Allies' logistical situation improved); but much less is said of the army's other great strategic argument—that with the United States Navy. However, there are limits to what can be said in ninety-three small pages, and Dr. Greenfield has given us a great deal.

C. P. STACEY, *Ottawa, Canada*

THREE BATTLES: ARNAVILLE, ALTUZZO, AND SCHMIDT. By *Charles B. MacDonald* and *Sidney T. Mathews*. [United States Army in World War II.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1952, pp. xxiii, 443, \$4.00.) This is a good book. It is more than an excellent text for troop leaders at battalion and regimental levels. To the student of general history, it offers interesting case studies. They explain why the word "battle" no longer means what it did in all wars from Thucydides to Clausewitz. No longer does the word connote a mighty collision of concentrated, hostile forces that lock themselves in a crucial conflict within a restricted, but strategic area. No longer is it a Saratoga, a Waterloo, a Gettysburg, or any other type of two-three- or four-day, all-out gamble upon which the fate of a campaign, if not a nation, may be determined. Since 1914, a modern Sir Edward S. Creasy would be hard put to cite a single decisive land battle within the traditional meaning of the word. Naval battles, yes; land battles, no. To the modern individual soldier, the word "battle" is more an emotional experience than a military operation. Normally, "battles" were those times and places at which he was painfully aware of the constantly "incoming mail"; that "pinned him down" the longest or took the greatest friendly toll in his advance. Elsewhere, in each instance, it could have been an extremely "quiet day along the front." Thus the operations here understudy, at Arnaville, Monte Altuzzo, and Schmidt, were most likely battles to most of those rather limited numbers of officers and men of both armies who were constantly reminded of being within the harshly beaten zones of fire from ground weapons. Actually, Messrs. MacDonald and Mathews have offered three distinct types of operations—an opposed river crossing, a mountain action, and an attack through heavily fortified field positions. For the close-up, almost microscopic views of modern combat that they are intended to be, they are well chosen, admirably mapped, and forcefully told. Mr. MacDonald handles a maze of conflicting testimony extremely well. There are many paragraphs of superb reporting. Dr. Mathews' "Breakthrough at Monte Altuzzo," September 9-17, 1944, has a decisive quality. Though the final objective on the map was just another mountain top, an entire hostile front collapsed when that much coveted bit of barren real estate was occupied. This is a well-done study in tactics and techniques of mountain warfare—devastating artillery support with small units in aggressive, infiltrative contact. For students in tactics of the associated arms (artillery, air, armor, infantry) *Three Battles* will be required reading. For all others it offers a somewhat orderly, microscopic pattern of busy days in hot sectors in the continuance of operations on a far-flung front.

JIM DAN HILL, *Wisconsin State College, Superior*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

GORGES OF PLYMOUTH FORT: A LIFE OF SIR FERDINANDO GORGES, CAPTAIN OF PLYMOUTH FORT, GOVERNOR OF NEW ENGLAND, AND LORD OF THE PROVINCE OF MAINE. By *Richard Arthur Preston*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. vii, 495, \$7.50.) Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1568?-1647) is one of those people in history whose names crop up repeatedly as persons of influence and position but who are definitely of second rank. Gorges rode two horses during his life—as a military official at home and on the Continent and as a promoter of American colonization. His Council of New England (1620), whatever else may be said of it, was a private attempt to plant colonies in New England and govern them until the crown would assume the responsibility. It projected a managed type of colonial settlement under the aegis of English aristocrats who would rule from London. Under Charles I, especially in co-operation with the high church party of Archbishop Laud, Gorges worked out a colonization scheme that kept his earlier idea of a public colony, but its control was in the hands of royal officials. Financial reward for government and promoters, Gorges assumed, would come from a monopoly of fishing, fur-trading, and land sales. In those economic proposals he met the opposition of British fishermen, the Puritans of Massachusetts, and the antimonopolists. Gorges possessed visions of greatness, was often on the brink of success, but was held back by forces stronger than his own. Professor Preston has written a sober account of a dashing Elizabethan soldier and theorist. He has used most manuscripts and monographs of this period in an intelligent fashion and has corrected errors of fact and interpretation in the standard, scholarly studies of seventeenth-century colonization. The format of the book has serious shortcomings; the offset process is most uneven, blurred in places and heavily inked in others. Understandably, the enjoyment of the book is substantially reduced by such poor workmanship.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Whittier College*

THE HUGUENOT: THE STORY OF THE HUGUENOT EMIGRATIONS, PARTICULARLY TO NEW ENGLAND, IN WHICH IS INCLUDED THE EARLY LIFE OF APOLLOS RIVOIRE, THE FATHER OF PAUL REVERE. By *Donald Douglas*. With an Introduction by C. C. Little. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1954, pp. 384, \$5.00.) The scope of Donald Douglas' volume is accurately represented by the subtitle. But neither the straightforward title nor anything recently put forth as serious historical writing prepares the reader for this book's curious message and the author's odd way of presenting it. If it had been revealed to Cotton Mather that the faith, practice, and "inherited mental characteristics" of the French Calvinists

were, after all, those things most pleasant in the sight of God, he would probably have written a book very much like this one. At intervals throughout the story of Apollos Rivoire's childhood in France, his emigration to America, and his apprenticeship to Boston goldsmith John Coney, worthy Huguenots are introduced to deliver lengthy lectures to him on the religious beliefs and tribulations of the French Calvinists. The history of the Huguenots in Europe and in America is thus unraveled and carried forward to the 1720's, at which point the story ends. Certain musings furnished by the author to young Rivoire make clear the significance of this history: France owed her misery and America her greatest glory to the Huguenot emigrations. The reader is informed that the French Huguenots alone of all the world are "logical," "witty," "well-mannered," "romantic," "obedient," "non-destructive," and have "a sense of the fitness of things." Apollos finds none of these excellent qualities among the majority of Boston Puritans, who even in the early 1700's are discovered plotting the American Revolution, to which they are being led by false theology and the promptings of inferior Anglo-Saxon blood. Apollos is told by someone of ancient New England lineage (who therefore ought to have known better) that New England learned her peculiar habits of intolerance, exclusiveness, and treason from the Plymouth Pilgrims, since the original Boston Puritans were actually "non-persecuting, tolerant, and loyal"! Generalizations of this sort, confusing and inaccurate, are all too frequent here. A modern study of the Huguenots in America could be a most welcome contribution to Americana. The work of Mr. Douglas, who formerly wrote novels with historical settings, is unfortunately marred by uncontrolled enthusiasms supported by insufficient research.

LAWRENCE G. LAVENGOOD, *Northwestern University*

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS IN THE REVOLUTION. By *Robert J. Taylor*. [Brown University Studies, Volume XVII.] (Providence, Brown University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 227, \$4.00.) American historians have too often assumed that radicalism in politics is characteristic of frontier areas. Robert J. Taylor has chosen to investigate the political and economic history of western Massachusetts from the Great Awakening to the ratification of the Constitution and in so doing suggests that democratic radicalism was more the result of lessons learned during the American Revolution than the result of frontier hardiness and isolated living. In this well-documented and clearly written regional study, the author introduces us to a people essentially conservative in political outlook and dominated by the wealthy "river gods" of the Connecticut Valley, men whose loyalty to the crown and opposition to the Whiggish doctrines of the seaboard was largely the result of patronage held at the royal pleasure. Separated from the coast by more than a hundred miles of semiwilderness traversed by few roads, the inhabitants of the Massachusetts frontier came to regard Boston and its ferments with jealous suspicion. Only when the Intolerable Acts threatened to create an independent judiciary did the West become agitated over the crown's prerogatives. Mr. Taylor denies that older historians were correct when they explained this conservatism by pointing to high property qualifications for the franchise. Very few, a negligible number, he insists, were disqualified at any time by this proviso. Clearly, a revolution took place in the minds and habits of these men from the time of the controversy over Jonathan Edwards' doctrines to Shays' Rebellion, and the primary cause is to be found in the War for Independence. The charge of Toryism thoroughly broke the power of conservative leadership, the doctrines of the Enlightenment wrought a great awakening of their own, and the taste of independence and direct rule through conventions all worked mightily to instill in the Massachusetts frontiersmen a mistrust of strong

central government which carried over into the ratifying convention of 1788. Shays' Rebellion is shown to be the culmination of grievances of long standing against unequal tax apportionment, against abuses in the legal machinery of the Commonwealth, and against the creditor class in general. It is of interest to note that veterans rose in anger against a government which had decreed the funding of Revolutionary certificates at face value without compensation to original holders. Why the Jeffersonians made so little headway in this area during the 1790's is, of course, a question. This study will undoubtedly become the standard account of Shays' Rebellion and will be of great value to students for this reason alone, but it deserves attention for its examination of frontier political development and the often mistaken generalizations which have arisen from earlier concepts of it.

STEPHEN G. KURTZ, *Kent School*

THE HISTORY OF VOTING IN NEW JERSEY: A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ELECTION MACHINERY, 1664-1911. By *Richard P. McCormick*. [Rutgers Studies in History, Number 8.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 228, \$5.00.) The author's purpose in this book is to show how the development of the election machinery in one colony and state contributes to our understanding of the functioning of self-government. From the time the English took possession in 1664 until the major Progressive reforms under Woodrow Wilson in 1911, election institutions in New Jersey were determined more by practical considerations than by political theories or principles. Important were such items as the conflicts for power between the people and proprietary and crown officials, the pull of tradition and the desire for experimentation during and after the Revolution, the influence of national elections in creating uniformity of election practices, party conflicts which brought changes to benefit the party in power, the issue of Negro participation in politics, urbanization and the influx of foreign elements, corruption and boss politics, and finally the influence of Progressive reforms. The latter resulted in a complete primary system, improved registration procedures, and a secret blanket-type ballot—reforms which shifted political control from the bosses to the people and restored the party as an instrument for expressing popular sentiment. By 1911 the main features of the New Jersey election system had been established, though there have been some minor changes since that date. In addition to his thesis that practical considerations determined voting procedures in New Jersey, Mr. McCormick's chief contribution is his contention that New Jersey was relatively democratic throughout its history. He does not make the mistake of assuming that property qualifications excluded many adult men from the vote or that the demand for political democracy was important in determining voting practices. The main weakness of the work is the obvious one inherent in any attempt to integrate the history of the state and the history of voting within the compass of 228 pages.

ROBERT E. BROWN, *Michigan State College*

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ROCHESTER, 1843-1925. By *Stuart E. Rosenberg*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 325, \$4.50.) There were three "waves" of Jewish migration to this country: the Spanish-Portuguese, the German, and the East European. The Iberians had stopped coming by 1730; the Germans began coming in considerable numbers about the year 1840, pushed by disabilities in Europe and attracted by the opportunities in America. Moving westward along the Erie Canal in the stream of immigrants, some of the German Jewish newcomers halted to establish communities in Albany (1838), Syracuse (1839), and Rochester (1848). By the 1850's, Rochester Jews had created a synagogue-centered community with

philanthropic and associative institutions. They made their living as peddlers, merchants, and clothing manufacturers. The growth of the clothing industry of that city is interwoven with the history of the Jewish community. Within a generation those Germans became Americanized; even their religion, Reform Judaism, reflected their attempt to fashion a synthesis of Judaism and Americanism. During the 1870's, East European Jews, suffering from economic and political disabilities, began to drift into Rochester. Within a decade the trickle had turned into a stream, and the "Russians" soon became the largest Jewish group in the city. The newcomers brought with them a fervent loyalty to their ancestral faith, an intense love for Hebraic lore, and a most natural determination to cling to their age-old customs, rituals, and language (Yiddish). Many of them, proletarians, were socialistically inclined, and worked for the German Jewish manufacturers. Socially, economically, and religiously they were distinct from the German Jews. Thus by the turn of the century there were two Jewish communities in the city, a native one, and an immigrant one, mutually hostile to each other. But by 1925, after the children of the East Europeans had grown up, both groups began to move toward each other. The Immigration Act of 1924 had cut off further immigration; intra-marriages began to occur; common philanthropic tasks brought tolerance if not understanding; the spirit of secularization diminished religious acerbities; and the economic rise of the newer element made them more acceptable socially. A homogeneous American Jewish community was in process of "becoming." The importance of Rosenberg's book lies in the fact that in essence all nonmetropolitan Jewish communities have a similar history. Only the names, the details, vary; the typical historic processes of settlement, internal Jewish conflicts, economic development, secularization, and acculturation are true of all Jewish communities. The Jewish and the general historian who seeks to learn what is characteristic in American Jewish history would do well to read this book. It is brief, well-written, documented, and informative. JACOB R. MARCUS, *American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

BALTIMORE AS SEEN BY VISITORS, 1783-1860. By *Raphael Semmes*. [Studies in Maryland History, Number 2.] (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1953, pp. xi, 208, \$4.00.) The late Dr. Semmes has given us a good example of what can be done in historical pen-portraiture of a city by using travel literature. This attractive, modest volume, completed with bibliography and index by the staff of the Maryland Historical Society, is a commendable work. Using Baltimore as the pivot of interest, a hundred different visitors—foreign and American, famous and little known—are called on to give their impressions of it. Pertinent excerpts from their writings are paraphrased or directly quoted and meshed with the compiler's own language in a running, descriptive account in chronological order. This technique facilitates reading. The reader is likely to find the book interesting, especially after the first chapter. Little attempt is made to evaluate the comments of the travelers, but they serve as a check against each other. The result is that points of agreement are brought out, as well as divergent views. Two notable matters of agreement were the distinctiveness of the Barnum Hotel, for a long time the largest in America, and the beauty of

Baltimore's women. Since Baltimore in this period was a major American city and seaport, its character and history are of more than local importance. But the scope of this book is not narrowly confined to Baltimore. Interspersed are comments of the travelers about other areas, such as New England, New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, and Virginia, usually by way of comparison. One could get this information by reading the books of all these travelers—if they were accessible—but this brief book may serve as a time-saving historical reference on such general matters as transportation—railroads, stages, ships—slavery, commerce, prices, yellow fever, hospitals, agriculture, fruits, food and cooking, dress, drink, use or misuse of tobacco, music, drama, social customs and manners, as well as characterizations about some prominent citizens of the period. The book is good for both general reading and for historical reference. It is a credit to those who produced it.

CULVER H. SMITH, *University of Chattanooga*

THE OLD DOMINION AND NAPOLEON BONAPARTE: A STUDY IN AMERICAN OPINION. By *Joseph I. Shulim*, Brooklyn College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 572.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952, pp. 332, \$4.50.) Studies of "public opinion" are among the easiest topics to pick for a doctoral dissertation, and are among the easiest topics on which to assemble a respectable collection of research notes. Such studies, however, are among the most difficult to bring to any worth-while conclusion. Quite often the "opinion" revealed by years of research turns out to be the merest banality—a collection of the most superficial clichés and stereotypes; furthermore even if a crystallized "public opinion" is shown to have developed, the extremely difficult questions remain: what caused "opinion" to take the pattern it did, and of what significance was this particular "opinion" in the realm of contemporary thought or action? Mr. Shulim's study of Virginia opinion about Napoleon between the years 1797 and 1809 is a better than average example of historical opinion analysis. As a study, however, it does not entirely escape the pitfalls of the genre. As a result of probably the most extensive research by any modern scholar among Virginia newspapers of the period, Mr. Shulim is able to show that there *was* a developing opinion on Bonaparte, and that this "opinion" while substantially unanimous after 1803 in dislike of the "tyrant" emperor, was almost universally tainted, both before and after that date, with strong considerations of partisan American party politics. Apparently contemporary Virginian editorial estimates of the *meaning* of Napoleon's rise to power were governed to a major degree by the struggle of the Federalists and Republicans to win or hold power in America; the evaluation of whether Napoleon's domestic program and foreign policy was harmful or advantageous to the United States was used, in almost every instance, by party men as a weapon to demonstrate that members of the opposite party should not be trusted in office. Such being the case the reasons why Virginians aligned themselves with the Federalists, the Republicans, or the republican "Quids" seem to be the crucial factors in producing Virginia "opinions" on Bonaparte. Mr. Shulim does indeed devote an introductory chapter to this problem of party origins, but as analysis (based as it is on "standard" secondary works) it chiefly serves to remind us how superficial is our understanding of the beginnings of the two-party system in the Old Dominion. In like manner, the study fails to come to grips satisfactorily with the relation of public opinion to government policy. But this is perhaps to cavil at the author unfairly for not writing a book which he never intended to write. On the basis of what he has done Mr. Shulim can take pride in a study that may well be the "definitive" account of what leading Virginians said about Napoleon's pursuit of power and glory between the years 1797 and 1809, as well as the conclu-

sions that these spokesmen wished their fellow-citizens to draw from their partisan evaluation of the French militarist. DOUGLASS ADAIR, *College of William and Mary*

MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE GLORY: THE STORY OF A VIRGINIA LADY, MARY BERKELEY MINOR BLACKFORD, 1802-1896, WHO TAUGHT HER SONS TO HATE SLAVERY AND TO LOVE THE UNION. By L. Minor Blackford. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xix, 293, \$5.00.) Dr. L. Minor Blackford, professor of medicine at Emory University, has woven together in this volume letters and journal entries of the remarkable Virginia family of William and Mary Berkeley Minor Blackford and their seven children, covering the years from the 1820's to 1866. The picture that emerges shows the Blackford family living at Fredericksburg until 1846 and after that at Lynchburg, where the father served as postmaster, newspaper editor, and banker. The central figure is Mary Blackford, a sensitive and deeply religious lady who in protest against the injustices of slavery in Virginia became an ardent champion of colonization as the most humane solution to the problem. Emancipating her own slaves and securing their transportation to Liberia, she persistently urged friends to do likewise. Perhaps the most unique letters in this book are those written to Mary from Liberia by ex-slaves James Cephas and Abram. The grim cruelty of slavery in separating families throbs through slave Betsy's agonizing account of the slave traders' selling of her children. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* so stirred Mrs. Blackford's emotions that she recommended it to her children, suggesting that it contained more truth than southerners were disposed to admit, and kept a copy under her bed all during the Civil War. The Blackfords viewed the coming of secession with horror, roundly condemning "wretched little South Carolina" as "an insolent and enfeebled reactionary, plunging the whole country into strife . . . of which others must bear the brunt." But when war came, the Blackfords' feeling that "My native land is Virginia" outweighed their strong attachment to the Union, and the five sons volunteered at once to defend Virginia. Although the material might have been more tightly woven together, historians will find this book especially useful for its new material on antislavery and Unionist sentiment in ante-bellum Virginia. DAVID LINDSEY, *Baldwin-Wallace College*

SELECTED PAPERS OF CORNELIA PHILLIPS SPENCER. Edited with an Introduction by Louis R. Wilson. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. vii, 753, \$7.50.) This collection of essays largely taken from Presbyterian periodicals supplements two biographies already published about a woman who helped lift North Carolina out of the doldrums of the post-bellum period. Mrs. Spencer had as much to do as anyone in starting the University of North Carolina on a career of usefulness as distinguished as that of any southern school in the twentieth century. The book continues to such length that it assumes the character of historical source material rather than that of selected essays. Mrs. Spencer and her editor do not always carry out her advice to provincial authors that they should give "plain but vivid sketches of something they themselves have seen and felt and known." In her book there are many extraneous musings and Sunday-school platitudes. Yet she reveals life in her section of the country as only a southern gentlewoman could. She confesses the prejudices of her class. She was Presbyterian, sectarian, genteel, and mildly puritanical. She was horrified at the suggestion of a Yankee that lady teachers should spend their vacations as waitresses, and she was hopelessly hesitant over whether or not nice girls should dance. Mrs. Spencer faced the poverty of the post-bellum period with the characteristic pride of a southern aristocrat. She described the lack of esthetic values in the South with the bluntness of a Frederick Law Olmsted. Her

interests belie the assertion of Fannie Kemble that the southern women at the top of the social hierarchy did not know the poor and the unfortunate. She gives many sympathetic portraits of degraded whites, and she shows, as only a southern lady who knew slavery could, a tender regard for dying Negroes. Anyone who wants to know how a perceptive southern woman felt in the generation after Appomattox can do so from reading this collection from the files of forgotten journals. If the editor had been more selective we perhaps would have a revelation as impressive as Mary Boykin Chesnut's *A Diary from Dixie*.

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS, *Longwood College*

FLORIDA FIASCO: RAMPANT REBELS ON THE GEORGIA-FLORIDA BORDER, 1810-1815. By *Rembert W. Patrick*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. x, 359, \$5.00.) Many historians have written of early nineteenth-century events in East Florida, as the diplomats then treated of it, without seeing the ground or understanding fully the people and their interests. Professor Patrick has brought us the reality of the local scene and has deftly woven it into the broad picture of the motives and events of the War of 1812. It is a tale of frustration and tragedy. The central figure is General George Mathews, an old war horse attempting to return to action who died in righteous anger at the vacillations and vagaries of the administration at Washington. The book is particularly good for its analysis of the reasoning of the "patriots" who felt betrayed after having been given clandestine encouragement to invest their all, literally, in an effort to maneuver East Florida into the hands of the United States. Mathews, John H. McIntosh, Colonel Thomas A. Smith, and other names that have been footnotes in many books here become real people. From this point of view the portrayal of Madison and Monroe is necessarily a harsh one. Their dilemma between expansionist desires and the need to uphold the diplomatic rights of small nations led them to the borderline of chicanery. It is fortunate for our historical tradition that the overzealous hope of welcoming rebellion in East Florida failed, and that we eventually obtained the territory by fair negotiation. Furthermore, in the Adams-Onís treaty of 1819 the United States gained far more than could have been salvaged from the wreckage of 1812. It may be argued that Luís de Onís, unrecognized Spanish minister, did not completely take "the dangling bait" offered by Monroe for a cession of the Floridas in 1812. To be sure, Onís was in a peculiarly weak position and welcomed an opening for negotiation, but he never could have agreed to terms that would have been offered at that time. Many tangled threads are here woven together. The chronology is at times confusing to the reader, as it must have been to the writer. Like Colonel Smith, whom he quotes, he must have felt in the situation "excessive perplexity and vexations." The biographical information given on new actors entering the narrative is effective and helps one to understand the composition of this weirdly mixed temporary population. Professor Patrick's book is notable for the breadth of his research in a wide variety of sources of information. His citations from the National Archives bely the belief of some that official documents are colorless and uninteresting. To fill out the framework he has used local and some foreign official records, private manuscripts in many centers, the press, previous historical monographs, and physical survivals. The only flaw is the lack of a map in a work which depends heavily upon place names, routes of expeditions, and the relationships of various positions.

PHILIP C. BROOKS, *San Francisco, California*

A CENTURY OF GEORGIA AGRICULTURE, 1850-1950. By *Willard Range*. Foreword by George H. King. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. xii, 333, \$5.00.) This volume treats the agricultural history of only one state, but it deals

with such a variety of developments common to a number of southeastern states that it is valuable for showing much of what has happened in southern agriculture since the Civil War. In Part One, "The End of the Golden Age, 1850-1865," Range paints the picture in broad strokes, for the most part too broad to give more than a general impression of the agricultural situation in the 1850's and the destruction of the plantation-slave system during the war. In Part Two, "The Long Depression, 1865-1900," however, the author deals impressively with the reorganization of labor and management in the difficult post-Civil War era, the largely unsuccessful attempts at diversification in the late nineteenth century, the application of science to farming, and the agrarian revolt. Here, Range contends that the landowners found the wage labor system superior to sharecropping, but that the Negro's insistence on the latter was responsible for its widespread adoption. Unfortunately, the author fails to offer convincing proof of this interesting thesis. It would seem that the shortage of liquid funds, the landowners' failure to pay adequate wages and their reluctance to assume the necessary supervision of wage laborers were important factors in the adoption of the share system. Part Three chronicles the revolutionary changes in Georgia agriculture in the twentieth century—the decline of cotton, the achievement of a diversified agriculture, improvements in marketing and credit facilities, and the increasing importance of agricultural education. Based upon wide research, *A Century of Georgia Agriculture* is authoritative and points the way to what might be profitably done with the history of agriculture in other states. This reviewer wishes that along with his excellent synthesis and narration Professor Range had chosen to analyze more fully costs, prices, and profits in various crops and on different sized farms. Not the least valuable quality of this book is the author's happy faculty of making agricultural history interesting. J. CARLYLE SITTERSON, *University of North Carolina*

GALVESTON ISLAND, OR, A FEW MONTHS OFF THE COAST OF TEXAS: THE JOURNAL OF FRANCIS C. SHERIDAN, 1839-1840. Edited by *Willis W. Pratt*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1954, pp. xvii, 172, \$3.50.) This is the journal of a young Irishman in the British service who visited the coastal area of Texas in 1840, when his government was considering the matter of recognizing the Republic of Texas. His report to his government may be found in E. D. Adams, ed., *British Diplomatic Correspondence concerning the Republic of Texas, 1838-1846* (Austin, 1917). More interesting than the official report is this private journal recounting Sheridan's experiences in Texas, now excellently edited by Professor Pratt and made available by the University of Texas Press. Apparently young Sheridan aspired to be an actor and a writer, and his observations of social functions and private and public entertainment have special value. He did not see in Texas many things that he liked and more people disgusted him than pleased him. Still he agreed with Texans that their country offered wonderful opportunities to the immigrant and was the most healthful place on earth. He thought, furthermore, that if the British government would recognize Texas the resulting increase of immigration of British subjects to that country would greatly improve the Texan population!

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON, *Hardin-Simmons University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

DOUGLASS HOUGHTON: MICHIGAN'S PIONEER GEOLOGIST. By *Edsel K. Rintala*. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 119, \$3.00.) Douglass Houghton was endowed with an insignificant physique and a remarkable mind. In his tragically shortened career of thirty-six years (1809-45) he made an impressive contribution to the material and the cultural progress of Michigan, his adopted state. Although he was never a forgotten man, until now no extended biography of him has been published. A native of Troy, New York, and a graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, by the age of twenty-one he had become both a physician and a scientist. Invited to Detroit to deliver a series of scientific lectures in 1831, he quickly became one of the best-known and best-loved citizens of that burgeoning metropolis. His wider claim upon public remembrance stems from his work as surveyor of the geological resources of Michigan. Shortly before his death he persuaded Congress to authorize a combined geological, mineralogical, topographical, and magnetic survey of the wild lands of the United States to be conducted in conjunction with the linear survey of the public domain. Field work on this immense undertaking had already been launched when death by drowning in Lake Superior stayed the brain and hand of the eager scholar. It is well to have the story of such a career and character conveniently assembled within a single volume. Although Rintala's narrative is in no sense distinguished, it presents in scholarly fashion about all one needs to know about Detroit's loved "little doctor" and "boy geologist." It is gratifying that the book has the imprint of the infant press of Detroit's still-youthful Wayne University.

M. M. QUAIFFÉ, *Detroit, Michigan*

NOTHING BUT PRAIRIE AND SKY: LIFE ON THE DAKOTA RANGE IN THE EARLY DAYS. Recorded by *Walker D. Wyman* from the original notes of *Bruce Siberts*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. 217, \$3.75.) "Look, Mama, at the picture of Jesus stealing a little bunch of sheep!" The child pointed a chubby hand at a Sunday School chromo on the cabin wall. This juvenile reaction represents a typical point of view that has never been adequately explained by writers

on the West. Why did vast numbers of pioneer Americans who deplored stealing participate in it at one time or another, at least to the extent of eating the other fellow's beef? This amoral phenomenon is excellently postulated by Walker Wyman in *Nothing but Prairie and Sky*. The book is a partial autobiography of Bruce Siberts, written in his own alkali idiom, then boiled down and unified by Mr. Wyman. The process has extracted all the essence of a small livestockman's life on the open range of South Dakota at the turn of the century. The time and the place are generally conceded to have been the most picturesque and compellingly romantic in American history. The sailor, the riverman, the timber cruiser have never held popular imagination like the cowboy. Owen Wister set the accepted pattern of the cattle country. Andy Adams recorded the scene through the professional eyes of a clear-eyed Texas cattleman. Marie Sandoz and Ole Rølvaag added the European immigrant's interpretation. *Nothing but Prairie and Sky* fills another prominent gap. Here is the West as seen by an unlettered farm boy—one of the class which was probably the most numerous in settling the open range. The book must be judged as a literary work, not as history—except in the broadest sense. Siberts' facts are meager and sometimes inaccurate. When he tells about discussing a range problem with "old Clay Robinson," he is inflating his own importance about a conference that could not have occurred, for Clay and Robinson were two men. Such an error, however, fails to vitiate the charm of a self-revealing interpretation of a man and his times, told with candor, zest, and rare humor.

JAY MONAGHAN, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

THE OPENING OF THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL: THE STORY OF THE STEVENS PARTY FROM THE REMINISCENCES OF MOSES SCHALLENGER AS SET DOWN FOR H. H. BANCROFT ABOUT 1885, EDITED AND EXPANDED BY HORACE S. FOOTE IN 1888. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Map, and Illustrations by George R. Stewart. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. viii, 115, \$3.75.) The overland emigrant party of 1844, in opening the first wagon-road to California, made a truly historic trek. But unfortunately no diary has come down to give us a day-by-day record of the journey. In the absence of such a contemporary record, the reminiscent account of Moses Schallenger is the more prized. His original manuscript, "Overland in 1844," has been lost, but the substance of it has been preserved, though buried in *Pen Pictures* (1888), a volume of local history and biography. Mr. Stewart has performed a service in ferreting out this account, recognizing its importance, and making it available. As a student of the famous Donner Party of 1846, he was equipped to edit this narrative, and to make logical deductions from the brief record. Schallenger, a lad of seventeen when he joined the party led by Elisha Stevens, not only endured the hardships of the overland journey but remained alone with the snowbound wagons in the Sierra Nevadas to guard "an invoice of valuable goods." His food was foxes he trapped through the winter. A good introduction and explanatory notes are supplied by the editor. Appropriate illustrations are included.

LEROY R. HAFEN, *State Historical Society of Colorado*

COLLIS POTTER HUNTINGTON. By Cerinda W. Evans. In two volumes. [Museum Publication Number 24.] (Newport News, Va., Mariners' Museum, 1954, pp. 384, 385-775.) This is the type of book which tempts a reviewer to rip up one side and snort down the other in devilish devastation, for it asks for such treatment throughout. The two volumes are beautifully fashioned, with excellent illustrations, although more lucid maps could be desired and there is that eternal nuisance of having to break pace to check footnotes three hundred pages to the rear. Undoubtedly the

author has consulted just about all the material pertaining to Huntington that is worth the effort. But for all the effort and expense, the book remains a disappointment. It reads like a Ph.D. thesis before the supervisor has gone over it, and is about as badly proofed. To detail all the errors would require more space than is allotted here. There are, to cite examples, typographical errors (pp. 43, 702, etc.) awkward sentences (pp. 53, 527), misspellings (p. 471), and changes from plural to singular or vice versa between nouns and their pronouns (pp. 134, 186). Then there are small errors of fact, which could, of course, be typographical, such as founding the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1877 (p. 300) and listing the San Antonio and Aransas Pass railroad as the San Antonio and Arkansas Pass (p. 264). However, the greater disappointment is the failure of the author to sell his case for Huntington. While the reviewer rather sympathizes with those who seek to revise estimates of nineteenth-century American businessmen, he feels that proper revision requires more than endless reiteration that the hero didn't kick his dog—or his partner—across the room every morning before coffee. Undoubtedly a case can be made for the Central Pacific in general and Huntington in particular. Throughout the building of the transcontinental road, and even after, San Francisco behaved like a spurned suitor; and her newspapers achieved national reputation for viciousness in an era that isn't remembered for its journalistic temperance. Every California politician who couldn't get in the Huntington orbit knew that political capital could always be made by attacking the then biggest target in the state. So there was room for a new look at the Huntington saga, but this, I fear, is not the book to balance the account, for it induces a counter-reaction. One paragraph (p. 493), among others, gives an idea why: "Is it not time to reconsider [Huntington] seriously and honestly, not only as the greatest of railroad builders and a financial genius, but as a man of boundless vision, indomitable courage and force, and unswerving integrity; and to reckon up his unparalleled contributions to the welfare of mankind?" Yes, it's time—it is still time.

JOE B. FRANTZ, *University of Texas*

BIOGRAPHY OF A BANK: THE STORY OF BANK OF AMERICA N. T. AND S. A. By *Marquis James* and *Bessie Rowland James*. (New York, Harper, 1954, pp. vii, 566, \$5.00.) This is the story of the world's largest bank and the biography of its founder, Amedeo Peter Giannini, one of the great innovators in modern banking. The son of Italian immigrants, Giannini began his career in his step-father's produce business in San Francisco. After twelve years, at the age of thirty-one, he retired, having saved enough money to guarantee him a monthly income of \$250. Then, for a brief time, he operated in real estate and served as a director of a local bank. In 1904, he founded his own institution, the Bank of Italy. Confident of the future and convinced that what California needed was a bank large enough to handle the requirements of a varied and expanding economy, and one equally willing to cater to the needs of "the little fellow," Giannini embarked upon a program designed to make the Bank of Italy (in 1930, changed to Bank of America) a state-wide branch banking system. The struggle to combat popular and official prejudice against branch banking, the methods of expansion through the use of corporate affiliates and holding companies (Bancitaly, 1919, and the most notable, Transamerica, 1928), and the conflicts with government officials are carefully and interestingly analyzed. In the 1920's, while the Bank of Italy increased its holdings in California, Giannini, through Bancitaly, tried to create a national, indeed, a world-wide branch banking institution. Some of this expansion, as the Jameses indicate, was not always wise or carefully executed. Ultimately, the depression and conflict with eastern banking interests prevented the realization of this dream. After a dramatic proxy fight to regain con-

trol of his vast holdings, Giannini, in 1932, assumed once again the leadership which he had relinquished in 1924 and began to rebuild what the depression and (according to Giannini and the authors) unfriendly interests in Washington, D.C., and New York tried to destroy. In the end he succeeded. A. P. Giannini died in 1949 leaving an estate of less than \$500,000, while the bank he founded and whose destiny he guided for over forty years represented "the largest [private] aggregation of wealth ever assembled under one banking management." Employing bank records and other standard sources, the Jameses have written an accurate and interesting history of an important regional banking system and its complex role in the economic development of twentieth-century California. There is not a dull page in the whole book, and, so far as this reviewer can tell, the treatment of Giannini's struggle with Wall Street is the only instance where the author's views might be questioned.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

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Latin-American History

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GENERAL

- HISTORIOGRAPHIE D'HAÏTI. By *Catts Pressoir, Ernst Trouillot, Henock Trouillot*. [Historiografías, I.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia,

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

Comisión de Historia, 1953, pp. 298.) The Fourth Assembly of the Pan American Institute of History and Geography which met in Caracas in 1946 recommended "... the publication of a 'library of American historiography' which would ... serve as a guide ... to the most notable works which exist concerning the history of each American nation." *Historiographie d'Haïti* is the first volume of a series being published in conformity with this recommendation by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute. In choosing the most notable works concerning the history of Haiti, the authors have confined themselves to some ninety-odd "historians who are well known and whose works have had an influence upon public opinion." Included are writers of primary materials, such as travel accounts, as well as those who have written history in a more technical sense. Their works are divided into three main categories: those which deal with the Spanish period; those dealing with the French period; and those which are concerned with independent Haiti. The last two groups are further subdivided according to topical or methodological characteristics. Within the various divisions and subdivisions discussions of individual works are presented in chronological order of their publication. These discussions range from a few descriptive lines to rather extensive critical analyses dealing with the life and times, the methods and ideas of more important Haitian writers such as Thomas Madiou, Beau-brun Ardouin, and Horace Pauleus Sannon. *Historiographie d'Haïti* contains a number of mechanical imperfections and inconsistencies in the presentation of bibliographical information, and its organization leaves something to be desired. However, its authors should be commended for bringing together in one volume much useful information on historical writing about Haiti and for giving us a valuable insight into the problems which have concerned and should concern the historians of Haiti.

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COLONIAL PERIOD

FRANCISCAN BEGINNINGS IN COLONIAL PERU. By *Antonine Tibesar*, O.F.M. [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Monograph Series, Volume One.] (Washington, the Academy, 1953, pp. xviii, 162, \$4.00.) In this scholarly and highly documented account of Franciscan activities in sixteenth-century Peru, the author has explored a neglected phase in the history of the Catholic Church in the Western Hemisphere. The study, which was begun as a doctoral dissertation, is based on extensive research in Peruvian archives as well as other archival and library materials. The copious footnotes and the appendix contain a great deal of information not found in the rather short text. There is also a lengthy bibliography, although no commentary on materials listed. As the author states in his introduction, this work does not attempt to be a "total history" of sixteenth-century Franciscans in Peru but rather a sketch of Franciscan efforts during that period to convert the Indians to Christianity. The first part of the book deals with the arrival of the Franciscans in Peru and the slow but steady growth of this order among the Creoles. (A few mestizos, but no Negroes were admitted.) There follows a brief treatment of the difficulties encountered in early labors among the Indians. "The slowness of the development was due largely to two causes: the hesitancy of the Franciscan superiors to accept parishes as a permanent obligation, and the reluctance of the bishops . . . to entrust these parishes to the religious [orders]" (p. 47). The second half of the text discusses the Franciscans in the latter part of the century, especially after the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1568. Ignoring the wishes of the archbishop and the Franciscan superiors, he assigned friars permanently to designated posts. A final chapter is a brief description of the methods used in teaching the Indians. The author concludes that "the Franciscans in sixteenth-century Peru were not surpassed by any group in the effectiveness of their ministry or in fidelity to their mission."

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American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held December 28-30 at the Hotel Commodore, New York.

A number of copies of the *Writings on American History, 1949* (*Annual Report, 1951*, Vol. II) and of the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1952, Vol. I, *Proceedings*, are still available to members who write and ask for them.

Other Historical Activities

General Peyton Conway March has presented to the Library of Congress the first installment of his papers, consisting mainly of correspondence in the 1930's. The main body of General March's papers will eventually come to the Library. They will form a valuable supplement to the papers of Woodrow Wilson, Newton D. Baker, John J. Pershing, Tasker H. Bliss, and others.

A small but valuable addition to the papers of Philander C. Knox has been received as a gift from his daughter. The correspondence (*ca.* 70 pieces, 1896-1921) includes one or more letters each from four Presidents—McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Harding—as well as scattered letters from Mark Hanna, Whitelaw Reid, Elihu Root, Charles J. Bonaparte, Frank B. Kellogg, and others.

Nine volumes of the diary of George von Lengerke Meyer have been presented to the Library by his daughters. The diary covers Meyer's years as ambassador to Italy, 1901-1905, and to Russia, 1905-1907, as well as his later service as Postmaster General in Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet and his first few months as Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration.

Among earlier materials acquired recently are approximately 1500 business papers of George Redington (1798-1850) and of his son and executor, James, of Waddington, New York. The elder Redington, who studied law in the office of Gouverneur Ogden, gradually relinquished his law practice in favor of handling real estate. He acted as land agent for several influential proprietors in the Waddington-Ogdensburg area, ran several lumber mills, and took an active part in the arrangements for construction of the Northern Railroad line from Ogdensburg to Rouse's Point. Most of the papers are comprised of correspondence dating from about 1820 to 1860.

A number of collections, large and small, dealing with the history of aviation from the time of the French Revolution to the present are now available in the Manuscripts Division following transfer from the Library's former Aeronautics Division. Among the collections are those of Gaston Tissandier, celebrated nineteenth-century balloonist; Alfred Hildebrand, German writer on aeronautical subjects, pioneer in aviation, and the first European to support the experiments of the

Wright Brothers; and Octave Chanute, Franco-American civil engineer who became interested in aeronautics as early as 1875 in France and was friend and mentor to the Wrights. The papers of Orville and Wilbur Wright have now been returned to the Manuscripts Division.

Registers descriptive of the following groups of personal papers or collections of records are now available for interlibrary loan: American Public Relations Association; Ray Stannard Baker, Series I; Marion Glass Banister; Rev. James D. Barbee; George F. Becker; Sir Francis J. Campbell; Thomas Čapek; Thomas Henry Carter; Charles J. Dewey; John P. Frey; Edmond C. Genet; Leland Harrison; John Hay; Raoul Heilbronner; Interparliamentary Union; Thomas A. Jenckes; Thomas S. Jesup; James Laurence Laughlin; League of Women Voters; Charles L. McNary; John Purroy Mitchel; Roland S. Morris; Naval Historical Foundation; Burton E. Stevenson; Harvey W. Wiley; and George M. Wunderlich.

The National Archives has recently issued "Special Lists," No. 12, *Select List of Documents in the Records of the National Recovery Administration*, compiled by Homer C. Calkin and Meyer H. Fishbein, and five more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 66, *Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering*, compiled by Harold T. Pinkett; No. 67, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Air Accidents, 1941-43*, compiled by George P. Perros; No. 68, *Cartographic Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace*, compiled by James Berton Rhoads; No. 69, *Records of the House Committee on the Civil Service Pertaining to the Investigation of Civilian Employment in the Federal Government, 1942-46*, compiled by George P. Perros; No. 70, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives on Post-War Military Policy, 1944-46*, compiled by George P. Perros.

The Syracuse University Library has recently received two manuscript collections of interest to American historians. O. T. Barck, professor of history at Syracuse, has given the library an extensive collection of the papers of Moses DeWitt, 1766-1794. About five hundred items relating to the life of Mary Edwards Walker, 1832-1919, of Oswego, New York, physician and women's rights advocate, have been received from Mrs. Eric W. Lawson of Canastota, New York.

The Detroit Institute of Arts has established the Archives of American Art for the collection in one central place of documentary material on American painters, sculptors, and craftsmen. The Archives will consist of original records or reproductions of records preserved permanently in other collections.

The sponsors of the recently organized project to edit the papers of Benjamin Franklin (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 822) have issued an appeal to libraries, collectors, and other individuals possessing any letters by or to Benjamin Franklin or other Franklin manuscripts. Such owners are invited to co-operate with this undertaking by informing the editor, Professor Leonard W. Labaree, of their holdings

and making them available for photographic reproduction and ultimate inclusion in the edition. Communications regarding Franklin manuscripts should be addressed to Professor Labaree at Yale University Library, Room 230, New Haven, Connecticut. He will arrange for the photographing of all such materials and full acknowledgments of ownership will be made as the materials are printed.

The library of the late Frederick Winslow Taylor, together with his personal papers and other memorabilia, has been given to Stevens Institute of Technology. A *Classified Guide* to the collection has been published by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and is available from the ASME Order Department, 29 West 39th Street, New York 18, N.Y. (\$3.00).

Since 1859 the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, has published a quarterly called the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*. This quarterly contains much material on the colonial history of Massachusetts and the commercial history of Salem and Essex County during the days of the sailing ships, as well as many genealogies, town records, and other original source material. In 1951 the Institute published a complete index of Volumes 68 to 85, an edition now almost exhausted. An index of the earlier volumes is now in progress, that for the first twenty-five volumes being ready for distribution. Two more volumes will bring the index up to Volume 68 and complete the task.

The *Church of Christ Preachers List* has been microfilmed by Texas Christian University. This work contains historical and statistical material relative to the Churches of Christ and the Disciples of Christ since 1906. Microfilm copies are available for \$46.50 from Mr. A. T. DeGroot, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas.

A series of radio scripts entitled "The American Story" has been prepared by Broadcast Music, Inc., in association with the Society of American Historians. Each episode features a "radio essay" written by a historian expert in the particular period or subject. The series is being made available without cost to every radio station in the country and to schools and libraries for educational purposes.

The Société d'histoire moderne has begun publication again of their *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, suspended since 1939. The *Bulletin* of the society, which provides a short summary of the papers and discussion at the monthly meetings, will continue to appear, but the *Etudes*, a volume of longer monographs of which five numbers have appeared since the Second World War, will not be published. Unlike the *Etudes*, the *Revue* will publish reviews of books and will appear quarterly. Subscription to the *Bulletin* is \$2.00 for Americans at the current French exchange, and to the *Revue*, 1,200 francs, or approximately \$3.50. M. Lucien Gênet, 22 Avenue de la Bourdonnais, Paris VII, receives applications for the *Bulletin*, while the Presses Universitaires de France takes care of subscriptions for the new *Revue*. Stechert-Hafner, of New York, will also take

subscriptions. The introduction to this first number of the *Revue* comments on other French historical reviews and the need for a review devoted to modern history. Professor Charles H. Pouthas is director, Professor Roger Portal, secretary-general, and René Rémond, secretary for editing of the review.

The first issue of *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* has appeared under the date of January, 1954. It is to be published three times a year by the International Association for the History of Religions and will present articles in English, French, German, and Italian. The editor is Professor Raffaele Pettazoni, Via Crescenzio 63, Rome, and the distributor is E. J. Brill, Leiden.

The Committee on International Relations of the American Historical Association met in Washington, D.C., May 8, 1954, under the chairmanship of Waldo Leland, to discuss international relations touching upon the study of history, particularly the Rome meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, September 4-11, 1955, and Hispanic-American historical activities. The committee discussed the projected program at length with the American Historical Association's delegate, Professor Donald McKay, who attended the meeting of the Bureau at Lausanne in June. Professor McKay's report of the Lausanne meeting is summarized below.

The principal business of this year's meeting of the Bureau of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences at Lausanne, Switzerland, June 11-12, was the further preparation of the quinquennial Congress in Rome, September 4-11, 1955. The Congress will open with a plenary session on Sunday morning, September 4, and will continue during the following six days with sessions from 9 to 11 A.M. for the discussion of reports on subjects of broad historical interest (printed and distributed in advance), and with sessions from 11:15 to 12:45 and from 5:30 to 8 devoted to the reading and discussion of papers of the more conventional type. There will also be two plenary evening meetings and one weekday afternoon free. On Sunday, September 11, the Congress will be closed in a final plenary session in the morning at which four leading historians (Momigliano, Vercauteren, Ritter, Renouvin) will comment briefly on the extent to which their printed reports (on the fields of antiquity, the Middle Ages, modern history, and contemporary history) have received support or have been modified by the papers and discussion of the past week.

American scholars will prepare or participate in the preparation of ten of the thirty-five reports, and will present some twenty papers. The latter were chosen from a list which had been screened in a meeting on May 8 of the American Committee on International Historical Activities.

The Congress will be housed in the very spacious Palazzo dei Congressi, originally planned in connection with the projected International Exposition of 1942. It lies in a large complex of buildings and gardens in the countryside southwest of Rome but is accessible in about fifteen minutes from the Piazza Venezia. It

includes a large auditorium with 1500 seats and provision for simultaneous translation in the five official languages of the Congress (French, German, Italian, Spanish, English). It has also on the first floor a spacious room for banquets, international telephone and telegraph service, a bank, a post office, tourist agencies, a commodious bar, a room for the press, etc. On the second floor are offices for Congress officials, rooms of varying sizes to accommodate speakers in the five "sections" of the Congress, and some fourteen smaller rooms for potential discussions following the formal sessions. There is a superb outdoor theater and a good restaurant nearby. Bus service will be provided from the three sectors in Rome in which hotels are being listed for the convenience of participants. Formal invitations with full information concerning hotels, etc., will be distributed presently by the office of the American Historical Association to a fairly wide range of people who might be presumed to be interested, and further invitations will be available at the Association office on application after about October 1.

The Italian Committee has arranged a series of three interesting optional excursions to follow immediately after the Congress—(1) to Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Amalfi, Paestum; (2) to Assisi, Perugia, Siena, San Gimignano, Lucca, Florence; (3) to Venice and its environs.

The Holy See has become a member of the International Committee and will have a very substantial representation among those offering papers at the Congress.

Further information can be had from the American representative on the Bureau, Professor Donald C. McKay, 472 Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, or from the Segreteria del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici, Via M. Caetani 32, Rome. Information on the activities of the International Committee during the past year, along with its Constitution, officers, etc., can be found in the *Bulletin d'information*, 1954, of which the Association office has a limited number of copies available for distribution.

An international conference called "II Jornadas de Literatura Hispánica" was held at Santiago de Compostela, Spain, July 16-23, under the auspices of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica. The first such conference was held last year at the University of Salamanca. The theme of the 1954 conference was the history of Hispanic literature in the past half century.

The Eighth International Congress for the History of Religions will be held in Rome April 17-23, 1955. All scholars interested in the historical study of religions are invited to attend. The address of the Italian committee in charge of the Congress is Via Michelangelo Caetani 32, Rome, Italy.

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, Canada, on April 10, 1954. The president of the Academy, Professor William E. Lunt of Haverford College, delivered an address, "Aspects of the

Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1523." Other papers read at the meeting were "The State of Mediaeval Studies in Egypt" by Dr. Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, "The Historical State of Research on Siger of Brabant" by Dr. Armand A. Maurer, and "The Pseudo-Isidorian Problem Today" by Dr. Schafer Williams. Professor Austin P. Evans of Columbia University was elected president of the Academy.

At the meeting of the Conference on British Studies held at New York University on April 3, 1954, Sir George N. Clark, provost of Oriel College, Oxford University, read a paper entitled "The Place of King William's War in the Social and Economic History of Europe." Professors Violet Barbour, formerly of Vassar College, and Basil D. Henning, of Yale University, were the commentators.

The California Conference of Historical Societies was organized in July by 106 representatives of more than 30 county or regional historical organizations throughout the state. Rockwell D. Hunt was elected first president of the new organization. The conference will have its first annual convention at Monterey, June 24-25, 1955.

Occidental College's fifth annual conference on the American Southwest and Mexico, sponsored in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation, was held on April 9 and 10, 1954, at Los Angeles, California. Historians, folklorists, literary specialists, artists, and musicologists participated in the sessions, some of which were held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the California Folklore Society. One panel of basic historical interest concerning "The Northwestern States of Mexico" included Philip W. Powell of Santa Barbara College, University of California, Eugene K. Chamberlin of Montana State University, and Andrew F. Rolle of Occidental College. A major address entitled "The Birth and Progress of Mexican Liberalism" was delivered by Edmundo O'Gorman of the University of Mexico. Dean Glenn S. Dumke of Occidental College was the general chairman of the conference.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Berkshire Historical Conference was held May 21-23 at Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Fifteen women teaching in the field of history and representing seven colleges attended. Recent publications and current research projects of members present were described and discussed. Miss Mildred Campbell of Vassar College continues her term as president. Miss Jane Ruby of Wheaton College was elected secretary-treasurer.

The spring Upper Midwest History Conference was held on the campus of Wisconsin State College at River Falls on May 11, 1954. A paper entitled "Popular Anticlericalism in the Puritan Revolution" was read by Professor James F. Maclear of the University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch. Discussion was led by Professors Lucile D. Pinkham of Carleton College and David H. Willson of the

University of Minnesota. Professor Robert P. Fogerty of the College of St. Thomas presided.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a four-year grant to the American University for preparation of a history of Washington, D.C. The university has engaged Mrs. Constance McLaughlin Green to undertake this task. The purpose of the study is twofold: to analyze the development of American urban life in a fashion to serve as a "pilot model" for histories of other cities and to explain the origin and growth of features peculiar to Washington. No complete history of the national capital exists today, and while obviously no history can incorporate discussion of everything of interest, Mrs. Green hopes to cover the essential elements of Washington's past in a volume of less than 500 pages. Because the gaps in historical understanding are more pronounced for the period since the Civil War than for the earlier years, plans at present are to give major emphasis to the changes that occurred between 1865 and 1950.

A gift of \$750,000 for American Studies at the University of Wyoming was recently made by Mr. William Robertson Coe of New York. The funds will be used to endow an expanded interdepartmental program at the levels of the bachelor's and master's degrees. Beginning in September, 1954, graduate fellowships of \$1,000 to \$2,000 will be offered, as well as undergraduate fellowships of \$250. In addition, the endowment provides for substantial library acquisitions, establishment of a chair, and continuation of the annual Conference on American Studies, a five-week summer program for fifty selected high school teachers of history and literature. The conference will continue to be under the direction of William R. Steckel, professor of history at the university.

The following historians are among the recipients of grants under the faculty fellowship program of the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) for 1954-55: Edwin Charles Rozwenc, Amherst College; Richard Blaine McCornack, Dartmouth College; Ernest W. McDonnell, Rutgers University; Joseph A. Boromé, City College, New York; Ralph Henry Bowen, Columbia University; Matthew Heath Elbow, New York State College for Teachers, Albany; Jack H. Hexter, Queens College; Aaron Noland, City College, New York; John MacDonald Coleman, Lafayette College; William Hardy McNeill, University of Chicago; Stow S. Persons, State University of Iowa; Oswald P. Backus, III, University of Kansas; Alvin H. Proctor, Kansas State Teachers College; Arthur E. Adams, Michigan State College; Cyril G. Allen, State Teachers College, Mankato, Minnesota; David Henry Pinkney, University of Missouri; Irvin G. Wyllie, University of Missouri; Bernarr Cresap, State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama; William Arnold Bultman, Arkansas State Teachers College; Harold O. Lewis, Howard University; John Thomas Farrell, Catholic University of America; Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida; James H. Young, Emory University, James Franklin Hopkins, University of Kentucky; Helen Grey Edmonds, North

Carolina College at Durham; Arthur Bowles Ferguson, Duke University; Frontis Withers Johnston, Davidson College; Frank W. Klingberg, University of North Carolina; Gilbert Courtland Fite, University of Oklahoma; Howard H. Quint, University of South Carolina; Barnes Fletcher Lathrop, University of Texas; William Alexander Jenks, Washington and Lee University; Marvin Wilson Schlegel, Longwood College; Louis Cushman De Armond, Los Angeles State College; Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado; Edwin Ralph Bingham, University of Oregon; Donald W. Treadgold, University of Washington.

In 1955 the Social Science Research Council will again offer research training fellowships, both predoctoral and postdoctoral; faculty research fellowships, providing half-time support for research for three-year terms and open to college teachers up to thirty-five years of age; grants-in-aid of research to scholars of established competence; and undergraduate research stipends, open to college juniors. In addition the Council will offer certain other types of assistance for study and research, including grants to support research on United States military policies covering any period between 1750 and 1939 except the Civil War period (application for these special grants must be made before November 1, 1954). Inquiries about grants should be made as soon as possible and should be directed to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Scholarships for study in Mexico during 1955 are again being offered by the Mexican government. Open to graduate and undergraduate students with a knowledge of Spanish, the awards are given through the Mexico-United States Commission on Cultural Cooperation. Awards are for the academic year beginning March 1, 1955. Applicants may write to the Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York, N. Y. Closing date for application is November 1, 1954.

Competition for the annual book prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg is now open for books published since January 1, 1954, in the field of early American history and culture. This field embraces all phases of American history to about 1815, including the borderlands of the British North American colonies and the British colonies in the West Indies to 1776. The prize is \$500, and all types of work except fiction are eligible. The next award will be made in May, 1955. Books should be submitted to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, not later than January 15, 1955.

The American Committee for Cultural Freedom and Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., publishers, announce the Cultural Freedom Award of \$1,000 to be given for a book-length manuscript on the subject of cultural freedom. The contest is open to teachers or graduate students in American colleges and universities. The dead-

line for submission is May 31, 1955. Inquiries for further information may be addressed to Cultural Freedom Editor, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 105 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

In Amherst College Wallace P. Scott has been promoted to assistant professor of history and Walter A. Sedelow has been appointed instructor in history.

Dale L. Morgan has joined the staff of the Bancroft Library and will prepare a general guide to its manuscript collections.

Felix E. Hirsch, professor of history in Bard College, will teach twentieth-century history at the Technische Hochschule, Karlsruhe (Germany) during the winter semester, 1954-55.

After thirty-nine years in the department of history at Bowdoin College, Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, Thomas Brackett Reed professor of history and political science, retired on June 30 with the rank of professor emeritus. George Bearce, formerly of Kalamazoo College, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Bowdoin.

T. H. Von Laue of Bryn Mawr College has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship to Finland.

Julius W. Pratt, Samuel P. Capen professor of American history in the University of Buffalo, was one of three professors named to the recently established rank of distinguished professor in the university.

Ronald E. Osborn has been promoted to professor of church history in the school of religion of Butler University. He has been granted a leave of absence for the current year to serve on the staff of the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies at the Ecumenical Institute, maintained by the World Council of Churches at Chateau de Bossey, Céligny, Switzerland.

Edward M. Riley, formerly chief park historian at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, has been named director of research for Colonial Williamsburg. Dr. Riley succeeds A. Pierce Middleton, who resigned recently to become Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church at Brookfield, Connecticut.

LeRoy R. Hafen retired on July 1 as state historian of Colorado after thirty years of service. He has accepted a position as professor of history at Brigham Young University for the current academic year.

Robert P. Browder of the University of Colorado has been granted a faculty fellowship and is on leave of absence during the current academic year.

Kenneth M. Setton, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has gone to Columbia University as professor of medieval history. He took up his new duties on July 1.

Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University is serving during the current year as Fulbright professor at the University of Turin, Italy.

The Rev. Carl S. Meyer has accepted appointment to the chair of historical theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

Richard Lowitt has been appointed assistant professor of history in Connecticut College, New London.

Eric C. Kollman, professor of history in Cornell College, Iowa, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for Germany, where he will serve as visiting professor at the University of Marburg for the current academic year.

Carl Stephenson retired as professor emeritus from Cornell University on July 1. Theodor E. Mommsen, formerly of Princeton University, has succeeded Dr. Stephenson as professor of history.

Promotions in the department of history at Denison University include William T. Utter, senior professor, Morton B. Stratton and Wyndham M. Southgate, professors, and Robert Seager II, assistant professor. William Preston, Jr., has been appointed instructor in history.

E. Malcolm Carroll, James B. Duke professor of history at Duke University, has been named chairman of the department of history.

In the department of history of East Tennessee State College Harold H. Dugger has been promoted to associate professor and James E. Sutton has been appointed assistant professor.

Arthur Tyson, formerly of East Texas Baptist College, has been named president of Mary Hardin-Baylor College, Belton, Texas.

Robert W. Rieke has been appointed instructor in history in Emory University.

Roderic H. Davison has been promoted to professor of history in George Washington University.

Stephen L. Speronis has been appointed assistant professor of history and Alan Jones, instructor at Grinnell College.

James D. van Putten has been named chairman of the department of history and political science in Hope College, Holland, Michigan. Paul G. Fried has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

E. E. Dale of the University of Oklahoma is serving as visiting professor of history in the University of Houston during the current year.

William S. Greever has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Idaho.

After thirty-four years of service at Indiana University, F. Lee Bennis retired as professor emeritus of history on September 30. Harold J. Grimm, formerly of the Ohio State University, has accepted the chairmanship of the department of history at Indiana. Robert R. Rea of Alabama Polytechnic Institute has been appointed visiting assistant professor of history for the year, and P. S. Wandycz, formerly research associate of the Mid-European Studies Center of New York, has been appointed instructor in history.

Robert W. Johannsen has accepted appointment as assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas.

In the history department of the University of Michigan William R. Leslie will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester. Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., Stanley Mellon, and Stephen J. Tonsor have been appointed instructors.

John A. Garraty has been promoted to associate professor of history at Michigan State College. Robert E. Brown has been awarded the first Thomas Jefferson Fellowship granted by the alumni board of the trustees of the University of Virginia Endowment Fund.

At Mount Holyoke College Geoffrey Bruun has been appointed Florence Purington lecturer for the second semester of 1954-55. He will teach the advanced courses of Peter Viereck, who has a leave of absence for the year 1955. Professor Viereck has been appointed under a Fulbright grant to the new chair of American civilization and poetry at the University of Florence, Italy, for the second semester of 1954-55. Professor F. H. Cramer has a sabbatical leave for the first semester of the year, and Mr. Louis Cohn-Haft of Smith College has been appointed visiting instructor to teach one of his courses. David P. Leonard has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

At the University of Nevada Russell R. Elliott has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science. Wilbur S. Shepperson will be on leave of absence and will replace Alan Conway of the University College of Wales during the academic year 1954-55. Mr. Conway has received a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship and will spend the year in the United States.

Hans Heilbronner has been appointed instructor in history at the University of New Hampshire.

Louis G. Geiger of the University of North Dakota is in Finland for the year on a Fulbright lectureship at the University of Helsinki.

At Northwestern University, Arthur S. Link has been promoted to professor of history and George T. Romani to associate professor. Dr. Link has been ap-

pointed a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and is on leave during 1954-55. Robert B. Leard of the University of Wisconsin has been given a temporary appointment as instructor in history to replace Clarence L. Ver Steeg, who is on leave. Richard M. Brace has been awarded a Fulbright research fellowship and is attached to the faculty of arts and letters of the University of Paris during 1954-55. John W. Wilkes has been appointed instructor in history for the year.

Leslie F. Smith of the University of Oklahoma is spending the current year on a Fulbright research grant at the University of Oslo.

At the University of Oregon Earl S. Pomeroy is serving as acting chairman of the department of history in 1954-55. George E. Etue, Jr., has been appointed instructor in history. Gordon Wright has been granted leave of absence for the year to serve as visiting professor at Columbia University.

Crane Brinton, McLean professor of ancient and modern history at Harvard University, is serving as visiting professor of history at Pomona College during the first half of the academic year 1954-55.

William H. Nelson, formerly of the University of London and the University of Toronto, has been appointed assistant professor of history at the Rice Institute. Edmund T. Peckham has been promoted to assistant professor of history and has also been appointed assistant registrar of the Rice Institute.

Leland H. Carlson has resigned as associate professor of history in Northwestern University to become president of Rockford College.

Jack Roth has been promoted to assistant professor of history at Roosevelt College of Chicago, and Paul B. Johnson, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of history.

Colin Rhys Lovell of the University of Southern California has been awarded a Fulbright grant to the Union of South Africa, where his sponsoring institution will be the University of Pretoria, commencing March, 1955; he will be on sabbatical leave 1955-56.

Harry Ammon of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, is serving as a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Graz, Austria.

Gerhard Masur is on sabbatical leave from Sweet Briar College during the current year. He has received a grant from the Division of the Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation for studies in the intellectual history of the twentieth century.

William M. Pearce has been named chairman of the department of history in Texas Technological College succeeding William Curry Holden, who will devote full time to teaching and directing the activities of the Tech Museum.

Philip C. F. Bankwitz has been appointed instructor in history at Trinity College, Hartford.

Elmer Y. Puryear, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has accepted appointment as instructor in history at West Virginia University.

RECENT DEATHS

Ella A. Hawkinson, formerly chairman of the department of history and political science in Hope College, Holland, Michigan, died on January 27, 1954.

William Scott Ferguson died at the age of seventy-nine, after a brief illness, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 28, 1954. For the Ph.D. degree at Cornell in 1898, when he was twenty-three, he published a thesis which proved that certain Athenian offices were distributed among the tribes in a fixed order of succession. This discovery became known as "Ferguson's Law." Its chronological importance for the Hellenistic period especially was obvious at once. In Berlin Ferguson and others developed the results, a study which still goes on. Few careers have begun more brilliantly. For a decade, Ferguson's published researches, at California and then at Harvard, continued to be largely epigraphical and apparently "special"; but in 1911 *Hellenistic Athens*, a work which dealt with every aspect of civilization, proved that ability in one line is often an index of ability in all. For the *Cambridge Ancient History* he wrote four chapters covering the second half of the Peloponnesian War, and he was also invited to introduce the first Hellenistic volume, for which *Greek Imperialism* (1913) had helped to provide a background. His works thereafter could nearly all be labeled with the bleak word, 'monograph,' but the incomplete list (*Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.* LI [1940], 1-9) shows that he could build up new truth in nearly every period and in a whole gamut of subjects, not excluding a useful synthesis for his presidential address to the American Historical Association (1940). Yet he never lost sight of what he thought was properly central in history: power, the power of men over other men and over themselves; the motives, the organization, the process, and the actual narrative, of the state. To this study and to all others he brought an extraordinary acuteness of insight. As dean of the Harvard Faculty for three years, he created a rational scheme of tenure whereby new appointments are independent of retirements. His teaching combined strictness and kindness; none of his Ph.D. students was led to think that research is easy, but they knew he was right as well as kind, and all were devoted. It is perhaps a tribute to their master that not all stayed in Hellenic studies, or even in strict scholarship; one has become president of Harvard.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, professor emeritus of history and international relations, Clark University, died at his home in Worcester, Massachusetts, on May 5 at the age of eighty-two. After graduation from Wesleyan University in 1893, he attended Johns Hopkins, the universities of Berlin, Leipzig, and Oxford,

and received his Ph.D. at Harvard in 1903. First appointed an instructor of history at Clark in 1903, he was instrumental in the development there of graduate work in his field and in that of international relations. Among his many activities in the latter field, he edited, with G. Stanley Hall, the *Journal of Race Relations*, eventually discontinued with the appearance of *Foreign Affairs*, with which he was associated as a member of the editorial board; he was president of the World Peace Foundation for sixteen years.

Combining active participation in diplomacy with teaching and writing, Dr. Blakeslee was an officer in the Department of State in 1921-22, 1931-32, 1942-52. After World War II he was a member of the United States delegation to the Far Eastern Commission. His review of its work, *The Far Eastern Commission, 1945-1952*, was published by the Department of State six months before his death.

His many students at Clark, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Harvard, and several other institutions where he taught part-time or lectured will remember him for his carefully prepared and open-minded lectures, but most of all for the unfailing courtesy and kindness with which he stimulated and guided them in their study and research.

Henry D. Sharpe, manufacturer of Providence, Rhode Island, died May 17 at the age of eighty-one. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1928.

Robert Howard Lord died at Brighton, Massachusetts, after a short illness, on May 22. Born at Plano, Illinois, in 1885, he studied at Northwestern University, then at Harvard, and later at the universities of Vienna, Berlin, and Moscow. After taking his Ph.D. at Harvard, he became an instructor and professor there, and won the love and admiration of his classes both by his admirably clear and convincing lectures and by his sympathetic interest in the problems of his students. His first important book, *The Second Partition of Poland* (1915), included a brilliant background sketch of the causes of the country's downfall. Four years later, as expert adviser to President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference, he did perhaps more than anyone else toward restoring to Poland her independence and former frontiers. In *The Origins of the War of 1870* (1925), by meticulously using railroad time-tables as well as documents kept from the official German historian, von Sybel, he placed the famous Ems telegram in its proper perspective. Two years later he resigned his professorship at Harvard to become a Catholic and a priest, first in Boston and then until his death at Wellesley, Massachusetts. In his new work Mgrs. Lord joined the faculty of St. John's Seminary in Brighton, became its vice-rector in 1933, and also taught at Regis College in Weston. Continuing his scholarly work, he collaborated in publishing in 1945 a three-volume *History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943*. He was the author of numerous historical articles, a member of many learned societies, and for sixteen years an influential trustee of the Boston Public Library. He will be remembered for his

distinguished scholarship, his personal sincerity and modesty, and his selfless service to others.

Waldemar Gurian, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame and former president of the Catholic Historical Association, died on May 26, 1954. Of Russian birth (1902), he was educated in Holland and Germany. As a young man he came under the influence of Max Scheler, Carl Schmitt, Romano Guardini, and, later, of Jacques Maritain and Don Sturzo. Gurian happily combined a flair for the work of the publicist with scholarly activity. His major works were published in Germany: *The Political and Social Ideas of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (1929) and *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice* (1931). The latter, one of the major works for the understanding of Soviet communism, was translated into many languages and presented in shorter and more up-to-date form in *Bolshevism: An Introduction to Soviet Communism* (1952). He founded the *Review of Politics* in 1939 and was its editor until his death. He was the chairman of the Notre Dame Committee on International Relations and the founder of its Center for Eastern European and Soviet Studies. He fled Germany in 1934 and three years later came to Notre Dame.

Robert Gale Woolbert died at Greeley, Colorado, on June 3, 1954. Born in Albion, Michigan, in 1903, he graduated from the University of Illinois in 1924. He continued in graduate work at the University of Chicago and at Harvard, where he took the doctorate in 1935. His teaching, to which he brought both warmth and a stimulating intelligence, was done largely in two periods, first as assistant for some years at Radcliffe and Harvard, and later as professor at the University of Denver, and its Social Science Foundation, after 1941. From 1935 to 1941 he was research associate of the Council on Foreign Relations and assistant editor of *Foreign Affairs*. In this capacity he was responsible for the quarterly bibliographies and compiled the *Foreign Affairs Bibliography . . . 1932-1942*; It is for these incisive judgments on books that he will be long remembered professionally. His primary research interest was in European imperialism in Africa, a field which as Bayard Cutting Fellow he studied in Italy and North Africa, and in which his contribution was made in numerous articles and pamphlets.

Alruthus Ambush Taylor, research professor of American history at Fisk University and a member of this Association, died in Nashville, Tennessee, June 4, in his sixty-second year. A native of the District of Columbia and a product of its public schools, he received the degree of bachelor of arts with a major in mathematics from the University of Michigan in 1916. While teaching at the West Virginia Collegiate Institute he became intimately acquainted with Carter G. Woodson; and his interest in history grew from this association. Woodson urged him to pursue graduate work in the field. In 1923 he received the degree of master of arts in history from Harvard University; and in 1935 the same institution conferred upon him the degree of doctor of philosophy.

In 1923 Professor Taylor became the first full-time investigator for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; and in the following year the Association published his *The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. Two years later his *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* appeared. These works may be regarded as pioneer efforts among the revisionist school of historians of the Reconstruction. In 1941 he published *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880*; and at the time of his death he had just completed his history of Fisk University, where he was dean and professor for twenty-eight years.

Joseph Minton Batten, professor of church history at the Vanderbilt School of Religion, and member of the American Historical Association since 1927, died June 10, 1954.

J. Adger Stewart, corporation executive, manufacturer, art patron, and historian, died June 15 at the age of seventy-seven. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1950.

Edward Mead Earle, professor of history at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, died in New York on June 23. Born in New York City in May, 1894, he graduated from Columbia University with highest honors in 1917. He then entered the military service and rose to the rank of first lieutenant in the U. S. Army. Following the war, he was employed for a brief period by the National City Bank, but he became lecturer in history at Columbia in 1920, took his doctoral degree there in 1923, and remained on the faculty until 1934, when he was appointed professor at the Institute.

Throughout his career, Edward Mead Earle was able to combine productive scholarship and public service to a degree equaled by few in his profession. He established himself as a scholar of importance in 1923 with the publication of his *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway: A Study in Imperialism*. From then until the end of his career he was interested in foreign and military affairs in their broadest aspects. *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler*, which appeared under his editorial direction in 1943, was considered by reviewers to be not only an outstanding history of the evolution of strategical thought but also a work which marked the beginning of a more sophisticated approach to military problems in general. This was recognized by the armed services as well as by the historical profession; and Professor Earle was a frequent lecturer at the Army War College, the Army Industrial College, and other staff colleges in this country, and at the Joint Services College, the Imperial Defence College, and the Royal Naval War College in Great Britain. Among Professor Earle's many publications in the nonmilitary field were *Nationalism and Internationalism: Essays Inscribed to Carlton J. H. Hayes*, of which he was editor and co-author in 1950, and *Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics*, which he edited in 1951. He was Stafford Little

Lecturer at Princeton in 1941, Lamont Lecturer at Yale in 1945, and Chichele Lecturer at Oxford in 1950.

During the Second World War, Professor Earle served with the Office of Strategic Services, was special consultant to the Commanding General, Army Air Forces, and was on temporary duty with the 8th and 9th Air Forces, USSAF, in 1944-1945. In 1951 he was special consultant to the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Europe. He was awarded the Presidential Medal for Merit for war service in 1946 and was made Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1948.

No account of Edward Mead Earle's career would be complete without some mention of his work in stimulating new approaches to historical problems. Through his seminars at the Institute, he brought European and American scholars into mutually beneficial contact. He was always, moreover, keenly aware of the problems which face young scholars and, by making fellowship grants available to them for independent work at the Institute, sought to relieve them from the burden of teaching at critical moments in their scholarly development.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of my book *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*, Vol. 3, in your April issue accuses me of following, on the first page of my book, "the official Stalinist distortion of Lenin's remark of 1915 about revolution in one country." If he had read the footnote, and looked up the passage from Lenin quoted in full in the appendix, he would have seen that Lenin's remark referred to in the text came, not from the famous "socialism in one country" article of August 1915, later distorted by Stalin, but from an article of October 1915 in which Lenin predicted the foreign policy of a Russian proletarian government; this is wholly free from Stalinist distortion, since Stalin never quoted it. Your reviewer has discovered a mare's nest.

Balliol College, Oxford

E. H. CARR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regret the misunderstanding which led me to attribute to Professor Carr a view which, I am glad to learn, he does not hold. It is unfortunate that in Professor Carr's initial reference to this material his position on the subtle socialism-in-one-country issue was not made clearer, so as to rule out such a misinterpretation.

Indiana University

ROBERT V. DANIELS

Editor's Notes

For book reviews the *Review* has long followed the policy of selecting a reviewer, giving him complete freedom (except as to length, grammar, and the laws of libel) to write his estimate as he sees fit. We believe in this policy and

will continue it, though, as Schlesinger, Langer, and others suggested twenty-two years ago, we hope the reviewer will review the book and save his own essays for his own works. This policy means, of course, that the *Review* is not responsible, except that its editor chooses the reviewer, for the reviewer's expressions of opinion, however favorable or unfavorable these may be.



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Intellectuals and Other People*

MERLE CURTI

MORE than a century ago Emerson called the scholar "the man of the ages." But the scholar, Emerson went on, "must also wish with other men to stand well with his contemporaries. . . . In this country the emphasis in conversation and of public opinion commends the practical man; and the solid portion of the community is named with significant respect in every circle." He added that the American people take a low view of "ideologies" and regard ideas as "subversive of social order and comfort."¹ Both Europeans and Americans echoed this judgment. Certainly the scholar in America has traditionally held a lower place in common esteem than in Europe, even if a witty dean was guilty of exaggeration in remarking that in the Old World an ordinary mortal on seeing a professor tipped his hat while in America he tapped his head. In Emerson's day professors and their fellow intellectuals had not come to be regarded as a special group; they were not then, nor have

* Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in New York, December 29, 1954.

¹ *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1883), IV, 253.

they ever come to be, looked up to, rewarded, and honored as in Europe.²

But Emerson saw only one side of the picture. At the very time that he ventured his opinion the lecture platform on which he earned his bread was receiving a good deal of popular support. Humble farmers and villagers were digging into their pockets to keep open the academies and colleges that enabled scholars to live and to train more of their kind. Popularly chosen governments were broadening the domain of knowledge through geological surveys, the Smithsonian Institution's program, the exploring expeditions at home and overseas, and the publication of historical documents. The people were also extending and improving their schools. Such activities did not, of course, necessarily imply respect for ideas and thinkers. Parents then as now often wanted education for their children for reasons of social prestige and personal advancement or as an aid to earning a living. Still, since the man of ideas is found only where education is available, it is well to remind ourselves and those elsewhere who would understand us, that from the early years of the Republic education has enjoyed increasing support. In the last half century no country has promoted and applied so much knowledge so widely and so fast as the United States.³

This affirmative attitude toward knowledge was a treasured part of our intellectual heritage. In Europe our ancestors had absorbed the classical teaching that knowledge is virtue. They had been exposed to the doctrine, so clearly stated by Francis Bacon, that knowledge is power. And the Enlightenment brought to our shores a belief that was well suited to our needs and that was broadened in its application here—the belief that popular education is necessary both for social improvement and for self-government. Americans made much of the assumption that the average man is educable, and that, properly informed, he can make rational judgments on matters of public interest. In this connection it is worth noting that some cultural anthropologists include among American values "faith in the rational."⁴

That Americans have had faith in the rational, but at the same time have tended to be suspicious of the life of reason, is a paradox that invites examination, and I shall keep it in mind in discussing the intellectual and other

² This point is argued and illustrated in a vast body of literature, representative examples being Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession* (New York, 1942); Claude C. Bowman, *The College Professor in America* (Philadelphia, 1938); Richard H. Shryock, "The Academic Profession in the United States," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XXXVIII (Spring, 1952), 32-70; John Hicks, "The American Professor in Europe," *Pacific Spectator*, VI (Autumn, 1952), 428-41; and William MacDonald, *The Intellectual and His Work* (New York, 1924), p. 160.

³ Today a third of all the foreigners who study away from home come to our research centers, *New York Times*, June 7, 1954.

⁴ Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (New York, 1949), p. 232.

people. When Emerson used the word scholar he probably had in mind those now commonly referred to as intellectuals.⁵ This word was not much used in America before the opening decade of the twentieth century. At first the socialists used it to mean brainworkers in general.⁶ But nonsocialists also were soon referring to creative writers, literary critics, and journalists as intellectuals.⁷ The term thus came to include all of these, as well as scholars, who are dedicated to the pursuit of truth in some special field or to the advancement of learning in general. It is in this inclusive sense that I shall use the term intellectual. When I speak of anti-intellectualism I shall have in mind, unless I specify otherwise, suspicion of, opposition to, or derogation of intellectuals. Except in passing I shall not deal with intellectuals in other countries. I shall speak only of some of the problems of American intellectuals amidst the unease of the world today. Intellectuals need to ask the reasons for the lack of appreciation of their peculiar contributions. They might also examine their own attitudes toward the people as thinking citizens, and toward themselves.

A consideration of the historical bases of the American distrust of intellectuals takes us naturally to the Old World. Men of knowledge have apparently been disliked even in cultures in which their status was well defined. The *Proverbs of Ptah-hotep*, written about 2500 B.C., imply that such dislike existed in ancient Egypt, for the admonition is clearly set forth, "Be not arrogant because of thy knowledge, and be not puffed up for that thou art a learned man."⁸ Plato's *Republic* devotes many pages to an analysis of "the ill-will which the multitude bear to philosophy." Many centuries later, only a few months before the *Susan Constant* lifted anchor in the Thames to found Jamestown, there appeared in London a notable book by a statesman and philosopher who expressed concern over the widespread indignities that learn-

⁵ For definitions of the term intellectual see *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1930) VIII, 118-24; Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* (New York, 1940); Richard Hofstadter, "Democracy and Anti-Intellectualism in America," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, LIX (Aug. 8, 1953), 282-84; Jacques Barzun, *God's Country and Mine* (Boston, 1954); Granville Hicks, *Small Town* (New York, 1946), pp. 266 ff.; Franklin Baumer, "Intellectual History and Its Problems," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (September, 1949), 191-203; J. F. Wolpert, "Notes on the American Intelligentsia," *Partisan Review*, XIV (1947), 472-85; and Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York, 1942), pp. 145-54. For usage of "highbrow" see Henry L. Mencken, *The American Language*, Supplement I (New York, 1945), 325, and *The American Language* (4th ed.; New York, 1936) p. 186.

⁶ Paul LaFargue, *Socialism and the Intellectuals* (Chicago, 1900); William J. Ghent, *Socialism and Success: Some Uninvited Messages* (New York, 1910), pp. 129-76.

⁷ Van Wyck Brooks, *America's Coming of Age* (New York, 1930), p. 7; Randolph Bourne, *Untimely Papers* (New York, 1919) and *History of a Literary Radical* (New York, 1920); Harold Stearns, *America and the Young Intellectual* (New York, 1921), p. 9.

⁸ T. Eric Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia* (London, 1931), p. 101.

ing suffered. These were all due, Francis Bacon believed, to one or another form of ignorance, appearing "sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of divines, sometimes in the severity and arrogance of politiques, and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves."⁹ These attitudes toward learning migrated to American shores along with the Baconian confidence in man's ability to manipulate nature for his own advantage.¹⁰

Bacon's words remind us that factors associated with religion are an important source of popular suspicion of intellectuals. In the first place, some of the clergy themselves, as intellectuals, have throughout much of our history invited misunderstanding and even suspicion. In colonial America as in Europe the learned clergy were often so learned that ordinary people could not understand them and found them painfully dull. But the frequent failure of the pulpit to take into account the need of the rank and file for emotional religion was even more important in explaining popular distrust of the learning associated with the cloth.

The Great Awakening was the first widespread revolt of feeling against the intellect. In proclaiming the hostility of learning to faith, evangelists often cited the Bible. Hearers were reminded that the desire of Adam and Eve for knowledge had laid their children under a curse. The implication was that there is a vast unknown which man cannot and should not try to understand. Similar complaints about the learned clergy were heard in evangelical circles throughout much of the nineteenth century. Circuit riders both expressed and confirmed popular suspicion of learning. In the early 1820's an Indiana backwoods preacher declared "there's some folks . . . howsomever, what thinks preachers must be high larn'd, afore they kin tell sinners as how they must be saved or be 'tarnally lost; but it ain't so I allow . . . no, no! this apostul of ourn what spoke the text, never rubbed his back agin a collige, nor toted about no sheepskins—no, never! . . . Oh worldlins! how you'd a perished in your sins if the fust preachers had a stay'd till they got sheepskins."¹¹

There was also a feeling among many clergymen that scholarship somehow threatens religion. Even Jonathan Edwards, himself a profound scholar, took the colleges to task for failing to inculcate piety.¹² The persistence of such a view is seen in the sustained effort of the nineteenth-century academic orators to refute the charge that learning and religion are at necessary odds. No note is more often struck than this in the hundreds of commencement

⁹ *The Essays of Francis Bacon*, ed. Richard Foster Jones (New York, 1937), p. 174.

¹⁰ For Bacon's influence in America see Bernard Baum, "The Baconian Mind in Early Nineteenth Century America," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1942.

¹¹ Bayard Rush Hall, *The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West* (Princeton, 1916), p. 172.

¹² *The Works of President Edwards* (New York, 1830), IV, 264-65.

orations and other academic addresses that I have had the somewhat doubtful pleasure of reading.¹³

The conflict between religion and learning was given special focus in the later warfare between theology and Darwinian science. The war continued into the twentieth century, as the anti-evolutionist laws sponsored by the fundamentalists demonstrated. Some of us recall how the high priest of fundamentalism, William Jennings Bryan, delighted his audiences when he declared, "If we have come to the stage at which we must decide between geology and Christianity, I think it is better to know the Rock of Ages than the age of rocks." In any case, the Great Commoner added, "They cant make a monkey out of me."¹⁴

There is no way of measuring the role of evangelical fundamentalism in shaping popular distrust of intellectuals. Fundamentalism still influences the attitudes of large numbers of Americans. Among the better educated who hold to more liberal tenets, and even among the best educated, there are varying degrees of hostility toward, and fear of, those intellectuals who "make a God of science."¹⁵ But in view of the secularization of American culture, religion is probably no longer a major source of anti-intellectualism.

More important than religion in shaping popular anti-intellectualism are those aspects of American experience which have given to our culture a predominantly utilitarian cast. This utilitarianism is a natural reflection of our frontier experience. It is also what one would expect in a culture dominated to the extent that ours is by business enterprise.

The indifference to or suspicion of learning in the older sections of the country was heightened in the West.¹⁶ Most frontiersmen were content with whatever learning was clearly needed—a little "jografy," the three R's, and a dash of "surveyin." One could cite endless examples of the scorn of specialized knowledge and of culture in pioneer areas. The whole folk tradition of frontier America disparaged learning and teaching and glorified such culture heroes as Mike Fink, Daniel Boone, and Paul Bunyan.¹⁷ It is not hard

¹³ Representative examples are Rev. E. Greenwald, *Address delivered before the Students of Carrollton Academy . . .* (Carrollton, Ohio, 1845), pp. 5-6; Edward Hitchcock, *Religious Truth, Illustrated from Science, in Addresses and Sermons* (Boston, 1857), pp. 43 ff., and R. C. Smith, *A Defence of Denominational Education* (Milledgeville, Ga., 1854).

¹⁴ Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, 1954), pp. 6 ff.; Maynard Shipley, *The War on Modern Science* (New York, 1927), pp. 7 ff.

¹⁵ Thus it is true that Reinhold Niebuhr, himself a distinguished scholar and intellectual, expounds and publicizes a theology that subordinates reason to faith. See L. Harold De Wolf, *The Religious Revolt against Reason* (New York, 1949).

¹⁶ For discussions of frontier attitudes toward book learning see Harold Dugger, "Reading Interests and the Book Trade in Frontier Missouri," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1952; R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: The Pioneer Period, 1815-1840* (Indianapolis, 1950), II, 329-30.

¹⁷ Benjamin A. Botkin, *Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), pp. 396-97, 455-56, 797.

to understand the assumption that book learning is a worthless frill, altogether meaningless in the main job of building up the country. The intellectual represents specialization and reflection; the frontier cherished versatility and action.¹⁸

These frontier traits also characterized business, which likewise put a premium on getting things done, on quick and clear-cut decisions. Merchants and entrepreneurs had little patience with the tentativeness of the scholar or with the theoretical approach of the social critic. In this American businessmen were heirs of the Elizabethan middle-class zeal for the utilitarian test of knowledge. But in America business exerted even more influence than in the homeland. For, except in limited circles, Americans generally regarded business as respectable. There was no entrenched landed gentry to look down on trade. Given over to an almost unchecked utilitarianism, the rising business community saw little to applaud in traditional learning. The culture hero of our business civilization was the self-made man, a man of action, not one of trained intellect.¹⁹ Well might Emerson hold that property, by which he chiefly meant commerce and business, was a great deterrent to the realization of intellectual values.²⁰

In the mid-nineteenth century Caleb S. Henry, who shared some of the interests of the Concord sage, wrote a thinly veiled satire on the self-made businessman's disparagement of academic and literary culture. We are introduced to McCheese, the provision dealer, who started out barely able to write his name, who made his money, and who turned up his nose in contempt at the suggestion that he give his gold to make scholars—he had got along famously without schooling. We meet among others Quintus Squeeley, self-made editor, politician, and philanthropist, who praised common schools for the people while he denounced universities as pampering the pride of the rich and grinding the faces of the poor toiling farmers and sweating wage-earners. "Look at me," he shouted. "No college made me. I made myself."²¹ But it is not necessary to rely on satires. Collis P. Huntington's feeling about intellectuals was common among the business leaders of his day. In explaining why young men should not go to college, the shrewd railway magnate spoke of the college as a wall "with good honest labor on one side and frivolous gentility on the other." The implication was that he himself belonged on the

¹⁸ There is abundant evidence of the frontier farmer's distrust of scientific agriculture, an attitude that lingered after the passing of the frontier. For examples see Albert L. Demarce, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1941), pp. 250-51, and Vernon L. Carstensen, "The Land Policy of Northern Wisconsin," to be published.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the self-made man see Irvin Wyllie, "The Cult of the Self-Made Man in America, 1830-1910," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1949.

²⁰ *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1909-14), IV, 89.

²¹ Caleb S. Henry, *The True Idea of the University* (New York, 1853), pp. 20-23.

side with "good honest labor."²² How else indeed was his famous fortune made?

If countless Americans grumbled at much that the businessman did, the rank and file have come pretty much to accept his general outlook, including distrust of "impractical" knowledge. One trace of this distrust is the once common notion that culture is a woman's affair, an idea related to the earlier impact of both business and the frontier. It is true that women helped plant the seeds of culture in the West and that they long supported it in the growing cities when their men paid little heed to it. After all, most school teachers, as time went on, were women, and the intellectual seemed, in terms of the lingering prestige of brawn, to be only half a man.²³ Here is the key to the appeal of such comic strips as "Bringing up Father." You recall Mrs. Jiggs dragging the old man off to lectures and concerts when he much preferred his poker and his pipe.²⁴ Such attitudes also help explain many jokes about women's clubs and about professors, as well as Hollywood's condescension toward the academic man.

American respect for business, and the businessman's inadequate appreciation of the intellectual, have by tradition been pretty generally taken for granted. One historian has gone so far as to say that whenever business sits in the driver's seat, as it did in the 1920's and as it does today, the distrust of the intellectual is both epidemic and dominant.²⁵ Morris Cohen contended that "the same attitude which makes American business heap its main rewards on the promoter and salesman, rather than on the actual producer, makes the American public ignore intellectually productive minds in comparison with popularizers and administrators."²⁶

Such judgments have been questioned of late. Even businessmen who themselves belittled colleges often sent their sons to them, whether for social advantage or for other reasons. Moreover, since Carnegie's time, there has been some shift in business attitudes toward the life of the mind.²⁷ Industry and finance have increasingly supported not only practical education but the liberal arts and even basic research. To be sure, the interest in the latter reflected a utilitarian motive. And despite all the current talk about the desire

²² Quoted in H. S. Pritchett, "The Relation of Educated Men to the State," *Science*, n.s. XII (Nov. 2, 1900), 662.

²³ Harold E. Stearns, ed., *Civilization in the United States* (New York, 1922), p. 135.

²⁴ For the attitude of the comic strips toward learning and the intellectuals see Coulton Vaughn, *The Comics* (New York, 1947), pp. 226-27.

²⁵ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Highbrow in American Politics," *Partisan Review*, XX (March, 1953), 158, 151.

²⁶ Morris R. Cohen, *American Thought: A Critical Sketch* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954), pp. 26, 28.

²⁷ Walter P. Metzger has explored one aspect of this subject in his doctoral dissertation, "College Professors and Big Business Men: A Study of American Ideologies, 1880-1915," State University of Iowa, 1950.

for recruits of broad culture,²⁸ the older utilitarianism still operates. It still reinforces the popular misunderstanding and distrust of intellectuals.

In view of the utilitarianism associated with the frontier and with American business, it is not hard to see why the intellectual has from the first occupied a less important place here, and a less honored one, than in Europe. Yet one might have expected that in the young Republic the scholar would be widely respected, since during the revolt against England learned men were leaders and since the ringing words of the Declaration were those of a scholar. Jefferson did indeed give the democratic movement an intellectual base that promised to reduce tension between intellectuals and nonintellectuals. Many assumed that the freedom of thought and expression which he favored and which the Constitution guaranteed would create an atmosphere favorable to the emergence of bold and original thinkers, and also breed a citizenry educated enough in the ways and needs of a democratic society to value the contributions of men of intellect and learning. But one could hardly expect ordinary citizens of that time to see that democracy was a dream, a grand reality as a dream, but one that could be realized in practice only partially and gradually, through the generations.

Thus it was that some of Jefferson's followers bitterly resented the learning of the well-born and the well-to-do, which they linked with the privileges of class. This point is a highly important one and might be illustrated by countless examples. The case of the Massachusetts farmer, William Manning, is representative. This untutored democrat told off gentlemen for holding back cheap schools from the so-called "swinish multitude" in order that their own sons might learn in costly colleges how to live without work and to outwit the lowly poor.²⁹ Thus, though their elected President was a scholar, suspicion of scholars was widespread among the people.

Democracy in its Jacksonian phase showed strikingly the contrast between theory and practice. Old Hickory as a matter of fact attracted able intellectuals to his camp, and these in turn got handsome rewards.³⁰ One of them, George Bancroft, worked out the theory of the new movement, which left little place for intellectual experts. Democracy, he held, is the collective sense of the people, the necessary check on the insights of the individual. "If reason is a

²⁸ *Fortune*, XLIV (August, 1951), 89-92; XLVII (April, 1953), 113-14. See also Clarence B. Randall, *Freedom's Faith* (Boston, 1953), p. 85.

²⁹ William Manning, *The Key of Liberty*, ed. Samuel E. Morison (Billerica, Mass., 1922), pp. 20-21.

³⁰ The group included George Evans, Fanny Wright, Robert Dale Owen, Abner Kneeland, Dr. Charles Knowlton, John L. O'Sullivan, Hawthorne, Whitman, Bryant, Paulding, Horatio Greenough, and Edwin Forest. For an interesting discussion see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), p. 370.

universal faculty," wrote Bancroft in 1838, "the universal decision is the nearest criterion of truth."³¹ Or, some years later: "The many are wiser than the few; the multitude than the philosopher; the race than the individual. . . ."³²

At about the same time Tocqueville, who did not share Bancroft's enthusiasm for democracy, made explicit some of its underlying assumptions. The French aristocrat pointed out that in a country where men live on an equal footing and where no one notes any signs of incontestable superiority in anyone else, it is natural for all men to be constantly "brought back to their own reason as the most obvious and proximate source of truth." In denying that which they cannot understand, Tocqueville went on, the mass reveal a distrust of complex ideas and of those dedicated to their exposition.³³

The new democracy's political leaders bowed to the dogma that the people are the source of all reason. Precedents for a trained personnel in public service went by the board. The democratic faith further held that no special group might mediate between the common man and the truth, even though trained competence might make the difference between life and death. The licensing of physicians is a case in point. Western states, where the equalitarian distrust of experts knew almost no limits, so lowered professional standards that any Tom, Dick, or Harry could hang out his shingle and sell his pills.³⁴ According to Daniel Drake, a Cincinnati physician and historian, the unscrupulous pseudo-doctor could in posing as "one of the *people*" accuse trained medical men of being "arrayed against the *people*" and bent on killing them off.³⁵ In Trempealeau County on Wisconsin's frontier a farmer's lad was transformed into a doctor within a few short months. In the same community a practitioner who was hospitably welcomed turned out to be a complete fraud. He had even stolen his surgical instruments!³⁶

It was natural for politicians to exploit the people's distrust of the man of knowledge. Sometimes this exploitation was innocent enough.³⁷ But poli-

³¹ George Bancroft, "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion," in *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1857), p. 415.

³² George Bancroft, *The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Human Race* (New York, 1854), p. 10.

³³ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley (New York, 1945), II, 4-5.

³⁴ See Richard H. Shryock, "Public Relations of the Medical Profession in Great Britain and the United States: 1600-1870," *Annals of Medical History*, n.s., II (May, 1930), 308-39.

³⁵ Quoted in James Harvey Young, "Patent Medicines: The Early Frontier Phase," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLVI (Autumn, 1953), 256.

³⁶ Merle Curti and others, "Democracy on the Wisconsin Frontier. A Case Study: Trempealeau County," unpublished manuscript in the authors' possession.

³⁷ Thus John Reynolds, an early Illinois governor, read the classics secretly and hid his scholarly bent when running for office. John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Belleville, Ill., 1855), p. 284. Orators also recalled that in time of crisis leadership came not from the formally educated but from a practical man like Washington or from a man of the people like Lincoln. Examples are Wilberforce Nevins, *Unlettered Learning, or a Plea for the Study of Things. An*

ticians also sharply attacked their opponents as intellectuals, dishonest or dangerous or both—and attacks by sarcasm and innuendo were sometimes more deadly than straightforward thrusts. Jefferson's foes in New England, including men of learning, denounced him as an atheistic theorist who had drunk too much at the trough of the French Revolution.³⁸ Federalists generally held that the "delusions of democracy" could not be resisted by reason alone. Some urged the burning of such books as *The Age of Reason* in a "perpetual and vestal fire." The Alien and Sedition Acts were to save the country by forcing it into an intellectual strait jacket. Harrison Gray Otis even wanted to invoke the Sedition Act against the Masonic Order.³⁹

But the champions of law and order had no patent on demagogic appeals to popular suspicion of ideas and learning. The "severity and arrogance" of politicians, to use Bacon's phrase again, was clearly shown in the congressional debates over the Smithsonian bequest to the federal government for the advancement and diffusion of learning. Jackson men appealed to mass prejudice when they jeered at the intellectual pretensions of the Whigs who wanted to use the fund for scholarship and research rather than for the application of knowledge at hand to the everyday problems of farmers and artisans.⁴⁰

In our time exploitation by demagogues of popular prejudices against theory and specialized knowledge seems to have come chiefly from those opposing social and economic change. Popular distrust of new ideas was well illustrated when the Brain Trusters were damned as long-haired professors who in talking too much brought chaos into economics.⁴¹ A few years later, in 1942, anti-New Dealers attacked the Library of Congress. Representative Van Zandt brushed aside the evidence of its notable contributions to the war effort by declaring that if the Library needed to know about the Burma theater it could "ask the doughboys who will come back from that part of the world in a few years." One congressman in voting against another wartime program of the Library admitted that he just distrusted the scholarly poet

Address before the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College July 25, 1860 (Lancaster, Pa., n.d.), pp. 14-16, and Hon. Samuel W. McCall, "The Scholar in Politics as Conservative," Phi Beta Kappa Address at Tufts College, *Tufts College Graduate*, I (July, 1903), 33.

³⁸ *The Diary of William Bentley D.D.* (Salem, Mass., 1904-14), II, 423, III, 208; William Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 23, 69-70, 110.

³⁹ *Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, ed. Anne Cary Morris (New York, 1888), I, 338. See also John C. Miller, *Crisis in Freedom* (Boston, 1951), pp. 74-75, 186-87.

⁴⁰ David Lowenthal, "George Perkins Marsh," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953, pp. 171 ff.

⁴¹ *Saturday Evening Post*, CCVI (Sept. 2, 1933), 7; *Congressional Record*, LXXXVIII, Pt. 11, 73 Congress, 2 session, 1934, p. 11455 (June 14, 1934). Paul Bixler has argued that some of the public criticism of the Brain Trusters is to be laid at their own door for having often acted too hastily and for having by-passed democratic procedure and even fair play, "Anti-Intellectualism in California," *Antioch Review*, X (December, 1950), 542.

who headed the institution.⁴² In referring to the episode MacLeish noted with some feeling that only two newspapers had upheld the government's most important agency of knowledge.⁴³

When one considers such evidences of lack of faith in men of ideas among the common people, and thinks of the caliber of the demagogues elected to and retained in office by the people, it is natural to wonder whether the average man is educable, whether in fact he can be "properly informed." One asks whether unreasonable suspicion of the intellectual is not inevitable in a democratic society.

The consideration of another factor in popular anti-intellectualism may help answer the question. Intellectuals have been blamed by their fellows as well as by ordinary people for being indifferent or hostile to the struggles of the common man for a greater measure of social justice. At about the very time that Horace Greeley made this point in an address in 1844 at Hamilton College,⁴⁴ a Virginian speaking to Princeton alumni regretfully conceded that learned men as a body had never been distinguished among the Hampdens, the Sidneys, and the Patrick Henrys of mankind.⁴⁵ After the Civil War the indictment of intellectuals continued.⁴⁶ Wendell Phillips, in his Harvard Phi Beta Kappa address in 1881, maintained that scholars on the whole had dodged the challenge in five great chances to side with the forces of progress and humanity: the slavery controversy, penal reform, the temperance crusade, the woman's movement, and the labor struggle.⁴⁷

Although there was some point to this indictment, the critics forgot an important part of the record.⁴⁸ Some intellectuals had indeed opposed the Revolution, but many valiantly justified the appeal to arms and worked shoulder to shoulder with other patriots for victory. So in the Civil War intellectuals fought with the sword as with the pen, and did not ask which was mightier.⁴⁹ Many also gave themselves without stint to the very struggles that

⁴² *Congressional Record*, LXXXVIII, Pt. 2, 77 Congress, 2 sess., pp. 2675-76 (Mar. 18, 1942).

⁴³ *New York Times*, Mar. 26, 1942; Archibald MacLeish, "The Attack on the Scholar's World," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXV (July 18, 1942), 3-6.

⁴⁴ Horace Greeley, *An Address before the Literary Societies of Hamilton College* (New York, 1844), *passim*.

⁴⁵ James M'Dowell, Esq., *An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of the College of New Jersey* (Princeton, 1838), p. 35.

⁴⁶ For example, Whitelaw Reid, in an address at Dartmouth in 1873, urged scholars to provide radical leadership. *Scribner's Monthly*, VI (September, 1873), 614.

⁴⁷ Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Addresses, and Lectures. Second Series* (Boston, 1891), pp. 338-39.

⁴⁸ E. A. Ross discussed the initiative intellectuals took in certain reforms, such as civil service, scientific charity, and public health, measures often opposed by the rank and file. Edward A. Ross, *The Principles of Sociology* (rev. ed., New York, 1930), pp. 584-85.

⁴⁹ Merle Curti, "The American Scholar in Three Wars," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III (June, 1942), 241-64.

Phillips cited. In the later decades of the nineteenth century and in our own, intellectuals have taken an increasingly active part in democratic and humanitarian struggles. To take one example, the remarkable and heartening improvement in race relations, especially in the last generation, has come about with the active, persistent, and important help of intellectuals.

The role of the intellectual in democratic struggles needs further study. It is clear, however, that intellectuals as a group do not merit either blame or praise on this score—they have not been against the people or for the people; they have taken many positions, they have merely been people! And after all, no one knows how many of the plain people have blamed intellectuals for aloofness from their struggles. In any case the failure of intellectuals to take part in democratic movements has clearly not been an important factor in suspicion of the intellectual. In fact, in supporting humane but unpopular movements intellectuals have, especially of late, brought disapproval on themselves from the main body of the people. For example, the American peace movement and efforts to advance toward the long-cherished ideal of world brotherhood, have been and still are suspect in the minds of many people and in the files of many editorial offices.

Having considered various possible factors in popular anti-intellectualism we are left with the conclusion that probably only those associated with business and the frontier, and with the workings of American democracy, are really of weight. Although the distrust based on these factors is not justified and is due, as a modern Bacon might say, to ignorance of the true function of an intellectual, still it is here and must be reckoned with.

This lack of understanding is not merely a matter for casual historical comment. Too much reminds us of the serious present situation. It was one thing when rank and file merely regarded intellectuals who exerted their necessary critical functions as crackpots; it is another when, as in the Condon and Oppenheimer cases, they are smeared as subversive. The significant thing is, I think, that in the cold war the gulf has been dangerously widened between the masses and intellectuals as these carried on the essential functions of their craft—criticism, experimentation, and the effort to bridge different cultures of the world through understanding.⁵⁰

What the people have thought about intellectuals cannot, of course, be separated from what the intellectuals have thought about the people. We could profitably discuss the attitudes of intellectuals toward various segments of the American population—toward farmers, laborers, businessmen, doctors, dancers, and teachers. One might be tempted to dismiss this important sub-

⁵⁰ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (6 vols., Oxford, 1934-39), V, 55-56.

ject by referring to certain stereotypes prevalent in our society—to the notion, for example, that intellectuals have always been hostile to business. Actually American intellectuals have varied greatly in their attitudes toward business, although some sort of disapproval has probably predominated.⁵¹ Of late the tide seems to have changed, with historians too joining in the generally appreciative chorus. But whether this change reflects a new synthesis or is merely a new tune in a current hit parade, we do not know. The problem is complex, and calls for careful, objective study. Attitudes of intellectuals toward other groups and movements in American life have also varied greatly, and also call for study.

On this occasion I can only raise a question or two concerning the attitudes of intellectuals toward the American people in general. These have varied from the aristocratic condescension of a Hamilton or a Santayana to the romantic idealization of a Bancroft or a Whitman, with varying degrees of realism in between. Despite the faith in the reasoning power of men that was implied in the Declaration of Independence, we know that from the time of the founding fathers on, that faith has been much qualified and questioned.

For a time intellectuals thought that science had settled the issue of the common man's ability to think, and that it was low indeed. Shortly after the First World War, certain psychologists announced that the average mental age of American adults was thirteen years. Papers bristling with statistics "proved" that colored people were hopelessly inferior in native ability to think—though they were fine at singing! Psychologists and popularizers of psychology cited overwhelming evidence, statistical of course, which indicated that the new immigration was of inferior intellectual stock.⁵² And a journalist sounded a clarion call to the intellectuals because the whole white world was threatened by a rising tide of color!

More cautious psychologists at the time pointed out that the mental tests were not yet adequately standardized and that test scores were affected by amount of education, language used in the home, and degree of familiarity with the materials used in the test.⁵³ This patient correction of the early over-

⁵¹ The subject needs exploration, but Barbara Chartier has made a start in "Social Role of the Literary Elite," *Social Forces*, XXIX (December, 1950), 179-86. See Dwight MacDonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," *Diogenes*, no. 3 (Summer, 1953), 1-17; Gilbert Seldes, *The Great Audience* (New York, 1950); Edmund Wilson, *The Shores of Light* (New York, 1952), pp. 16 ff.; and Leo Gurko, *Heroes, Highbrows and the Popular Mind* (Indianapolis, 1953). See also Peter Viereck, *The Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals* (Boston, 1953).

⁵² The basis for such arguments was "Psychological Examining in the United States Army," *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, XV (1921).

⁵³ For a brief, informative account see Barbara Schieffelin and Gladys Schwesinger, *Mental Tests and Heredity* (New York, 1930). See also Melville Herskovits, *The Negro and the Intelligence Tests* (Minneapolis, 1927) and Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences* (New York, 1935) and *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York, 1944).

hasty work did not make the headlines, however. And Mencken and his many followers could feel smug and well supported by science as they ridiculed the boobocracy.

Of late years intellectuals have had doubts not only about the thinking of the plain people but about their own. The last generation has seen so general a "retreat from reason" among intellectuals that we now have a vast literature on anti-intellectualism. This literature is not mainly about the popular anti-intellectualism which I have been discussing, the people's distrust of the intellectual. Rather it deals with the limits of reason in human thinking, and in it the word anti-intellectualism is used in several different senses. First, early in the present century the word was used by left-wing radicals as Sorel used it in Europe, to denote opposition to extreme indulgence in merely abstract or verbal thinking. Instead, these radical writers stressed experience, common sense, and action.⁵⁴ Second, in certain philosophical circles the term denotes the belief that such nonrational factors as instinct, intuition, and faith rank above reason in the pursuit of truth. Those holding to this general position I would say are indeed truly anti-intellectualists, although they of course are intellectuals. Bergson in Europe spoke for the scholars among these suspects of reason, and William James in this country inclined toward this position at times.⁵⁵ Of religious-minded intellectuals, Reinhold Niebuhr and Thomas Merton come to mind as men who belong here. So do some mystics and some writers who have reacted so strongly against reliance on reason that they might well be called irrationalists. Such American followers of D. H. Lawrence as Henry Miller are illustrations.

In the third place, the term anti-intellectualism has been widely applied to the effort to find out, through observation, experiment, and logical reasoning, just what role rational and nonrational factors play in thinking.⁵⁶ In this effort people of such different views as Freud and Dewey have been promi-

⁵⁴ John Spargo, "Anti-Intellectualism in the Socialist Movement: A Historical Survey," in *Sidelights on Contemporary Socialism* (New York, 1911), pp. 67-106; Ghent, *Socialism and Success*, pp. 129-76; and William E. Walling, *Progressivism and After* (New York, 1914), pp. 240 ff. For the European background see Richard D. Humphrey, *Georges Sorel: Prophet without Honor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

⁵⁵ The background of this was, of course, certain currents in the Romantic movement. See Walter E. Houghton, "Victorian Anti-Intellectualism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIII (June, 1952), 291-313. Early philosophical discussions of this movement include Gustav Spiller, "Voluntarism and Intellectualism," *Philosophical Review*, XIII (July, 1904), 420-28; Frank Thilly, "Romanticism and Rationalism," *ibid.*, XXII (March, 1913), 107-32, and *A History of Philosophy*, revised by Ledger Wood (New York, 1951), pp. 569 ff. See also Bertrand Russell, "The Revolt against Reason," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLV (February, 1935), 223-32.

⁵⁶ Graham Wallas was in one sense a pioneer in this approach. See *The Great Society* (New York, 1914) pp. 41 ff., 217 ff. For recent discussions, see Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York, 1937), pp. 67 ff., 111 ff., 219 ff., 491 ff., and Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men* (New York, 1950), pp. 503 ff.

nent. Indeed, the group of intellectuals who believe in trying through reason to define the place of reason in human life probably includes the great majority of American intellectuals. I do not like to call them anti-intellectualists, for they are not opposed to reliance on reason as are those in our second group. Actually they are trying to think straighter, to reason better, and to encourage a rational attack on the problems of life that call for clear thinking.

Intellectuals who belong in one or another of these three groups differ very widely in attitude toward the use of reason, but one sees the common factor which has caused them all, by one writer or another, to be labeled "anti-intellectualists." This common factor is what may be called a critical attitude toward the role of reason in human nature, an attitude which of course has a very long history but which since Darwin's time has become so dominant that the phrase "retreat from reason" seems an apt characterization of the present intellectual climate.⁵⁷

The two towering figures who have examined the role of reason in the last century, Marx and Freud, are anti-intellectualists only under the last definition. They both were trying to contribute to a clearer understanding of rational and nonrational forces in individual and social life, and in my view are not really anti-intellectualists.

The father of modern socialism contributed to a clearer understanding of human nature and the social process by showing that much so-called objective thinking reflects class bias. His emphasis on these forces and on such nonrational motivating factors as modes of production and drives for power has proved very stimulating to intellectuals in many fields.⁵⁸ It is only when these theories have been accepted as gospel and become part of a religion, that they have been really anti-intellectual in the sense of militating against the use of reason in human thinking. In so far as Marxian doctrines have been uncritically accepted there is no doubt that they have contributed to the distrust of reason, among intellectuals as among the common people who have been converted. Certainly wherever communism rules, there is regimentation of thought which is anti-intellectualism to the nth degree.

Neither was Sigmund Freud a thoroughgoing anti-intellectualist. He made great contributions to a clearer understanding of the nonrational forces in human nature. But some intellectuals influenced by Freud were truly

⁵⁷ Eric R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951). See also Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions* (New York, 1941), I, 318 ff., II, 832.

⁵⁸ The classic statement in Marx's writings on the relation of knowledge to the social structure is in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (New York, 1904), p. 11. For discussions of the nonrational and rational components of Marxism consult Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, pp. 491 ff., and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Science and the Distrust of Reason* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 9 ff. See also Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (New York, 1940).

anti-intellectualist. And some of Freud's followers have been notoriously uncritical. One thinks of the psychiatrist, for instance, who, in a paper on the death wish in animals, attributed suicidal desires to cats because so many of them are killed in running across the road! The Freudian emphasis in much of our drama and fiction detracts from the belief that human rationality, to borrow the words of Joseph Wood Krutch, is the most important realm in which man can fruitfully live.⁵⁹ Add to this the role of Freudianism in making much contemporary art and literature unintelligible to all but the initiate, and its anti-intellectualist implications are the more apparent.⁶⁰ In so far as the masses have absorbed the Freudian theses there must be among them less willingness to respect the role of intellectuals as disinterested guardians of reason and as having a special authority or a special contribution to make. The whole subject needs careful study.

It is now common to insist that instrumentalism and progressive education are major factors in contemporary anti-intellectualism, considered as "the retreat of learning and reason."⁶¹ Dewey's instrumentalism certainly challenged the traditional dualists who gave primacy to reason and ideas. It is true that Dewey showed the weakness in the old-fashioned mental discipline and emphasized problem-solving activities. But it is unfair to identify instrumentalism and progressive education with the current distrust of intellectual values. In the first place, there is very little progressive education in this country. Second, much that is called progressive education is a shocking perversion of Dewey's teaching and example. In the third place, the criticisms overlook his emphasis on the great importance of critically reliving and reconstructing experiences in terms of new situations. Dewey did not reject reason: he tried to improve reasoning. Nevertheless many tenaciously hold that his theories have subtracted intellectual values from public school education. They fail to see that these have been deleted largely because of an expanding population and the vocationalism demanded by a business-minded people.

Both popular distrust of the intellectual and anti-intellectualism among the intellectuals seem to have waxed stronger than ever in recent years. One might have expected popular anti-intellectualism to lessen in the present century, with Jacksonian democracy far in the past, the frontier a memory, and education and research supported as never before. But, despite a few

⁵⁹ Joseph Wood Krutch, *"Modernism" in Modern Drama* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1953), p. 131.

⁶⁰ Discriminating treatments of the theme can be found in Frederick Hoffman, *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* (Baton Rouge, 1945) and Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York, 1950), pp. 34-58.

⁶¹ The relation is discussed with qualifications in Arthur E. Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools* (Urbana, Ill., 1953), pp. 51 ff.

dissenting voices,⁶² most observers who have written on the theme agree that popular suspicion of the critical role of intellectuals has increased, that it has become more intense, and that demagogues are exploiting it as never before in our history.⁶³ The official sanctions given to the attacks on intellectuals and on the reasoning process have disturbed not only secular-minded liberals but prominent Catholics as well.⁶⁴ Not only the distrust of intellectuals but actual interference with rational inquiry and fact-finding procedures, as in the Bureau of Standards case, have deeply troubled scholars and citizens alike. Anti-intellectualism has also evoked sustained comment in journals of opinion at home and abroad.⁶⁵ McCarthyism, a particularly virulent form of anti-intellectualism in the popular sense, has become an international issue. And we recall the attacks on Adlai Stevenson and the scholars and writers who worked for him in 1952. Our common speech in that year took on as a term of opprobrium the curious word egg-head—the overtones of meaning ranged from scrambled to soft-boiled! The memory of the California oath is still fresh. So is the attack the staff of the Reece committee has lately made on the foundations and on a Commission of our own American Historical Association.

The most common, the most obvious, and perhaps the soundest explanation for such a situation is, of course, the climate of opinion created by the cold war in general and the revelation of certain cases of disloyalty in the intellectual community in particular. But our fellows in the social sciences have argued that increase in anti-intellectualism is the product of profound social and cultural changes which have long been under way and have only been accelerated of late. Specialization of functions has, it is said, increased the social distance between intellectuals and the rest of the community to such an extent that viable relations have become all but impossible. How can there be understanding in view of the depersonalized relations between intellectuals and nonintellectuals in the anonymous community of our time?⁶⁶

Still other social scientists contend that the changing American culture favors those who make slogans and write advertisements, who rationalize

⁶² For example, David Riesman, "Some Observations on Intellectual Freedom," *American Scholar*, XXIII (Winter, 1953-54), 9-26, and Eugene Lyons, "What Reign of Terror Petrifies the Intellectuals?" *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXVI (May 1, 1954), 10.

⁶³ Aaron Levenstein, "The Demagogue and the Intellectual," *Antioch Review*, XIII (Sept., 1953), 259-74; Marya Mannes, "Any Resemblance . . .," *The Reporter*, VIII (June 23, 1953), 34; the remarks of Senator J. W. Fulbright, Feb. 2, 1954, *Congressional Record*, C (Feb. 2, 1954), 1105-1106. Two examples of anti-intellectualism in more or less formal exposition are William F. Buckley, Jr., *God and Man at Yale* (Chicago, 1951), and Paul Harvey, *Autumn of Liberty* (Garden City, N. Y., 1954).

⁶⁴ *Commonweal*, LVII (Nov. 28, 1952), 218, and LIX (Jan. 15, 1954), 380.

⁶⁵ The report in the London *Economist*, CLXVI (Mar. 21, 1953), 802-803, is representative.

⁶⁶ Baker Brownell, *The Human Community* (New York, 1950), pp. 20 ff., 219 ff.; C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York, 1951), pp. 142-60.

the interests of government and business, rather than those who inquire and debate.⁶⁷ Many, perhaps most who engage in these activities, do not stop to consider that their own thinking is bound to be affected, yes, debased, by the evasions and half-truths that they turn out as information. But this only makes the surrender to anti-intellectualism the more insidious. In short, the intellectual tends to become a mere bureaucrat, a powerless figure, unable to defend reason and the freedom of the mind, perhaps seeing no necessity of so defending it, however formidable the assaults to which these are subjected in our "age of unreason and anxiety."⁶⁸

Related to the tendency of many intellectuals to become mere technicians is the contention that the changing American culture also sets high value on the ability to get along with the group and to take cues from it.⁶⁹ This is stifling to independent thought and it has promoted a climate in which it is easy to identify nonconformity with subversion and in which it is not easy to think critically. So run the arguments of many of our colleagues in other social disciplines.

The historian might well give serious attention to such analyses as these. It also seems to me highly important to explore the impact of the military on the life of intellectuals. What has been the influence of the habit of obedience and command on the free and inquiring mind? What about psychological warfare? A writer in the London *Economist* thinks it is bad for those who wage it. "On both sides of the iron curtain," he says, "there must be many thousands of unhappy psychological warriors who know, if they ever stop to think, that they are being corrupted by their own daily work."⁷⁰

The arguments of the social scientists have not been sufficiently tested to satisfy the historian. Indeed, they have been challenged by those who hold that the intellectual in contemporary America is no more isolated or frustrated than intellectuals have always been, that the professor now actually rates high on the scale of the public opinion poll, and that the middlebrow has appeared to mediate between lowbrow and highbrow to the advantage of each.⁷¹ The historian might well bring his talents to bear in helping to

⁶⁷ Eric A. Havelock, *The Crucifixion of Intellectual Man* (Boston, 1950), pp. 74 ff.

⁶⁸ C. Wright Mills argues this point tellingly in more or less these words in *White Collar*, chap. 7, and elsewhere. It is interesting to note that when the New York edition of Julien Benda's *Treason of the Intellectuals* (New York, 1928) appeared, many reviewers did not seem to attach much importance to Benda's indictment of the intellectuals for their "surrender" to "utilitarianism" and to "power struggles." See, for example, *Nation*, CXXVIII (Jan. 2, 1929), 23-24; *New Republic*, LVII (Dec. 12, 1928), 105-107; and *Saturday Review of Literature*, V (Oct. 27, 1928), 289-90.

⁶⁹ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, 1950), *passim*.

⁷⁰ *London Economist*, CLXXII (Aug. 14, 1954), 498-99.

⁷¹ Barzun, *God's Country and Mine*; Russell Lynes, "Highbrow, Lowbrow, and Middlebrow," *Harper's Magazine*, CXCVIII (February, 1949), 19-28; *Life*, XXVI (Apr. 11, 1949), 99-102.

test these conflicting ideas. In so doing he can and should make use of objective measures of social change such as repeated attitude and public opinion studies, carefully handled according to the newer and more critical statistical methods.

But we do not need to use refined statistical methods to know that fear is abroad in our country and that those who live by ideas are especially subject to hysterical and unwarranted attack. Civil liberties won through centuries of struggle are in danger. Many of us believe that the contemporary attack on reason endangers not only the intellectual life but American civilization itself. Believing this despite the assurance from certain quarters that all is well, we are obliged, as intellectuals, not only to promote researches which may further illuminate the problem but also to search for possible alleviations of today's critical tensions.

From at least the mid-nineteenth century to our own day proposals have been made for the recognition of a cultural elite as one way of strengthening the position of the intellectual. These proposals have sometimes been launched with a kind of pride, approaching snobbishness, that Bacon would have called arrogance. The evidence for such "arrogance" is likely to be indirect. It is found, for example, in commencement orations of a hundred years ago which often admonished graduating classes to avoid giving offense by assuming airs.⁷² With the spread of college education it is probable that such admonitions came to be less needed. Some intellectuals, however, have continued to invite resentment by the way in which they hold their learning. Somehow the impression is conveyed that they feel a moral superiority to the hillbillies, the masses of common people, because they know that El Greco is better than Gainsborough, Emily Dickinson than James Whitcomb Riley. Psychologists keep telling their fellow intellectuals that high intellectual capacity is not a personal achievement but a gift of nature, widely distributed among all classes. Yet there is a temptation for the "happy few" to be patronizing toward those whose children will some day sit at their desks and speak from their platforms. Sometimes we forget that it was a boy born in a crude log cabin who grew up to write the Gettysburg address, that a humble Massachusetts fish peddler wrote letters that will be long remembered, that the great religious leader of the Western world was a carpenter.

⁷² Examples are Harvey Curtis, D.D., *Inaugural Address delivered at the Annual Commencement at Knox College* (Chicago, 1858), pp. 6 ff.; John Holmes, *An Address delivered at Waterville, before the Associated Alumni of Waterville College . . .* (Portland, 1831), pp. 21-22; Philip Lindsley, *Speech about Colleges, delivered in Nashville, on Commencement Day . . .* (Nashville, 1848), pp. 24 ff.; L. Carroll Judson, *The Probe . . .* (Philadelphia, 1846), pp. 43-44; Henry Ward Beecher, *Man and His Institutions* (New York, 1856), pp. 9 ff.; Rev. R. H. Bishop, *Address at Miami, Sept. 30, 1830* (Miami, 1830), pp. 46 ff.; and Theodore Parker, *The American Scholar*, ed. George W. Cooke (Boston, 1907), pp. 1 ff.

Although the idea of a cultural elite is undeniably attractive today, it is without substantive precedent in this country unless one goes back to the Puritan clergy or, possibly, to Jefferson's University of Virginia. It also defies our democratic tradition of the dignity of all work and the worth of each human being. It is consistent with our democratic institutions to hold that some will be better at certain kinds of work than others, and to respect the methods and honor the achievements of specially gifted or specially trained people. But for any group consciously to set itself up, because of its abilities and training, as superior to other groups in society is inconsistent with democracy. Thus the elitism implicit or explicit in the writings of Santayana, Babbitt, Mencken, and Hutchins is unrealistic.⁷³

The old notion of the scholar as belonging to a class apart from and above the people is also, it seems to me, related to a dualistic tradition that has little place in the world today. We see this dualism reflected in Plato's arguments for the philosopher king, in medieval scholasticism, in the rationalism of many philosophers, and in the faculty psychology of the last century, repudiated by scientific psychologists but still influential. In so far as reason is regarded as "pure" and in so far as it is assumed that thinking can operate without reference to consequences, this dualistic tradition of mind and body, of materialism and idealism, fits in with and reinforces the too-sharp distinction between the man of thought and the man of action.

I am not certain when the first formal rejection of this time-honored position was made. I do know that the academic addresses of a century ago clearly point to such a rejection. For example, a spokesman in a small Ohio college in 1843 maintained that misunderstanding and antagonism on the part of the producing classes and the intellectuals toward each other was neither necessary nor desirable. It was, he urged, rooted in an Old World tradition that drew a curtain between the philosophers who isolated themselves from that useful, everyday knowledge the people possessed; and the producing classes who, destitute of intellectual culture and unable to grasp the relation and meaning of what they saw, failed to contribute to society what they might otherwise have given.⁷⁴

It remained, however, for a philosopher in our time to probe into the traditional dualism between thought and action. John Dewey has given us the fullest and most thoughtful statement of this approach. He maintained

⁷³ David Spitz in *Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought* (New York, 1949) gives an informative treatment of the general idea of an elite.

⁷⁴ Rev. Sherman Canfield, *An Address on the Power and Progressiveness of Knowledge, delivered at the Commencement of Willoughby University, Feb. 22, 1843* (Painesville, Ohio, 1843), pp. 18 ff. Canfield was a Presbyterian minister who, after a residence in Ohio City, was pastor of the First Church in Syracuse from 1854 to 1870.

that the distrust of intellectuals by the common man and the reservations many intellectuals have about the plain people, are related to the Old World heritage that originated and flourished in class societies.⁷⁵

Dewey's association of dualism with class societies has been questioned and many competent philosophers detect flaws in the instrumentalism that he has offered in place of the doctrines he criticized.⁷⁶ I leave to philosophers the task of unraveling the more technical aspects of the controversy. But I know that the physiologists and experimental psychologists support Dewey's basic theory that thinking is not sharply set off from action. Thinking indeed *is* activity, symbolic activity, and an idea is an embryonic act. It is true that when theory is too quickly applied in practice, harm or even disaster may result. But to avoid reference to the problems of the day and association with ordinary people, deprives intellectuals of valuable tests for their theories, as well as of stimulating contact with American experience. The ivory tower can become a pretty dull place, and rather unproductive, too.

The historian can call attention to a body of American experience that is in line with Dewey's general position. Benjamin Franklin operated effectively on the assumption that there is no necessary dichotomy between theory and practice. Leading founders of the Republic, notably the framers of the Constitution, were men of action, and also educated men with great respect for learning. I may also refer again to the fairly successful co-operation between intellectuals and people in the great crises of our history, and to the shoulder-to-shoulder partnership intellectuals entered into with farmers and other humble folk for a greater measure of social and economic justice.

The role of intellectuals in the labor movement, a subject that needs further investigation, is illuminating in this connection. In general labor did not ask for guidance⁷⁷ though many wage-earners did read *Looking Backward*, *Progress and Poverty*, and the Haldeman-Julius distillations of socialist theory. Even wage-earners who at first pinned much hope to the new interest of the intellectuals in their movement were disillusioned when they found that some brainworkers were patronizing and that others were prone to lead the rank and file into what labor leaders looked on as wild goose

⁷⁵ Dewey developed these ideas in many books and articles, especially in *Experience and Nature* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 21, 37, *Freedom and Culture* (New York, 1939), *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (New York, 1920), and *The Public and Its Problem* (Chicago, 1946), p. 138.

⁷⁶ For example, Arthur E. Murphy, *The Uses of Reason* (New York, 1943), pp. 85-95; Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason* (New York, 1947), pp. 54 ff.; Morris R. Cohen, *American Thought*, pp. 290 ff.; John U. Nef, *The United States and Civilization* (Chicago, 1942), p. 210.

⁷⁷ Selig Perlman, *Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York, 1928), pp. 5-9, 41-42, 68. Cf. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, IV (July, 1951), 489-94 and *American Federationist* XXIII (March, 1916), 198-99, and XXIX (March, 1922), 212-15.

chases. In turn, many intellectuals were also disillusioned when they found that trade unions did not always observe the canons of democracy, that the movement was spotted with intra-power struggles, and that it was more concerned with wages than with social justice in the broad sense. In time the intellectuals who stuck with the movement either ceased being intellectuals or learned the folly of trying to lead it too quickly or too far from its mooring, learned to respect "the tough fabric of custom and behavior" which at first they had misunderstood or challenged.⁷⁸

One might also consider the successful experiences of experts in economics, political science, and law at the University of Wisconsin in serving the progressive movement by blueprinting social legislation and by staffing the state commissions.⁷⁹ Other examples will come to mind, such as the pioneer work of Thomas Davidson, William Allan Neilson, and Morris Cohen at Breadwinners College and of Charles Beard at Ruskin Hall and, years later, in the Bureau of Municipal Research. In the 1930's this approach received wide implementation in the Federal Arts Projects and in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

One cannot claim that all these experiments were entirely successful. I know that many competent authorities take a less cheerful view than many of us do, and tend rather to agree with an earlier president of this Association who spoke from experience as well as scholarship. Woodrow Wilson maintained that the conflict in America between the man who thinks and the man who does is inevitable.⁸⁰ One must admit that his own effort to do both lent a tragic tension to his whole work. But in my view the total record is impressive. Today the intellectual, living in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, is tempted, especially if he works in the field of the humanities or the social sciences, to seek safety in narrow specialization. But consideration of experiences such as those I have called to mind might well encourage him instead to turn his back on the ivory tower. For they have shown that intellectuals and other people can work together, can understand each other.

Finally, intellectuals must surely give more thought to popular education, both to adult education and to the teaching of the young. Something has been painfully lacking in the education of the American people, something

⁷⁸ This account is much indebted to George Soule's *The Intellectual and the Labor Movement*, League for Industrial Democracy Pamphlets (New York, 1923). See also Herbert E. Cory, *The Intellectuals and the Wage Earners* (New York, 1919). C. Wright Mills has brilliantly discussed the contemporary aspects of the problem in *The New Men of Power* (New York, 1948), pp. 281 ff.

⁷⁹ Charles McCarthy, *The Wisconsin Idea* (New York, 1912) and Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History* (Madison, 1949-50), II, 3, 109-11, 132-33, 441.

⁸⁰ Woodrow Wilson, *Leaders of Men*, ed. T. H. Vail Motter (Princeton, 1952), pp. 8 ff.

above and beyond the overemphasis on vocationalism. It is clear that Americans have not been taught to understand what critical thinking is. I realize of course that education cannot easily rise above the prevailing cultural level which sets the problems and prescribes much that is done. But in our culture it is possible to teach children as well as adults to avoid falling into the trap of what has been called the undistributed middle—of hearing that X is a communist, knowing that X is an intellectual, and concluding that all intellectuals are communists. We have lately heard a spirited appeal to resist the vocationalism in our schools. To my mind it is much more important for crusaders to bring home to educators the tragic consequences of assuming that vague ideals, indoctrination of moral and political values, or even the discipline of the basic school subjects, are sufficient to develop an ability to resist the emotional appeal of the demagogue.

I said that adults can be taught, too, and modern psychologists assure us that learning is possible at any age. Most people have the ability to understand why it is important, in a democratic and changing society, not to be afraid of new ideas. And intellectuals need not always talk down. As Theodore Parker said, the scholar is "to think with the sage and saint, but talk with common men."

I cannot forbear making explicit some of the implications of my analysis for the historian. As historians we have an important part to play in the educational reform I have just mentioned. We ought not, moreover, to dismiss lightly the fact that intellectuals have contributed to anti-intellectualism, considered both as the subordination of reason to emotion and as popular antagonism to scholars and social critics. I have noted elsewhere signs that our circle has been subtly influenced by anti-intellectualism.⁸¹ I have in mind the danger that in trying to correct yesterday's historians of business and wars, we may without realizing it become filiopietistic. For as Cassirer has reminded us, in times of crisis intellectuals like other people tend to fall back on feeling and myth.⁸² While appraising all aspects of the past, including myths, we must at the same time uphold the critical function that is the basis of all scholarship, indeed, of civilization itself. For this we also need to recognize clearly the sources of irrationality in history, in our culture, in ourselves.

The historian needs courage, for the forest is dark and it is still easy to

⁸¹ Merle Curti, "The Democratic Theme in American Historical Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX (June, 1952), 26. See also Samuel E. Morison, "The Faith of a Historian," *American Historical Review*, LVI (January, 1951), 266-67, 270-71.

⁸² Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, 1946), pp. 295-98.

stumble. Courage is needed to uphold the integrity of the truth-seeking process against the attacks it has lately met, whether these have issued, as Bacon suggested, from the arrogance of demagogues or from the imperfections of intellectuals themselves, or whether they are to be laid chiefly at the door of American democratic values and practices. In exercising our functions as scholars we must resist strong pressures and face severe tests, for we do not want to fail our country in a time of great crisis, as the German intellectuals failed theirs. Orwell's *1984* no longer seems the far-fetched fantasy it did when first published. It is not easy publicly to defend the chief value to which historical scholarship, all scholarship, is committed, that is, freedom of thought and expression in its widest scope. It needs defense, and in that defense we can as historians appeal to a tradition that both includes and transcends the American past. This tradition of intellectual freedom has had vitality here not merely because of intelligent leadership but because, when understood, it has also enlisted the support of the American people. The intellectual is only "Man Thinking." And he needs today to keep firmly before him Emerson's words, "March without the people, and you march into the night."

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The Treason of Sir Roger Casement

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

IN opening the prosecution of Sir Roger David Casement for high treason, the Attorney General, Sir Frederick Smith, declared that the prisoner had been "blinded by a hatred to this country, as malignant in quality as it was sudden in origin."¹ This was in June, 1916. Ten years later, as Lord Birkenhead and ex-Lord Chancellor, he repeated these identical words in print.² The charge seems to imply depravity of character, derangement of mind—or both. The crown prosecutor was, of course, anxious that his intended victim should not cheat the gallows on a plea of insanity, and therefore sought, before the verdict had been rendered, to tighten the noose by circulating an indecent diary allegedly written by the accused and recording a series of infamous perversions allegedly committed by him.³ After Casement's execu-

¹ George H. Knott, ed., *The Trial of Sir Roger Casement* (London, 1917), p. 15.

² Lord Birkenhead, *Famous Trials of History* (London, 1926), p. 263.

³ Alexander M. Sullivan, *The Last Serjeant* (London, 1952), p. 271. Sergeant Sullivan, who came over from Dublin to defend Casement, declares in his recently published memoirs that the Attorney General—for what motive is not stated—did everything he could to get him to read the diary during the trial, and was furious when he refused to do so. Mr. Sullivan states simply that the trial was already a great strain on him (indeed he collapsed in court during his speech for the defense), without having to read "this horrible document." Is it possible that Sir F. E. Smith's motive was to demoralize the defense? Mr. Sullivan leaves the reader with the impression that he considers the diary genuine, though he never actually says so. But his *obiter dicta*, e.g., that "Casement had that touch of megalomania which is associated with mental aberration of a more unpleasant kind"; or, that he was "not completely normal and one of the abnormalities of his type is addiction to unpleasant practices," do not inspire confidence in his psychological acumen. Sullivan, pp. 271, 267. Amusingly enough, the gossip in the London clubs had it that Sir F. E. Smith, fearing lest Casement lose the serjeant's professional services, would not even let Mr. Sullivan know of the existence of the diary. This was exactly the opposite of the truth. E. S. P. Haynes, *A Lawyer's Notebook* (London, 1932), p. 32. The British government has to this day steadfastly refused to clear up the mystery of the diary, refusing even to confirm or to deny the alleged fact of its existence. In this attitude Ramsay MacDonald and Stanley Baldwin were agreed. In view of these circumstances, the explanation advanced by Parmiter in 1936 still seems the most plausible one. He suggested that the diary was one of the Putumayo documents which Casement submitted to the Foreign Office. The original being in Spanish, Casement translated and copied it out in his own handwriting; he mentioned to several friends at that time that part of the evidence he was submitting was such a diary. When, after his death, the Foreign Office returned Casement's papers to a relative, the diary was not among them. See Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Roger Casement* (London, 1936), pp. 315-16; William J. Maloney, *The Forged Casement Diaries* (Dublin, 1936), *passim*; Denis Gwynn, *Traitor or Patriot* (New York 1931), p. 19; Henry W. Nevins, *Last Changes, Last Chances* (London, 1928), p. 115. T. E. Lawrence was also refused information on the subject. *Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. David Garnett (New York, 1939), p. 863. Such a prohibition, besides making it impossible to ascertain the truth, facilitates such foolish comment as in Blanche Patch, *Thirty Years with G. B. S.* (London, 1951), pp. 100-103. Miss Patch is willing and eager to accept the allegation of Casement's perversion, in order to emphasize thereby Shaw's broadmindedness in matters of sexual irregularity. Even worse than this, the well-known London solicitor, Mr. E. S. P. Haynes, explains Casement's self-possession during his trial as due to an alleged insensitivity to death, which is in turn regarded as the result of syphilis. Haynes, p. 32. Cf. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours* (New York, 1933), p. 266; *The Times*, Aug. 4, 1916; Nevins, pp. 115-16.

tion, some—like Sir Basil Thomson, then head of Scotland Yard (and some years later himself to be apprehended by the police in Hyde Park on a morals charge)—connected the two theories and suggested that the unprintable diary, of which Sir Basil claimed to have been the finder, showed that “some mental disintegration” must have set in.⁴ Nearly twenty years later—“let the lie have time on its own wings to fly”—the second earl of Birkenhead, in composing his hagiographical tribute to his father’s memory, was puzzled that no one had taken Sir Roger for a pervert merely by looking at him.⁵

The Prime Minister, however—fearful of the effect of the execution upon public opinion in America⁶—was, it is said, anxious to have Casement reprieved on grounds of insanity but could find no competent alienist to certify him.⁷ Others say that Mr. Asquith was unable to overcome the vindictive desire for revenge on the part of some of his Covenanting colleagues in the coalition cabinet.⁸

Not only the enemies, however, of Sir Roger but also his friends believed that his mind might have become affected by his long residence and arduous labors in the tropics. In the petition for clemency addressed to the Prime Minister, they called attention to “the violent change” which appeared to have taken place in his attitude toward Great Britain, and, “without going so far as to urge complete mental irresponsibility,” they begged that allowance be made for “an abnormal mental and physical state.”⁹

During the nearly forty years which have elapsed since Casement’s death, three competent books¹⁰ and a number of articles have vindicated his char-

⁴ Sir Basil Thomson, *Queer People* (London, 1922), p. 92; Maloney, p. 203.

⁵ Earl of Birkenhead, *Frederick Edwin, Earl of Birkenhead*, 2 vols. (London, 1935), II, 63. The son of Lord Reading, the judge who sentenced Casement, paid a similar tribute to his own father. He remarks patronizingly of Sir Roger that he had had “a not undistinguished career in the Consular Service” (I). Marquess of Reading, *Rufus Isaacs, First Marquess of Reading*, 2 vols. (London, 1945), II, 19.

⁶ Sir Cecil Spring Rice to Sir Edward Grey, May 30, 1916, *Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, ed. Stephen Gwynn, 2 vols. (London, 1929), II, 331, 335–36. The Hearst Press, for example, had indulged its Anglophobia by championing the cause of Sir Roger. *Non tali auxilio*. Mrs. Fremont Older, *William Randolph Hearst, American* (London, 1936), p. 385.

⁷ John A. Spender and Cyril Asquith, *Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith*, 2 vols. (London, 1932), II, 214; cf. Nevinson, p. 117.

⁸ Denis Gwynn, p. 430.

⁹ Knott, p. 298. The signatures to this petition, though they were indeed collected by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, were almost entirely English, and included Arnold Bennett, Hall Caine, G. K. Chesterton, Sir Francis Darwin, John Drinkwater, Sir James Frazer, John Galsworthy, G. P. Gooch, John Masefield, H. W. Massingham (of the *Nation*), C. P. Scott (of the *Manchester Guardian*), Ben Tillett, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, the bishop of Winchester, and Israel Zangwill. Bernard Shaw refused to sign since he did not, like the others, admit the fact of Casement’s moral guilt. G. B. Shaw, *A Discarded Defence of Casement*, privately printed by Clement K. Shorter (1922). Louis McQuilland, once secretary to John Redmond, suggested that Casement’s mind might have been affected by what he had seen on the Putumayo. Louis G. Redmond-Howard, *Sir Roger Casement* (Dublin, 1916), p. 20.

¹⁰ Denis Gwynn, *Traitor or Patriot* (1931); Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Sir Roger Casement* (1936); William J. Maloney, *The Forged Casement Diaries* (1936). Yeats’s ballad on Sir Roger Casement was inspired by his reading of this last book. William Butler Yeats, *Letters on Poetry*

acter and established his sanity. For it is now clear that the attachment to Ireland which was to lead him to a felon's death was not, as Lord Birkenhead implied, a sudden unaccountable infatuation but rather the mainspring of his whole life, and that his years on the Congo and the Amazon did but deepen and intensify the early love he bore for Ireland.

It is the purpose of this essay to show, from hitherto unpublished papers, that other motives also, besides this love for Ireland, impelled him on the course which was to lead to self-destruction. For ten years—from 1904 to 1914—Sir Roger carried on a regular correspondence with his dear friend and fellow-champion of oppressed peoples, Edmund Dene Morel. These letters have lately been transplanted from Dartington Hall to the London School of Economics, from the peace of "silly" Devonshire to the roar of Kingsway; so that there, in the basement of the London School, deciphering the fading pages, one may most improbably hear again the accent of that "haunting voice—low, earnest and impassioned," and the authentic Antrim speech of him whose bones lie next those of the murderer, Dr. Crippen, in Pentonville Gaol.¹¹

It is well known how Casement's Congo Report of 1904,¹² with its calm and detailed exposure of the iniquities of Belgian rule, became the basis for Morel's heroic and almost single-handed attack on King Leopold's regime.¹³ Together, in the Slieve Donard Hotel at Newcastle, County Down, they had conceived in 1904 the project of the Congo Reform Association, which in less than ten years had so triumphantly routed the powerful coalition of diplomats, clerics, and financiers arrayed against them. Together they had worked to abolish what Casement termed "the devilish theory and hellish practice of Belgian administration in Central Africa."¹⁴ The closest friendship had thus arisen between the English "Bulldog" and the Irish "Tiger." "Bulldog alanna," or "my dear old unmuzzled Bulldog," Casement, writing

from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley (London, 1940), p. 117. See also, Patrick S. O'Hegarty, *A Bibliography of Roger Casement* (Dublin, 1949), and James Carty, *Bibliography of Irish History, 1870-1921*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1936-40).

¹¹ Padraic Colum, *The Road Round Ireland* (New York, 1926), p. 129. Out in the Amazon, in July, 1910, Casement noted in his diary the capture of Crippen, little realizing that one day the two of them would lie side by side in a common prison grave. Maloney, p. 268.

¹² Cd. 1933 (1904), "Correspondence and Report from His Majesty's Consul at Boma respecting the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo," printed in House of Commons, *Sessional Papers, 1904*, LXII. Stephen Gwynn wrote that Casement's statement of a case was moderate in tone, yet charged with passion. Stephen Gwynn, *Experiences of a Literary Man* (London, 1927), p. 258.

¹³ See F. Seymour Cocks, *E. D. Morel* (London, 1920); and Edmund D. Morel, *Red Rubber* (London, 1906).

¹⁴ Casement to Morel, Rio de Janeiro, Nov. 30, 1909. Hereafter, citations to the manuscripts in the possession of the London School of Economics are indicated by place and date where possible, or by date alone. They are letters from Casement to Morel unless otherwise indicated.

from Rio, would salute his friend; or, "dear true, soft-hearted old stern-faced Bulldog."¹⁵ "I live by peace," he would joke, "and you who are a man of strife and battle-axes cannot comprehend my predilection, and have misnamed me tigerish."¹⁶ But in a more serious mood, he would remind Morel that nothing had happened on the Congo "till your gaunt grim friend the Tiger appeared on the scene." The government had given him "a post that had been reduced to a nullity," and "did not know any more than that damned old scoundrel [King Leopold] that they had let loose a Congo tiger who knew of old his hunting ground & when to sniff his prey."¹⁷ To anyone who recalls Joseph Conrad's description of Casement starting off "into an unspeakable wilderness swinging a crook-handled stick for all weapons," accompanied only by two bulldogs and a boy, but returning a few months later, "a little leaner, a little browner, with his stick, dogs, and Loanda boy, and quietly serene as though he had been for a stroll in a park"¹⁸—to such a one, Casement's boast will seem well justified.¹⁹

What is not so well known is Sir Roger's overmastering indignation at what he felt were the evasions and procrastinations of the Foreign Office, its desire to move circumspectly through the maze of diplomacy, when day by day, and week by week, his beloved and helpless Africans were still being flogged, mutilated, or put to death. At least he was consoled to know himself a thorn in the government's flesh. "They are sincerely sorry I was born," he chuckled in 1903, and it doubtless comforted him to know that even if "that beast Leopold . . . the King of Beasts and his pimps"²⁰ were poisoning world

¹⁵ Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 15, 1909.

¹⁶ June 26, 1912.

¹⁷ Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909.

¹⁸ Joseph Conrad to R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, Dec. 26, 1903, G. Jean Aubry, *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*, 2 vols. (London 1927), I, 325. Possibly the best single description of Casement is that of the explorer, Herbert Ward, who knew him on the Congo. "Imagine a tall and handsome man, of fine bearing; thin, mere muscle and bone, a sun-tanned face, blue eyes and curly black hair. A pure Irishman he is, with a captivating voice and a singular charm of manner. A man of distinction and great refinement, high-minded and courteous, impulsive and poetical. Quixotic perhaps some would say, and with a certain truth, for few men have shown themselves so regardless of personal advancement." Herbert Ward, *A Voice from the Congo* (New York, 1910), p. 233.

¹⁹ Perhaps this is the place to note Casement's horror of publicity. He would like to meet Mark Twain, he said in 1903, despite his regret that Twain had mentioned him in one of his books. Sept. 5, 1904. "I am a man of strong prejudices," he warned Morel in 1911, "and one of them is an innate dislike to personal appearance of any sort—I hate functions, dinners, and gatherings of any kind whatever." He begged the Bulldog, never, in any of his speeches on the Congo, to mention him by name, and warned him that he would be "deeply pained" if he did. May 26, 1911. Nevertheless, a year later we find him expostulating to his friend for having praised him in the *Daily News*. To read this had made him "furiously angry." Only lately he had forced the Intelligence Bureau to apologize for putting his photograph in the paper, and now Morel had done just that. So he proceeded to read his friend a lecture. "I object very strongly to publicity & the idea of one's photo in the papers is nauseous [to] me. It gave me much pain," he declared—but he would overlook the matter since Morel's only object had been to help the Putumayo Fund. June 24, 1912.

²⁰ 53, Chester Square, London, Sept. 8, 1904, Mar. 15, 22, 1905.

opinion against him, he had one fearless champion in America—a man whose name outweighed the power of a host of rubber barons: Mark Twain. But when a whole year had gone by, and still no action had been taken against the “Congo cads” and “Congo cannibals,” he exploded to the Bulldog:

It is the dirty, cowardly, knock-kneed game the Foreign Office have played that puts me out of action. They *know* the truth, and yet deliberately, for the sake of paltry ease, prepare to throw over an honest & fearless official they deliberately thrust forward last year when it suited their book. They are not worth serving, and what sickens me is that I must go back to them, hat in hand, despising them as I do, simply to be able to live.²¹

He thought of going out to join his brother, Tom, in South Africa.

If I can earn my bread out there I shall do it with a happy heart to be out of the whole miserable Govt. service. I have an overmastering contempt for them.²²

But his poverty prevented him. “If I could only see my way to earning £150 a year,” he told Morel,

I’d shake the dust of Govt. office off my feet for ever—but alack! I see no way of earning £50 a year. I cannot go around to people begging hat in hand for a job—or if I did, the very fact that I was a begging pauper wd. turn them against me or induce them to exploit me. . . . All men are snobs—they worship assurance and position—& take you at your own value of yourself—& as soon as it is known that I have left the F.O. and am seeking a billet, I should find my “friends” looking askance at me.²³

The more he reflected, the more indignant he became.

The F.O. have certainly not played the game—for they have lifted no finger to indicate that they trusted me. . . . That is what I resent. It is so cowardly and mean. They shove me into the forefront, bitterly against my will—promising too that they wd. do the needful to stick up for me—and then they slink off and leave me exposed to vulgar abuse and openly expressed contempt. . . . no finger has been lifted to back me up—no breath of half a voice to affirm their knowledge of my good faith and worth—not a syllable—only an ostentatious washing of their hands of as much responsibility for my report as they could wash off. . . . they have practically handed me over defenceless, their own Consul, their own agent—their own mouthpiece, to be the butt of the very men they publicly accused. It is a dirty mean trick—and I have an overmastering contempt for them—and yet I shall be compelled to swallow my scorn and creep back to serve such effigies of men! Perhaps it is good for me to be rebuffed like this and brought low—& it may be I shall be all the better for it. . . . It is not Lord L. [Lansdowne] I blame—I think he is all right—but the permanent gang.²⁴

²¹ Ballycastle, County Antrim, Feb. 2, 1905. The phrases “Congo cads” and “Congo cannibals” occur in letters of Sept. 27, 1905 and Sept. 14, 1909. Cf. Feb. 17, 1905. “This d—d Govt. is incapable of any decent action—look at their treatment of Sir Anthony MacDonell.”

²² Ballycastle, Feb. 27, 1905. His brother, Tom, was also a champion of the oppressed, and fought to abolish Chinese labor in the Rand. Redmond-Howard, p. 9. Still later, Tom Casement acted as intermediary between General Smuts and de Valera, and made possible the former’s visit to Dublin in 1921. J. C. Smuts, *Jan Christian Smuts* (New York, 1952), p. 225.

²³ Ballycastle, Mar. 15, 1905.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

But it was not of himself alone that he was thinking. Unlike Wilberforce, who had been moved by the thought of Negro suffering which he had never seen, Sir Roger Casement had had stamped upon his mind an ineffaceable image of the horrors he had witnessed, and saw before him still the simple loyal Africans who trusted him to plead their cause. The letters "B.B." (a common newspaper abbreviation at the time), he thought, should stand, not for "braves Belges" but for "bashi-bazouks." Passionately he declared that Britain had made her promises

not to Christian men and women, well-to-do, well-fed, well-governed, well honored and God-fearing but—to the poor, the naked, the fugitive, the hunted, the tortured, the dying men and women of the Congo. Is the crack of the slavedriver's whip on the Congo [he asked] to mean not merely that the poor naked forest man must flee to the savage beasts for protection, but that the Statesmen of England must come to heel? [Must England also bow to the] blood-stained rubber scourge?²⁵

The Prime Minister—"that miserable being, Balfour," "that distinguished shifter"—was the special object of his contempt. "That cur is incapable of any honest or straightforward act of human sympathy—and Percy, as Under Sec. for F. Affairs is another of the same type." "What a swinish lot of pigs are these, dear Bulldog," he would fulminate.²⁶ And his final verdict on the Conservative government was: "Until we have the Augean stable of this ten years of plundering, dishonest Unionism swept away, it is hopeless to expect *any* strong action against any wrong."²⁷ He included "The Thunderer" in his animadversions. "The *Times* is such a queer organ, so eminently English in the worst sense of the word, that I never trust it an inch."²⁸ Its favorite sport, he declared, was "ratting."²⁹ While of another Tory journal he wrote: "Personally I loathe the *Spectator*—its unctuous Britannic pomp is to me as bad as a dose of medicine."³⁰

The Liberals, however, were equally bad. They "have always been a curse to Ireland," he reminded Morel, "second only to the influence of Dillon & his priestly gang."³¹

The Rosebery Gang (in which are Grey & Asquith) will go pretty well as far as Chamberlain in their pandering to the moneybags and hoarse yellings of the jingo merchants. Mrs. Green is entirely right. England sacrificed her *moral* position in the Councils of the World when she strangled those two little free states in South Africa.³²

²⁵ Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1909.

²⁶ Denham, Bucks, April 12, 27, Sept. 4, 19, 1905. Percy he called "one of a class I abhor." Apr. 25 and Sept. 4, 1905.

²⁷ Sept. 8, 1905.

²⁸ Apr. 27, 1905.

²⁹ Rio de Janeiro, Jan. 30, 1910.

³⁰ Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1909.

³¹ Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1909.

³² Ballycastle, Mar. 15, 1905. Mrs. Green was, of course, Alice Stopford Green (1848–1929), the widow of the historian, John Richard Green.

Yet even this cynicism was not proof against his joy over the Liberal landslide in the 1906 election. Observing it from Ireland, he told Morel: "I know that there was some secret influence at work (Tory) to injure me—but the incoming of such a wave of democracy will sweep all that gang of muddlers into their proper place."³³ It was not long, however, as he contemplated the Lords, before he came to his right mind. "What a useless lot they are—sheer loafers—and here is this so-called Liberal Govt. making more of them."³⁴

By 1907 he realized that "British policy always remains British policy," no matter who might be in power. Parties bore labels only "to hoodwink the electors." "These political labels have no significance—they are all playing the same game—self-interest—& until a real Socialist upheaval comes to sweep the whole [building?] away nothing will really be changed."³⁵ For the Liberals took no more action against Leopold than the Conservatives. Sir Roger complained that he had been "humiliated, insulted and deserted." It was now Lansdowne who was talking big—from the Opposition bench. "They make me sick these paltry English statesmen with their opportunist souls and grocers' minds."³⁶ Herbert Samuel was "a dunderhead ass."³⁷ The Liberal ministers, he wrote in 1909, were "the most nerveless diplomats in Christendom."³⁸ He had by this time given up all hope of the Foreign Office: "I feel pretty sure that Grey has been a traitor all along," he told Morel. Therefore "the F.O. must be fought since G. is a recreant. . . . the F.O. are no longer to be coaxed but to be hit."³⁹ By this time he had largely forgotten his old indignation against Mr. Balfour—"dear Arthur" was his mild affectionate term for him.⁴⁰

Sir Edward Grey was now his *bête noire*. He was no more a liberal than Walter Long.⁴¹ By contrast with him even his predecessor had been a man. "I don't think there is very much real, sincere, humane feeling [in him] at all," he told Morel in 1907. "Lord Lansdowne, I think, has personally more of the fire of the man in him than Grey—who strikes me as cold, and a liberal by training and hereditary teaching, rather than a liberal by feeling and love of his fellow men. But I may wrong him,"⁴² he added speculatively. The Denshawai Affair in Egypt convinced him that he had not.⁴³ "My dear Morel," he wrote,

³³ Ballycastle, Jan. 24, 1906.

³⁴ July, 1906.

³⁵ Ballycastle, Aug. 1, 10, 1907.

³⁶ July 4, 1906.

³⁷ May 8, 1905.

³⁸ Rio de Janeiro, Aug. 16, 1909.

³⁹ Rio de Janeiro, June 29 and Sept. 14, 1909.

⁴⁰ Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 25, 1909.

⁴¹ Santos, Aug. 10, 1907.

⁴² Ballycastle, Oct. 16, 1907 (Letter Book II). Casement's opinions about English politicians have been known, of course, since the publication of his diaries in Germany in 1922 ("that contemptible cad Curzon," "that bumptious ass Winston," "these seadog swankers," etc.), but these diatribes are all subsequent to the declaration of war in 1914. His letters to Morel reveal for how many years, and while still in His Majesty's service, he had harbored such opinions.

⁴³ Rio de Janeiro, June 23, 1909. "Sir Edward Grey is not a Liberal in any real meaning of

the Denshawai murderings and floggings could have been stopped by any great man. Do you think for one moment that a really great liberal statesman would have allowed those barbarous outrages? No great man is ever afraid: it is there you are a great man. You don't fear, when you see straight & believe strongly and know in your heart and soul that the thing is right. You are not afraid—afraid of *Nothing!* and that is a very great quality my dear Morel—a quality I saw from the very first you possessed and that made me love you. I have something of it too, but not to the same extent as you—and I could tell you the reasons only they concern me only—but I thoroughly comprehend the possession of that quality and its uses.⁴⁴

Sir Roger's generous tribute to his friend did less than justice to himself;⁴⁵ for the same high-minded fearlessness which was to lead him to the gallows was to lead his friend, no less brave but rather more fortunate, only to a prison cell. So great was the Tiger's admiration for the Bulldog that it even led him to identify this figure of sturdy British courage with the prime symbol of the Irish people, treasured through fifteen centuries.

It has been the most wonderful fight in the world I think this of yours, since that day when, in the Slieve Donard Hotel, *close* to where St. Patrick landed in Ireland to begin *his* wonderful mission of turning the hearts of a proud pagan people to the mildness of Christianity, you accepted your mission of turning the heart and hand of the biggest pagan in Christendom out of his misused kingdom—snakes!—and you've done it—even as Patrick turned the snakes out of Erin.⁴⁶

Following the publication of his Congo Report, there ensued for Casement a year and a half of inactivity, which he spent chiefly at home in Ireland and during which he learned Gaelic.⁴⁷ Then he held several consular posts in Brazil—first at Santos, then at Para, and finally at Rio de Janeiro as consul general in 1908. He was at Rio when the first ugly stories about

the word," he wrote Morel from Rio in 1909. "Can you imagine a *real* Liberal carrying out the Denshawai massacre—'executions' they called it—three years ago, when the pigeon shooting officers were avenged of a whole rural population by widespread *public* floggings and hangings. Can liberalism be one thing in England and another in Egypt? It evidently can. Sir E. Grey is the master of Egypt—of that there is no question. His will on a question of moment would be supreme. That was a question of moment—one involving, if Englishmen could only see it, their very soul—their fame and boasted sense of justice—yet in order to 'strike terror' (that is the phrase they play as a trump card) this Liberal Lord of England sanctions public floggings and hangings—one in sight of the other, and all in sight of the relatives of the flogged and hanged, who were driven by military force to the human shambles—in the land he was responsible for." These words were written by His Majesty's consul general at Rio de Janeiro.

⁴⁴ Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909. "Congo Hannibal" was another of Casement's nicknames for Morel. Like Sigmund Freud, but without his Semitic origin to explain it, Casement had always a curious attachment for Hannibal. "He is, to me, the noblest figure of human history." Rome won "only because his City was a recreant city, and Carthage unworthy of her mighty son." Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 14, 1909.

⁴⁵ Cf. John Butler Yeats: "Sir Roger is an enthusiast—his charm is that he never sees facts as they are. . . . He is afraid of no one, and is the soul of honour." *J. B. Yeats Letters to His Son, W. B. Yeats, and Others*, ed. Joseph Hone (London, 1944), p. 195.

⁴⁶ Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 15, 1909.

⁴⁷ It is not true, as Lord Birkenhead asserted, that Casement's "usual abode was in England." Birkenhead, *Famous Trials*, p. 261.

atrocities in the Peruvian rubber fields began to circulate. The rubber boom was then at its height, and fabulous profits were being made. Since the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company was registered in London and employed some British subjects, the British government thought fit to investigate, and at once, on the strength of the great reputation made by his Congo Report, called on Roger Casement to go out to Peru along with the commission of inquiry appointed by the company.⁴⁸ And so in 1910, Casement found himself again in tropical jungles—this time on the Putumayo—racked with fever and steeped in horrors. It was the nightmare story of the Congo over again: tortures, floggings, crucifixions, decapitations, burnings alive—the crudities equally with the refinements of cruelty, that cruelty which, no less than love, is needful to the heart of man. Despite great personal suffering, Casement was a quick and thorough investigator. His report was presented to the British government early in 1911. As a reward, he was knighted by the king in June of that year.

Much was made, at the treason trial five years later, of Sir Roger's acceptance of this honor as involving his complete loyalty to the crown. The Attorney General read in court Casement's letter to the king, and declared that it was written "in terms of gratitude, a little unusual, perhaps, in their warmth, and in the language almost of a courtier."⁴⁹ It is clear now that this insinuation was unwarranted. No doubt such public recognition for his years of labor, with the cancellation of manifold calumny which it implied, was deeply grateful to Sir Roger; but as he then wrote his good friend, Mrs. Green, at the very moment of receiving such an honor, he felt guilty as an Irishman and was sensitive to the fact that many of his friends in Ireland might regard him as a traitor.⁵⁰ The determining motive, it appears, was his fear lest the Putumayo inquiry should drag on as long as that of the Congo had done. As Parmiter points out, had he refused the honor, it would have entailed the resignation of his diplomatic post and the end of his usefulness to the Indians of Peru. As it was, his knighthood emphasized before the world the determination of Great Britain to right their wrongs. So he returned to Peru almost at once and produced such further damning evidence of crime, and of crimi-

⁴⁸ Cd. 6266 (1912), "Correspondence respecting the Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District," printed in House of Lords, *Sessional Papers, 1912-13*, XXIX.

⁴⁹ Knott, p. 9. One British official makes the extraordinary and unsupported statement that Casement always denied having written this letter to the king, and claimed it was a forgery. Hugh Cleland Hoy, *40 O. B.; or, How the War Was Won* (London, 1932), p. 140. Mr. Hoy was private secretary to the director of British Naval Intelligence during the war. His statement is curious in view of the fact that Casement never made any such denial during his trial.

⁵⁰ Parmiter, p. 85. When, in 1905, he had received the C.M.G. for his work in the Congo, he refused to be invested with it by the king (as indeed he still did now) and never opened the parcel which contained the insignia. The parcel remains intact today. Parmiter, p. 46.

nal delay in justice, that the British government, after consultation with the United States, published the whole as a Blue Book.⁵¹ The shock to world opinion was such that within a year the Peruvian Amazon Company had ceased to exist. Thus the evil which on the Congo took almost twelve years of incessant agitation to abolish,⁵² was ended on the Putumayo in less than three—and this chiefly through the labors of one man.

He had purchased his knighthood at the cost of health. Once athletic, now he was racked with lumbago and arthritis. Malaria and dysentery had ruined his constitution. In the tropics he had contracted painful skin diseases. While on the Putumayo he got eczema so badly between the toes of both feet that he could scarcely walk. He had also developed eye infections, while his legs, hands, and wrists were covered with large bites.⁵³ A connoisseur of fevers, he thought he preferred "the mild Brazilian kind" to "the fierce African" variety.⁵⁴ At forty-five, he was half an invalid, prematurely aged, and fast going grey. In October, 1912, he reported to Morel from the Gresham Hotel in Dublin, that he could hardly walk upstairs, and felt "quare & old indeed and terrible failed."⁵⁵ In the mists and rain of an Irish winter, he now longed for the southern sun; and so, in December, 1912, he decided to visit his brother, Tom, in South Africa. Aboard the *Grantully Castle*, en route to Cape Town, he recovered a little: at least he was not in such "almost constant pain" as he had been. But he knew he could expect no real improvement. "Arthritis," he wrote, "is a subtle enemy & lies low at all times—but I fear it is in me to stay." It was ten years since he had been in Africa, thirteen since he had last seen the Cape, "& now I go back an elderly invalid. Ochone! Well," he consoled himself, "I've done my work anyhow . . . & some evils will never again be quite the same."⁵⁶

He had been spendthrift not only of his health but of his money. After twenty-one years in government service, he was as poor as when he entered, and at his death, left less than £10 behind. Not only to Irish causes but to any who were in need he had contributed. Thus Morel testified that his friend had "supplied the first indispensable funds" for the Congo Reform Association.⁵⁷ After his retirement from Africa, he complained of being penniless, and talked gloomily of going to the workhouse. "We are a poor paltry wretched pair of paupers, my dear bulldog."⁵⁸ In 1905, he was reduced to

⁵¹ Cd. 6266 (1912). See note 48 above.

⁵² Morel, *Red Rubber*, (4th ed., 1919), p. 223.

⁵³ May 15, 1908; Maloney, p. 184.

⁵⁴ Santos, Nov. 12, 1906.

⁵⁵ Gresham Hotel, Dublin, Oct. 8, 1912; cf. Apr. 3, 1905.

⁵⁶ SS. *Grantully Castle*, Feb. 18, 1913.

⁵⁷ Morel to Casement, Feb. 15, 1904.

⁵⁸ May 2, 1905.

selling the few trophies which he had brought back from Africa—for instance, an excellent elephant tusk seven feet long, for which he hoped to get £80.⁵⁹ He was considerably in debt—to the Bulldog among others. At this time he was living in cheap rooms in Ballycastle, County Antrim—25 shillings a week and all found; and hoping to avoid the workhouse or the debtor's court. He begged Morel not to let others know of his financial difficulties.⁶⁰ In July, 1906, he told him that he had made only £40 in the last nineteen months.⁶¹

His savings gone, he was unable—despite his unique reputation and knowledge of the Congo—to recoup his expenses through journalism, because his articles would be considered of little value unless signed in his own name; but this the etiquette of the consular service forbade.⁶² "I am sick of this demoralizing and useless existence," he wrote in 1906, after fifteen months of inactivity, while still awaiting a new assignment. "This long spell of idleness is killing soul and body."⁶³ He was now even willing, as not heretofore, to face the Congo horrors a second time.

When eventually posted to Santos at £600 per annum, the extremely high cost of living in Brazil took most of his salary. Yet he paid off his debts and sent money home to Ireland.⁶⁴ As consul general at Rio, his salary was raised to £1200; but in accepting a post on the Putumayo Commission, he took an annual cut of £400; and in addition spent several hundreds of his own to further the cause of the Indians.⁶⁵ So that it may be fairly said, whatever honors he had won were dearly purchased.

But where the world saw a distinguished British public servant, Casement had gradually come to feel himself more and more a stranger from England and from Englishmen, more and more Irish of the Irish. "Up in those lonely Congo forests," he wrote Mrs. Green from Brazil, "where I found Leopold I also found myself—the incorrigible Irishman."⁶⁶ He had made the Congo investigation, he noted in his diary, with a flash of premonition "in the garb of a British official, but with the soul of an Irish felon."⁶⁷ And to Morel he declared in 1909: "It is not British honour appeals to me

⁵⁹ Aug. 20 (?), 1905.

⁶⁰ July 4, 1906.

⁶¹ July 16, 1906.

⁶² July 16, 1906.

⁶³ Mar. 7, 1906; July (?), 1906.

⁶⁴ Oct. 12, 1906; Jan. 4, 1907; July 27, 1912.

⁶⁵ July 27, 1912.

⁶⁶ Casement to Mrs. Green, Santos, Apr. 20, 1906, *Parmiter*, p. 8n.; cf. Casement to his cousin, Oct. 9, 1906: "Send me news of Congo and Ireland; nothing else counts. Ireland first and for ever, and poor old Congo too, for the sake of the dark skins and all they have suffered." *Ibid.*, p. 54. The Irish question, he told Morel later, for him transcended in importance even that of African slavery. Apr. 22, 1911. In a letter to *The Times* (Oct. 31, 1913), Casement wrote that whatever good he had done in Africa or South America was due to the knowledge of oppression he had derived from his study of Irish history. Redmond-Howard, pp. 21-22. In 1914, he urged publicly that Ireland be represented as a separate nation at the next Olympic Games, due to be held in Berlin in 1916. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Sir Roger Casement, *Diaries*, ed. Charles E. Curry (Munich, 1922), p. 23.

so much as the Congo men and women. British honour, so far as I am concerned, disappeared from our horizon on Ireland more than a century ago—and I am chiefly concerned in endeavouring to recover our own Irish honour.”⁶⁸ In August, 1911, two weeks before sailing for the Putumayo, he told his friend (truly, as it turned out): “This is my last external effort on behalf of others. Henceforth & for aye, I shall concentrate on Ireland alone—and neither Congo nor Hindu, nor Inca shall lure me aside.”⁶⁹

Into the thickest gloom of Congo or Amazon jungle, he took with him the image of “the enchanted coast” of Antrim, from whose sheer cliffs, wreathed in honeysuckle and wild roses, he had so often beheld “the blue and green-tiled ocean depths,” and the hills of Scotland beyond.⁷⁰ In Brazil, a country whose climate and people he detested, his thoughts were always of Ireland. “I sit in futile impotence,” he wrote from Rio, “in a land I loathe, far from men and action and deeds to drive a paltry pen six hours daily over bootlaces, jampots and stationery and other openings for British trade in Brazil.” Coffee was the head and front of the tyranny that bound him; and when not in thrall to the merchants he despised, his time was largely spent in trying to protect himself from the assaults of importunate beach-combers.⁷¹ No wonder that even the spectacular beauty of the capital left him unmoved, or that between him and the dazzling Sugar Loaf there sometimes interposed the image of the low “green slanting shoulder of Slieve Donard.”⁷² In his dingy office amid the stifling heat and smells of the Santos water front, he longed for the cool Atlantic winds that sweep the Ulster glens. By the waters of Rio he wept, remembering Erin. In the calm of tropic nights, his inner eye beheld the swift race of northern seas. “Silent, O Moyle, be the roar of thy water.” Moore’s “Song of Fionnuala” was his favorite, and he sang in a rich baritone.⁷³

Sadly, O Moyle, to thy winter-wave weeping,
Fate bids me languish long ages away;
Yet still in her darkness doth Erin lie sleeping,
Still doth the pure light its dawning delay.

⁶⁸ Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1909. Always in Brazil Casement indited his official correspondence on notepaper headed: “Consulate of Great Britain and Ireland,” despite his having been previously rebuked for this unorthodoxy while consul at Lourenço Marques. He likewise made it a point to use paper of Irish manufacture.

⁶⁹ Aug. 4, 1911; and hearing that Morel was writing a history of the Congo Reform Association, he said that if he could write, it should not be of Amazon or Congo, “but of a little island in the North Atlantic and of an outcast race and of a wronged civilization.” Denham, Bucks, June 13, 1912.

⁷⁰ Ballycastle, June 24, 1906.

⁷¹ Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1909; Santos, Apr. 2, 1907.

⁷² Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1909.

⁷³ Parmiter, p. 3. The Moyle is an ancient poetic name for the swift tidal current which separates Rathlin Island from the coast of Antrim.

May he not, in thus recalling the haunting story of Lir's snowy daughter, sometimes have mused that he like her was fated from Ireland to "languish long ages away"? Yet not even fever-bred fancies in Brazil could reveal the full tragic parallelism of their fates: that he too should one day find, after poignant and bitter exile, in the first glad contact with Irish soil, the touch of sudden death.

Whatever he could save from his small official salary, he sent home to Irish causes and Irish charities, to St. Enda's or the Gaelic League.

The tragedy of that dear old country is a far deeper and more dreadful one my dear E.D.M. than the dreadful tale of Leopoldism on the Congo. The Congo will revive and flourish—the black millions again overflow the land—untouched, untainted—but who shall restore the destroyed Irish race—the dead Irish tongue—the murdered Irish music—the wealth of gentle nature, lovable mind, high temper and brave generous heart which made of the Irish people a race we shall not see the like of again. And now where?—only an insulted remnant, almost incapable of action and with all the life drained out of them.⁷⁴

On his return to his native land in 1911, his belief in Irish Home Rule was greatly strengthened by his disgust with Unionist tactics in his own province of Ulster. On the famous 28th of September, 1912, the day of the signing of the Covenant, he saw the monster parades and processions in Belfast, and heard the Orange drum beaten through the streets all day. Did its insidious rhythm, with its mounting emotional tension, remind him of the lurking terrors of the jungle he had once faced? "I saw the Ulster Circus on 28th September in Belfast," he wrote to Morel from Dublin in October. "F. E. Smith & 'Lord' Charles Beresford were the best of the clowns altho' Carson as Pantaloon & Harlequin ran them close. The amount of solid lying that gang got through in a fortnight would have fed up the Belgians even in their best day."⁷⁵ Mercifully he could not foresee that for one of the "clowns" the way of rebellion was to lead to the Woolsack, but for himself, to the gallows.

Ten years after Casement's execution, Lord Birkenhead was still under the delusion that "his interest in his native country was of recent origin," and that there was nothing in his career to explain his turning to Germany in 1914.⁷⁶ But so ardent a worshipper as the noble lord at the shrine of worldly success, could hardly be expected to concern himself with the motives of a felon. It is, in fact, doubtful whether the future Lord Chancellor, for all his forensic brilliance, was able to discern in his victim the lineaments of a gallant gentleman. Perhaps the two might not even have agreed upon what

⁷⁴ Santos, May 15, 1908.

⁷⁵ Gresham Hotel, Dublin, Oct. 8, 1912.

⁷⁶ Birkenhead, *Famous Trials*, p. 258.

constitutes such a one, for Casement's definition was remarkably close to Newman's "one who would not willingly give pain to another." Whatever influence he might have had upon the Congo, wrote Casement to Morel in 1905, had been "due solely to the fact that I was a gentleman with the instincts of one who (I hope) prefers to suffer a wrong rather than inflict one."⁷⁷ Nor would he have caviled at the rueful self-depreciation of his friend, John Butler Yeats, great father of a greater son—"a gentleman is one who doesn't know how to succeed in life"—since as he had himself written the *Bulldog* years before: "Neither you nor I could 'get on' in the world."⁷⁸

It is a principle of human nature to love the enemies of our enemies. To the question of Germany, therefore, we turn at length. Casement had looked upon the Entente and its influence in Africa with but a jaundiced eye.

You are right about the Entente Cordiale being to blame—it is to blame for more than that *cher ami*. The Entente is not a cordial one to begin with—but a very selfish one. Personally [I think] they put their money on the wrong horse—that's my view. From the intense fear and jealousy of Germany our Cabinet have tried to prevent German expansion on all sides—& the Morocco tomfoolery was one of the most fatal steps taken in that direction. The right policy wd. have been give and take with Germany—not bitter opposition—and seeking means to aid her to some safe outlet for her growing powers and population.⁷⁹

Not content with this harangue, the very next day he unburdened himself further to the sympathetic *Bulldog*.

Instead of trying to arrive at a general friendly arrangement with Germany *on all points*, which would obviously include the Congo, we have gone out of our way now for several years to eliminate Germany from our councils and as far as we could from the councils of others. We have tried to bottle up very new wine indeed in very old diplomatic bottles. . . . Now things have reached so evil a pass that peace between the two great Powers of Europe can hardly be kept. Both are preparing for war and faster than the world suspects—but the fault lies far more with England than with Germany. It has been a wretchedly stupid business—based first on jealousy, trade ill will and greed of Commerce, and now resting largely on fear too. The English have become *afraid* of the Germans.⁸⁰

It was with Germany that England should have made the Entente.

I would have invited Germany into Morocco or anywhere else she wanted to go—to Brazil, for one—where her expansion would not hurt the British Empire. Now

⁷⁷ Ballycastle, Mar. 15, 1905.

⁷⁸ 1907, n.d. While in Germany Casement refused lucrative offers to exploit his experiences for journalistic purposes. *Diaries*, p. 200. From his political activities he never made a penny; indeed he impoverished himself for the sake of them. And one of the charges against him which hurt most was that he had "sold himself for German gold."

⁷⁹ Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 14, 1909.

⁸⁰ Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909. It may be remarked that Morel, on his own account, shared a good many of these views on foreign affairs—especially the distrust of the Entente in Morocco. See his *Morocco in Diplomacy* (London, 1912), and *Truth and the War* (London, 1916), *passim*.

the miserable effort at bottling up Germany has gone so far that it is hard to get back to sober statesmanship.⁸¹

The more he thought of Germany, the better he liked her. "I like the Germans and believe in them," he wrote in 1909.⁸² "Germany should be the first and foremost friend of Gr. Britain in the World—not excepting any—and there is no reason why this should not be attained."⁸³

Gradually he began to see Germany as the chief hope of civilization. Revelations about "Yankee Oil Kings" in Mexico had thoroughly disenchanted him with the United States, a country he had already visited twice. At least in England, he reflected, there were bishops and archbishops galore ("go léor," he noted, was the correct Gaelic form) to go after such miscreants. Díaz was nothing but another Leopold. Men like that, he told Morel in 1911, "wd. make Mrs. Green and you and me into slaves and flog and scourge us if they got the upper hand. Where do the people of Mexico come in? . . . They come in with the beans and the cornstalks and the whip, the chain gang and the murderous lash."⁸⁴ Nor was he much impressed by Theodore Roosevelt:

It is impudent in the extreme for this man to go around Europe haranguing people on their duties to civilization, when his own country permits one of the most lawless aspects of modern life the whole world affords. Instead of claiming him as an ally of good causes I think he should be pitched into as a miscreant. The more I see of Americans, the less I believe in them.⁸⁵

By the docks of Liverpool, he reflected in 1911:

I don't put any hope in the U.S.A. The New World is not so healthy as the Old. The pulling down of slavery will not come from Uncle Sam. It is the people of Europe—the picked people of Europe who will do it. . . . I don't put *any* hope in the U.S.A. tackling these accursed things in Mexico and Peru—she is content to let them be. The Monroe Doctrine is fast becoming a crime against the human race.⁸⁶

With Britain and America thus outcast from his sympathies, what other power, except Germany, could save civilization? The wrongs of Mexico and Peru expanded in his mind to

⁸¹ Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15, 1909.

⁸² Rio de Janeiro, July 12, 1909.

⁸³ ca. 1911.

⁸⁴ 1911.

⁸⁵ Ballycastle, June 1, 1910.

⁸⁶ Liverpool, 1911. He revised his opinions, if not of America, at least of Americans, when he revisited New York in 1914. John Butler Yeats reported him as delighted with "their gaiety, their freedom, their good looks, but above all, their cleanliness." John Butler Yeats to his daughter, Lily Yeats, Aug. 7, 1914, *J. B. Yeats Letters*, p. 187. By an ironic coincidence, it was at this very time that the British ambassador in Washington thought that Casement was acting like a madman. Sir Cecil Spring Rice to Sir Edward Grey, May 30, 1916, *Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, II, 335-36.

the tragedy of a whole continent in the hands of the greedy—the spoliators—the enslavers—the exploiters . . . & the one great solution that could bring the Real Man into the business—viz. the Teuton—ruled out of court—nay never dreamed of as even thinkable because England is governed and obsessed by anti-German antipathies & their outcome—Foreign Office officials.⁸⁷

The word has been spoken at last, and by Sir Roger himself. His hostility to England had in fact become an obsession. First he had attacked British imperialism, then the British government, and finally the whole British people. In Brazil, he remembered the Zulus he had seen in Natal: "One of the finest, noblest, cleanest & most *moral* people on Earth—but they must give place to the knock-kneed loafing swab who calls himself the British Empire & whose chief aim is to rob at least cost to himself."⁸⁸ From Santos he told the faithful Bulldog:

I have no use for your British Govt., your British people, your Anglo-Saxon Conscience or anything else appertaining to that embodied Fraud—John Bull. You are one of the few my dear Bulldog who do not realize the national characteristics—and it is for this I love you. When I think of what J.B. has done in Ireland I literally weep to think I must still serve—instead of fight.⁸⁹

His admiration for Germany was a compensating mental mechanism for his hatred of England. But in the end it, too, became an obsession. It is idle even to discuss his fantasy of a peace-loving, harmless Germany, wishing only to be allowed to enjoy her modest place in the sun. Yet, perhaps, we begin to comprehend the full extent of his aberration from reason only when we, like his good friend John Butler Yeats, overhear him muttering to himself in New York on the news of the German defeat at the Marne: "Poor Kaiser, poor Kaiser"—almost with tears in his voice," added Yeats.⁹⁰ Before his death, Sir Roger was to lose this illusion also. Actual contact during the war with the imperial government deeply and finally disillusioned him. "I feel I cannot trust them," he wrote after three months' acquaintance, "& that it is useless to rely upon such stupid—& selfish people." On February 11, 1915, he ended his diary abruptly "when I became clear that I was being played with, fooled and used by a most selfish & unscrupulous government for its sole petty interests."⁹¹

⁸⁷ 1911. ⁸⁸ Lucan, Co. Dublin, Dec. 13, 1907.

⁸⁹ Santos, May 15, 1908. How gladly, he declared, would he serve as an Irish consul at only £200 a year instead of the £700 he was getting from Great Britain. "A big section of the Br. [sic] public like to think they have an Anglo-Saxon Deity all their own, like the Jews of Jerusalem." Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 14, 1908.

⁹⁰ J. B. Yeats *Letters*, p. 195 (Sept. 10, 1914).

⁹¹ Casement, *Diaries*, pp. 163, 198. Cf. Princess Blücher's description of his pitiful state in Berlin in 1915. He seemed to her like one demented, and spoke of killing himself. He broke down and sobbed like a child. "Penniless and starving, friendless and hunted," he had come to her, as an old friend, seeking comfort. Evelyn, Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin* (New York, 1920), pp. 131, 138.

He also showed at this time distinct signs of a disposition to favor non-Western peoples wherever they were in conflict with the West. This is perhaps the explanation of his curiously ardent championship of the Turks against the Balkan states in 1912—"this hellish war of lust and greed," he termed it. He was revolted by the atrocities of the Montenegrin "Christians" against the Moslems in Albania, but said nothing about those committed in return by Islam upon its enemies. How far, he wondered, was "Christendom . . . called on to champion these beauties in their 'war of liberation'?" When the second Balkan War broke out in 1913, he hoped that Turkey would be able to keep Adrianople. "She has the sole moral claim," he wrote, "to that city of her great kings."⁹² Few people in England, and still fewer in Ireland, could have shared these sentiments at this time. After all, the situation was vastly different from that which had faced Disraeli in 1877. For now Russia was Britain's ally, and was, moreover, not directly involved as she had been then.

The true explanation is, no doubt, that as in childhood he had always been compassionate with suffering things—with wounded bird or overburdened horse⁹³—so now, as an adult he *always* identified himself with the underdog—with Germany against England, with Turk against Christian. This sentimental feeling underlay his championship of African Negroes and American Indians. He was too prone to believe in the myth of "the noble savage," as when on his journey by rail from Montreal to New York, in July, 1914, passing Lake Champlain he reflected on the original settlement of the American continent, and at once found himself sympathizing with the Indians against the white man: "Poor Indians! you had life—your white destroyers possess only things."⁹⁴

The existing lives of Casement do not explore the childhood origins of his passionate self-identification with the sufferings of others, although a clue is perhaps afforded by the casual remark of one biographer that his father was so strict a disciplinarian that he would thrash his children for the least breach of rules, and that Roger as a child had resented this.⁹⁵

So the wheel has come full circle. We began by asserting Sir Roger's sanity. Mr. Asquith could not find a respectable alienist to declare otherwise. Yet Casement had lived for years with a demon that grew by what it fed on, until finally it was to devour him. For when, in 1914, war came at last, Sir

⁹² July 26, 1913.

⁹³ Sir Roger Casement, *Some Poems*, ed. Mrs. Gertrude Perry (Dublin, 1918), p. ix.

⁹⁴ Casement, *Diaries*, p. 25. Perhaps the same feeling appears in his sympathy for Carthage against Rome. See note 44 above.

⁹⁵ Parmiter, p. 1. But as in many biographies, the father, having fulfilled on page one the duty of begetting the author's subject, then becomes superfluous. Thus it is difficult to determine for Casement what Freud considers may be the most crucial point in a man's life, the exact date of his father's death, though we know that it occurred during his childhood.

Roger at once and cheerfully translated into acts what previously had been no more than thoughts and words. The day he sailed from New York (Oct. 15, 1914), the gallows at Pentonville began to gape, for never was a man more resolute in seeking his own destruction.

The more inevitable his doom, the more superb his courage, and the more serene his faith. About a week before his execution, he wrote his sister from the prison cell describing his sensations on that chill Good Friday morning when, the boat capsized and his clothes wet through, his teeth chattering with cold, he was rolled up by the surf of the Atlantic and thrown on the shores of his native land. It was the coast of Kerry. He knew that he was ruined and that all was lost. The shameful death of a traitor lay inescapably before him.⁹⁶

I was happy for the first time for over a year. Although I knew that this fate waited me, I was for one brief spell happy and smiling once more. . . . The sandhills were full of skylarks, rising in the dawn, the first I had heard for years—the first sound I heard through the surf was their song—and all around were primroses and wild violets and the singing of skylarks in the air, and I was back in Ireland again.⁹⁷

In prison he dreamed at night of childhood days in Antrim but waked to find himself in Brixton Gaol, a few hours away from death.⁹⁸ When sentenced by Lord Reading he smiled and kept his self-possession. He believed that Ireland, like Garibaldi's Italy, could be redeemed only by men dying for her.⁹⁹ The day after his sentence, the Manchester *Guardian* commented: "He had kept his dignity, his almost incredible detachment, to the last."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Robert Monteith, *Casement's Last Adventure* (Chicago, 1932), p. 131. Just before leaving Germany in the submarine, Casement wrote: "I am sure it is quite the most desperate piece of folly ever committed, but I go gladly. It is only right, and if these poor lads at home are to be in the fire, then my place is with them." Nevinson, p. 102.

⁹⁷ Casement to his sister, July 25, 1916, Nevinson, p. 103.

⁹⁸ Eva Gore-Booth, in the *Catholic Bulletin and Book Review*, Dublin, 1918.

⁹⁹ Colum, *Road Round Ireland*, pp. 129-32.

¹⁰⁰ Manchester *Guardian*, June 30, 1916. Sir Charles Malet condescends to say that "Sir Roger Casement played his part with some dignity." Sir C. Malet, *Life of Lord Cave* (1931), p. 182. English opinion of Casement, thirty-six years after his death, does not seem to have altered much. Thus we learn in a recent life of one of the prosecuting counsel—later Mr. Justice Humphreys—that he detested Casement as "a foul traitor," and was glad to see him hanged. The psychological problem presented by Sir Roger's conduct was neatly solved by Mr. Humphreys' assumption that he was "something of a dual personality." This opinion, we learn, came from one who, after twenty-one years at the bar, "had developed a grave wisdom that was sensitive to the undertones of the dramas in which he was taking part." Lest there be any doubt, the biographer adds his own verdict in 1952—that Casement was "a worthless traitor." Stanley Jackson [pseud.], *The Life and Cases of Mr. Justice Humphreys* (London, 1952), pp. 123, 74, 128. Bernard Shaw's secretary, Blanche Patch, declares that Casement's last speech from the dock was actually written by Shaw. Patch, p. 103. Shaw did write a speech for the occasion, but it was never used. See *A Discarded Defense of Casement* (n. 9, above). For another sidelight—an astonishing one—on Shaw's attitude to Casement at this time, see Mrs. Webb's recently published account of "a painful luncheon party" (May 21, 1916). Beatrice Webb, *Diaries, 1912-24*, ed. Margaret Cole (New York, 1952), pp. 62-63. A final ironic instance of the difference in sensibility between prosecutor and accused was provided in the last act of the

And just before his death, he wrote: "I have felt this destiny on me since I was a little boy; it was inevitable; every thing in my life has led up to it."¹⁰¹

Since each one has his demon, and each must live with it, though not all have a symbol by which it may be exalted to the plane of tragedy, there seems little point in calling Casement mad, simply because he was a man obsessed. If all who are obsessed were confined, our streets would look strangely empty; nor would there be wardens enough for the inmates. But what of Casement's treason? May we not answer by saying simply, that if he was a traitor, it was a crime he shared, among others, with George Washington and Thomas Masaryk, though the one paid the forfeit of his failure and the others reaped the reward of their daring.

Treason doth never prosper. What's the reason?
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it treason.

On one side of the Irish Sea lies the body of a traitor, while, on the other, his spirit is exalted as that of a hero and martyr. "Don't let my bones lie in this dreadful place," he begged from prison,¹⁰² and asked that they should bury him on the cliffs above Fair Head, where from below there rises the thunder of the Moyle, and sea gulls cry in the windy dawn. For this was always home, wherever he might be: the coast of Antrim where each day the sun's first rays, as they coldly greet the basalt promontories, quicken Ireland into light and life. *Sed dis aliter visum*. For Britain has thus far refused the government of Eire what small reversions, after nearly forty years, the prison yard at Pentonville may yield.¹⁰³ "The ghost of Roger Casement is beating on the door."

Yet the image of the tall, dark, bearded stranger, his skin deeply bronzed by tropic suns, still haunts the imagination of men. Some have seen in him the perfect Elizabethan, others the pure Spanish hidalgo. A few weeks before his own death, Lawrence of Arabia urged Bernard Shaw to write the life of

drama. Justice Darling had invited Sir John Lavery to paint the scene in the crowded courtroom while the appeal was being heard—the prisoner between two wardens in the dock, the five judges on the bench, the crowded galleries. Sir Roger was not in the least discommoded to see Lavery sketching away in the jury-box, and gave his sister "a very witty survey of the proceedings." The Attorney General, however, was scandalized, and considered the invitation to have been "in the worst possible taste." One of the last images on earth to stamp itself on the brain of Sir Roger was the beauty of a lady who came each day to court, and the sadness of whose face he was unable to forget. It was Hazel Lavery, sitting near her husband as he worked. Her countenance now appears on the banknotes of Eire. Sir John Lavery, *The Life of a Painter* (Boston, 1940), pp. 195-97.

¹⁰¹ Casement, *Some Poems*, p. xi.

¹⁰² Parmiter, p. 331.

¹⁰³ The question of exhuming Casement's remains was raised once more in the House of Commons by the Nationalist M. P., Mr. Cahir Healy, in 1953. The government's answer was still a negative.

Casement;¹⁰⁴ failing which, he thought of doing it himself. But the continued refusal of the British government to let him inspect the diary blocked his path.¹⁰⁵ In Asia, too, the thought of Casement moved generous hearts to pity and admiration. Thus Pandit Nehru, from his Indian jail, reminded his daughter of Sir Roger's sacrifice, and praised the devotion which had thus "laid bare the passionate patriotism of the Irish soul."¹⁰⁶

Just after the famine, "the greatest of the Young Irelanders . . . the deepest, most original and most prophetic" among them, had summoned his countrymen to rise in arms.¹⁰⁷ "Who draws first blood for Ireland?" cried Lalor in 1848. "Who wins a wreath that shall be green for ever?"¹⁰⁸ The British government stopped Lalor's mouth abruptly: these were the very last words of the "Irish Felon." Yet in each succeeding generation, some were to heed that call, among them the fifteen shot in Kilmainham, and the felon hanged in Pentonville. For this it was Yeats pleaded

That some amends be made
To this most gallant gentleman
That is in quicklime laid.

Whatever immortality lies in the power of language to confer, the noble verse of Yeats has long ago bestowed on Casement and his comrades. On their dishonored dust he laid indeed a wreath that is forever green.

We know their dream; enough
To know that they dreamed and are dead;
And what if excess of love
Bewildered them till they died?
I write it out in a verse
MacDonagh and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse
Now and in time to be,
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.

University of Washington

¹⁰⁴ Patch, pp. 100-103.

¹⁰⁵ T. E. Lawrence to John Buchan (Apr. 1, 1935), *Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, p. 863.

¹⁰⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (1934), first American edition (New York, 1942), p. 691.

¹⁰⁷ Standish O'Grady, *The Story of Ireland* (1894), p. 196.

¹⁰⁸ James Fintan Lalor, *The Irish Felon*, July 22, 1848, reprinted in the *Writings of James Fintan Lalor* (Dublin, 1895), p. 113. "He was small and gibbous," says Standish O'Grady, "but his speech was far from contemptible." O'Grady, p. 196.

The Teapot Dome Scandal and the Election of 1924

J. LEONARD BATES

THE election of 1924 is often remembered as that in which the Democratic party tried to pin the blame for corruption on the Republican administration. The failure of this effort has led some writers to conclude that the American people were simply unconcerned about corruption. Thus a highly esteemed textbook explains the Republican victory: "Toward the spectacle of corruption and maladministration the country was profoundly apathetic. . . ."¹ But a re-examination of the Teapot Dome scandal shows that the issue was not so clear-cut and compelling as these writers have said it was—or should have been. The affair was complex, its political repercussions varied and confusing, principally for this reason: both parties were implicated in the scandals. More than has been thought, major Democratic leaders also could be tainted with materialism, "oilness," or hypocrisy.² When they assailed the Republicans, they were themselves exposed to counterattack. Smears, countersmears, and protestations of innocence filled the newspapers. The public was quite naturally confused. There was a third party in the race, Robert M. La Follette's Progressives, which appealed for clean government but which nevertheless had little chance to win. The basic contest was between Democrats and Republicans, neither of whom appeared completely "pure." Hence, as Amos Pinchot, the New York lawyer and Progressive, noted, the voters were confronted with a dilemma; because of the general decline in morality there was no simple alternative of a good party or a bad one.³

¹ Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed.; New York, 1950), II, 519. A sampling of other textbooks revealed more or less the same interpretation. Perhaps most influential in perpetuating this view has been Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (New York, 1931).

² There is no adequate study of the Harding scandals or of "Teapot Dome," the most sensational of them which overshadowed and virtually encompassed all the rest. Among the accounts are John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy* (New Haven, 1928), chaps. xxiii-xxv; M. E. Ravage, *The Story of Teapot Dome* (New York, 1924); Morris R. Werner, *Privileged Characters* (New York, 1935); Thomas J. Walsh, "True History of Teapot Dome," *Forum*, LXXII (July, 1924), 1-12. On the political consequences see especially the following: Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The Twenties* (New York, 1946), pp. 272-349 and *passim*; William Allen White, *A Puritan in Babylon: The Story of Calvin Coolidge* (New York, 1938), chaps. xxii-xxviii, *passim*; Claude M. Fuess, *Calvin Coolidge* (Boston, 1940), pp. 320, 339-50; Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston, 1954), chap. x.

³ Amos Pinchot to George Foster Peabody [undated but during 1924 campaign], Pinchot to Gilson Gardner, Nov. 26, 1924, in Pinchot MSS, Library of Congress.

The facts of the Teapot Dome scandal may be quickly reviewed. In late 1923 the Public Lands Committee of the Senate began laboriously accumulating evidence concerning the recent leases of two naval oil reserves located in Wyoming and California. The circumstances were peculiar. Their disposal seemed contrary to a long-established bipartisan policy of conserving this oil for the navy. Inspired chiefly by Robert M. La Follette, the Wisconsin progressive,⁴ the Senate investigation was brought to a spectacular conclusion by Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, a Democrat. In the case of both, political considerations were secondary.⁵ It was discovered that the Teapot Dome in Wyoming and Elk Hills in California had been leased through a colossal fraud in which President Harding's Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, illegally assumed control of these tracts and secretly granted them to two powerful oil men. Harry Sinclair had obtained Teapot Dome while E. L. Doheny of the Pan-American Oil Company had leased Elk Hills. In their gratitude they paid bribes to Secretary Fall amounting to about \$300,000.

Among the flood of witnesses before the Public Lands Committee were Secretary Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby, Edward McLean, Archie Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Senator Charles Curtis, the President's private secretary C. Bascom Slemp, the wartime publicity chief George Creel, former Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, and former Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo. Many others either sent statements to the committee, succeeded in making the headlines, or for no apparent reason suddenly found themselves involved. One sensation crowded upon another during January and February, the dawn of an election year. Two scenes were memorably dramatic: Doheny's confession of a \$100,000 "loan" and, soon after, Fall's refusal before the committee to give any further testimony. A broken man, he pleaded a fear of self-incrimination.⁶

As they examined the large black headlines of early 1924 the political chieftains were agitated. Jubilantly the Democrats reached for what seemed to be a winning issue. They reveled in it. Senator Thaddeus Caraway of Arkansas compared the infamy of the former Secretary Fall with that of

⁴ Thomas J. Walsh to Albert F. Demers, Nov. 28, 1924, in Thomas James Walsh MSS, Library of Congress; Walsh, "True History of Teapot Dome," *Forum*, LXXII, 4.

⁵ The author has examined this background at some length in his doctoral thesis, "Senator Walsh of Montana, 1918 to 1924" (unpublished MS. University of North Carolina, 1952), and in an article, "Josephus Daniels and the Naval Oil Reserves," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXXIX (February, 1953), 171-79. See also Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette* (New York, 1953), II, 1041-54.

⁶ U. S. Senate, *Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves*, Hearings before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys Pursuant to S. Res. 282, S. Res. 294, and S. Res. 434, 67 Cong., and S. Res. 147, 68 Cong. (Washington, 1924). *Naval Oil Hearings*, as they will be referred to hereafter, contain pertinent documents as well as testimony relating to the scandal.

Benedict Arnold. Moreover, the crooks were safe, he warned; so long as Harry Daugherty was Attorney General they could even sell the White House.⁷ Senator Tom Heflin of Alabama depicted the uprightness of Democratic administrations and by contrast the current squalor under the Republicans. He did admit that occasionally an individual Democrat became fat and greedy—thus qualifying to join the Republican party.⁸ Two days after Doheny's confession Cordell Hull, Tennessee congressman and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, issued a statement charging that the Coolidge administration was dominated by a "crowd of ruthless reactionaries" and riddled with fifteen or more scandals:

. . . This [Coolidge] administration came in under the shadow of the Newberry scandal and the Daugherty scandal. Others followed in quick succession, including the bureau of engraving scandal, the Goldstein scandal, the ship subsidy and ship sales scandal, the veterans' bureau scandal, the sugar profiteering scandal, the naval oil reserve scandal (including Teapot Dome), the reclamation service scandal, the income tax bureau scandal, the packers and stockyards scandal, the Tolbert scandal, the Slemm scandal and a long list of others less known, with one now brewing in the tariff commission. . . . There is scarcely a department of the government under this administration that is not discredited by its record, and many bureaus not already scandalized are under suspicion.⁹

This statement formally announced that the Democrats were making corruption their leading issue in the campaign.

Their smug and joyful indignation, however, was to be short-lived. The party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Wilson—like that of Abraham Lincoln—was not at its moral best. Democrats as well as Republicans were damned by Doheny's testimony. The California oil man was himself a Democrat of high standing in his home state. Under the prodding of Senators James Reed of Missouri (an independent Democrat) and Irvin Lenroot (Republican of Wisconsin), Doheny managed to splatter other Democrats with oil. He revealed that since the war he had employed four former members of Woodrow Wilson's cabinet: ex-Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane for \$50,000 a year; ex-Secretary of War Lindley Garrison, ex-Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory, and ex-Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo. In addition, he and an associate had in 1920 paid another Wilson man, George Creel, \$5,000 to use his influence in attempting to pry open the naval reserves, only to be rebuffed by Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels. The former Democratic Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer also figured

⁷ *Congressional Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1034-35 (Jan. 16, 1924).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1523 (Jan. 28, 1924).

⁹ Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* and *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 1924.

in the hearings, acting as friend and attorney for one of Fall's intimates, "Ned" McLean.¹⁰

This smear of Democrats involved one party leader who at the moment loomed larger than any other in the United States, William McAdoo, widely expected to be his party's nominee in the forthcoming election. What made matters worse was his regard for himself as something of a shining knight, a Sir Galahad in politics. The testimony about him could hardly have been more sensational. McAdoo had received a retainer of \$50,000 yearly, according to Doheny's memory, and the total paid him and his firm had been \$250,000. Subsequently Doheny corrected his figures, setting the total at \$150,000;¹¹ but the stain on McAdoo's reputation was not erased. Object as he might to this "continued effort to make my private law practice a political issue,"¹² he, like other Democrats, faced at best the imputation of guilt by association. The well-nigh universal opinion of newspapermen was that McAdoo had been forced on the defensive, probably eliminated as a Presidential prospect.¹³

What had been a Republican scandal now assumed the complexion of a two-party affair. As one newspaper put it, "The Senate investigation has become a 'gusher' and both Republicans and Democrats, in varying degrees no doubt, will carry the smell of petroleum, both crude and refined."¹⁴ A Washington columnist, North O. Messenger, went so far as to declare, "Political history does not record a similar instance in which an apparently perfectly good campaign issue was demolished between sun and sun."¹⁵ Leaders in both parties recognized a perhaps decisive incident, the Republicans gleefully, the Democrats sorrowfully.

Republicans now could smear their accusers with their own brush. The secretary of the Republican National Committee referred to Doheny as "one of the nation's most distinguished democrats" and took note of his having employed Wilsonian leaders "at fabulous salaries."¹⁶ When Congressman Israel M. Foster of Athens, Ohio, heard the reports in the House chamber of McAdoo's connections with Doheny, he taunted the Democratic opposition. Having enjoyed their "field day" at Republican expense, what did they say

¹⁰ *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 1937-57 (Feb. 1, 1924), pp. 2123-30 (Feb. 12, 1924), pp. 2413-34 (Feb. 29, 1924).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1947-48 (Feb. 1, 1924), pp. 1969-70 (Feb. 8, 1924).

¹² Quoted in Helena (Mont.) *Independent*, Feb. 24, 1924; *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 1970-72 and 2059-70 (Feb. 11, 1924).

¹³ North O. Messenger in the *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 2, 1924. See also *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 3, 1924; *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1924; Richard V. Oulahan in *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1924.

¹⁴ *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 3, 1924.

¹⁵ *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 2, 1924.

¹⁶ George B. Lockwood, quoted in *Helena Independent*, Feb. 1, 1924.

now? Did they plan to nominate for the exalted office of President the well-paid attorney of a Democratic oil baron?¹⁷ Goaded by Foster, Thomas L. Blanton of Texas admitted that if the charges against McAdoo were true, he should be eliminated as a potential Presidential candidate. Democratic Senator Clarence C. Dill of the state of Washington sadly acknowledged that the scandals affected both parties. A national crisis existed, and it was no time to play politics. Urging the appointment of a special government prosecutor whom all could trust, his choice was Louis D. Brandeis, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.¹⁸

Unlike Senator Dill most Democratic leaders kept their distress to themselves, though in private they acknowledged the tarnished condition of their own party. It was "a pity," wrote Patrick Quinn, Democratic National Committeeman from Rhode Island, that there was "so much evidence of oil in both parties."¹⁹ Patrick H. Callahan of Kentucky, varnish manufacturer, distinguished Catholic layman, liberal propagandist, and supporter of McAdoo, expressed a similar view. At the height of the excitement over the Doheny accusations he visited the capital. Most of the McAdoo people, he found, had risen to their feet again "after almost taking the whole count." But there was no doubt that the former Secretary's cause had been "very much impaired" among the intellectuals. In fact, he heard a story circulating in Washington that McAdoo was coming to the capital to attend Woodrow Wilson's funeral on Wednesday and to attend his own on Thursday, when he was scheduled to testify before the Senate committee.²⁰ Callahan's own attitude was that, while McAdoo had done nothing exactly wrong, his supporters could hardly stand and sing "Onward Christian Soldiers," as they had hoped they could.²¹ Even Senator Walsh, "the investigator" himself, soon came to believe that McAdoo was no longer a clean government candidate, in spite of the latter's protestations that he and his followers were "pathfinders for Democracy."²²

The importance of McAdoo's "fall from the pinnacle"²³ can scarcely be exaggerated. That it saved the Coolidge administration from defeat is certainly a possibility, but in any case the consequences were manifold and serious. With new supplies and sources of political ammunition the Republi-

¹⁷ *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1845-46 (Feb. 1, 1924).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1846, 1805.

¹⁹ Patrick Quinn to T. J. Walsh, Feb. 1, 1924, Walsh MSS.

²⁰ P. H. Callahan to C. Lee Cook, Feb. 12, 1924, Amos Pinchot MSS.

²¹ P. H. Callahan to Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Apr. 24, 1924, Amos Pinchot MSS.

²² T. J. Walsh to Hugh R. Wells, Apr. 4, 1924, Walsh MSS, and McAdoo quoted in *Philadelphia Record*, June 24, 1924.

²³ Frederic W. Wile in the Waterbury (Conn.) *Democrat*, Feb. 7, 1924, Walsh Scrapbooks, Library of Congress.

cans now could shout "corruption" almost as loudly as their opponents. Until February 1, 1924, McAdoo apparently possessed unique qualifications for leading his party to victory. Brilliantly successful as Secretary of the Treasury under Wilson and also as wartime director of railroads, he had fixed his eyes on the White House, acquired a loyal following, and seemed early in 1924 to face no serious competition for the Democratic nomination, not even from Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. But after the shocking news of McAdoo's oil fees, the Smith campaign acquired new vigor.²⁴ A stop-McAdoo movement, which was to culminate in virtual civil war within the Democratic party, had become a powerful reality.

The decline of McAdoo's strength and the heightening of intraparty tensions is illustrated by the relationship between McAdoo and Senator Walsh, who was not only the chief investigator but an important figure in the Democratic party. In August, 1923, the Montana senator had announced his support of McAdoo's candidacy and called him the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton,²⁵ Andrew Mellon notwithstanding. When the McAdoo-Doheny relationship first was revealed, Senator Walsh heard the former Secretary's testimony and condoned his conduct. McAdoo, however, made additional statements that hurt his cause. He indicated that shortly after he had resigned as Secretary his law firm handled tax cases before the Treasury Department, which implied influence peddling. He further admitted that Doheny had promised his firm a contingent fee of one million dollars if certain oil cases in Mexico were successfully terminated.²⁶ Walsh now changed his mind. He wrote privately to McAdoo, to Montana politicians, and doubtless told other Democrats that with the Californian as their nominee the value of the "clean government" issue would be lost; it was an unhappy and embarrassing situation.²⁷ But Walsh was not so frank with the public. He continued to be regarded as a McAdoo supporter, although his evasiveness led some to believe that he was playing a smart game, hoping to become a compromise choice if McAdoo failed in the convention.²⁸

²⁴ *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1924; Mark Sullivan in *Raleigh News and Observer*, Feb. 7, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Oct. 20, Nov. 5, 1924; Kenneth C. MacKay, *The Progressive Movement of 1924* (New York, 1947), pp. 75, 103-104; Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, pp. 165-67.

²⁵ *Helena Independent*, Aug. 16, 1923.

²⁶ *New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 28, 1924.

²⁷ T. J. Walsh to William G. McAdoo, Apr. 3, 1924, to James F. O'Connor, Mar. 27, 1924; to Hugh R. Wells, Apr. 4, 1924, to Walter Aitken, May 29, 1924, Walsh MSS.

²⁸ *New York Times*, Mar. 31, 1924; *New York Tribune*, Apr. 1, 1924; Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) *Eagle*, Apr. 1, 1924, Walsh Scrapbooks. The *Eagle* concluded that Senator Walsh was an "opportunist" rather than a progressive, "obviously . . . very willing." See also Richard V. Oulahan in *New York Times*, June 27, 1924, Charles Michelson in *New York World*, July 6, 1924. It is interesting to speculate on the consequences had Walsh ignored political affiliations and taken an unequivocal, selfless stand on the McAdoo affair. He could conceivably have informed news-

The investigator from Montana had come to regard himself as a logical alternative for the place in the event of a deadlock.²⁹

In still another way the McAdoo incident spelled disaster for his party. It meant, almost certainly, the formation of a third party. Until the spreading of the oil mess the powerful railroad unions and progressives in many quarters had looked with satisfaction upon the prospect of nominating McAdoo. He was their champion. They saw no profit in splitting the progressive vote by the nomination of Robert M. La Follette on a third-party ticket. Now everything was changed. One of the most influential railroad leaders, Edward Keating, editor of *Labor* (the official publication of sixteen railroad labor organizations) advised McAdoo to withdraw from the race.³⁰ Railroad men, intensely disappointed in their former idol and disillusioned with the chance of reform in either major party, quickened their enthusiasm for a third party.³¹

The intellectuals who might support a third-party movement were often affected in the same way. Thus Amos Pinchot, liberal publicist and brother of Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, noted "the pleasant mix-up at Washington, with the spectacle of so many cabinet members and ex-members taking the shilling of privilege and being inducted into the grabbers' service." He felt "surer than ever" that both the old parties were, for the time being, hopeless and therefore joined heartily in the cause of a new progressive party that, he hoped, would put grabbers on the defensive.³²

Although these developments were, to say the least, encouraging to the Coolidge administration, nevertheless strategists of the Grand Old Party wasted no time in gloating. Their own situation was too precarious. Their President Harding might have prevented the scandals, and their President Coolidge had it in his power to clean them up. Inclined to defend the record of their party, they anxiously watched public opinion and prepared to do

papermen, first, that in his opinion McAdoo had disqualified himself for the nomination and, second, that under no circumstances would he personally become a candidate.

²⁹ *New York Times*, Mar. 31, 1924; T. J. Walsh to Mrs. George Barnett, July 24, 1924, and to Arthur Brisbane, Oct. 1, 1925, Walsh MSS. William Randolph Hearst and others were of like mind. *Helena Independent*, July 2, 1924.

³⁰ Letter cited in MacKay, p. 103. See also Edward Keating to P. H. Callahan, Apr. 5, 1924, in the Amos Pinchot MSS, which reveals that Keating was giving serious consideration to Senator Walsh as a substitute for McAdoo.

³¹ MacKay, pp. 74-75. The *Springfield Republican* (Nov. 5, 1924) declared flatly that had it not been for the oil fees, McAdoo would have received the Democratic nomination and there would have been no third party. The Democratic leader and philanthropist George Foster Peabody also asserted that "unquestionably" McAdoo would have been nominated if he had had no connection with Doheny. Peabody to Amos Pinchot, Oct. 1, 1924, Pinchot MSS. See also David Lawrence in *Springfield Republican*, Nov. 4, 1924; Mark Sullivan, *The Twenties*, p. 337.

³² Amos Pinchot to Karl Bickel, Feb. 4, 1924, Pinchot MSS; see also Pinchot to Oswald G. Villard, Feb. 4, 1924, and to Gilson Gardner, Feb. 20, 1924, and Edwin J. Gross to Pinchot, Feb. 21, 1924, Pinchot MSS.

what was necessary to stay in power. First, if the country demanded cleansing, it must have its wish. Second, if the Democrats wanted a corruption issue, they would get it; McAdoo and others would be exposed as parties to the scandal or, worse than that, as politically motivated hypocrites.

For the Republicans leadership of the type Calvin Coolidge afforded was fortunate. The mere fact that he was not personally responsible for the scandals but rather had inherited them from the deceased Harding was of enormous value. Coolidge, moreover, was shy, frugal, pinch-faced, seemingly as clean as the winds of rural New England from whence he came. It would be difficult at best for the Democrats to tag this man as "corrupt." When he handled himself with political finesse and also perched on the upswing of the business cycle, it became impossible.

President Coolidge's policy was, however, evolved under considerable pressure. At first he showed hostility toward the investigation. His party and his friends were under fire, and, as most Presidents would have done, he reacted defensively.³³ Like Chief Justice Taft and many other Republicans, he even suspected a Democratic plot to discredit his administration.³⁴ As a believer, furthermore, in the credo of more business in government and less government in business he was not pleased to hear gossip about oil millionaires corrupting the system. But recognizing that a scandal actually existed, and having decided to run for another term in the White House, he saw the wisdom of action.

The issue had to be faced. On January 27, three days after Doheny's confession, the headlines of the *New York Times* showed the trend: "Coolidge Will End Oil Leases Quickly: Party Chiefs, Alarmed, Call for Action. . . . Fear Effect of Mounting Scandal, Now Called Worst since Grant's Day." An article on the same page described an appeal to Coolidge from five Republican congressmen in Chicago. They urged him to "hit hard," to use the "big stick" in cleaning up the mess. The attitude of many newspapermen was typified by Frederic William Wile, who believed that Coolidge's political future hung in the balance: "Anything savoring of whitewashing might spell the political doom of Calvin Coolidge, both with regard to the republican presidential nomination and the November election in case he is the nominee of his party."³⁵

³³ See *Isc, United States Oil Policy*, pp. 377-87, which is hard on Coolidge, and also testimony of Edward McLean and of C. Bascom Slemph, *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 2699-2701 (Mar. 12, 1924), pp. 2343-56 (Feb. 25, 1924). White, *A Puritan in Babylon*, pp. 247, 253, 265.

³⁴ Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York, 1939), II, 1020 and *passim*; White, p. 253 and *passim*.

³⁵ *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 29, 1924. See also David Lawrence in *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 30, 1924.

Coolidge was also goaded into action by the mood of the United States Senate, where "Miss Democracy" had a "new sweetheart."³⁶ Senator Walsh's prestige had reached an all-time high. Democrats like Thaddeus Caraway joined him in thundering against the oil criminals and the do-nothing administration.³⁷ Republicans were also indignant, or simply frightened by the threat of political repercussions. On January 31 an aroused Senate voted on a resolution directing the President to cancel the oil leases which had been obtained "in defiance of the settled policy of the Government" and "under circumstances indicating fraud and corruption." The strongly worded resolution called for President Coolidge to by-pass Attorney General Harry Daugherty, himself under suspicion, and appoint special counsel to conduct the litigation. The vote was 89 to 0. Every Republican voted with every Democrat to repudiate the policy of Harding, Fall, and Denby.³⁸

On February 11 the Senate voted on a much more controversial resolution. It requested that the President obtain Secretary Denby's resignation from the cabinet, since the Senate already had condemned the oil leases, to which Denby had been a party. There were many who defended Denby or who doubted the wisdom of forcing him to retire. Nevertheless, the senators voted 47 to 34 in favor of the resolution, ten Republicans aligning themselves with the Democrats.³⁹

On January 27 President Coolidge made his first important official move on the oil scandal. Learning that the Senate investigators were preparing to ask the appointment of two special government prosecutors, one a Democrat and one a Republican, he hastily conferred with his advisers and announced at midnight his own identical plan: counsel from each political party would be appointed to investigate the petroleum reserve question. He promised, moreover, that no guilty man would escape.⁴⁰ The Republican *New York Post* exulted in an editorial entitled "Coolidge Blunts the Thunderbolt." "To a very considerable degree," it continued, "the White House has politically sterilized a very rotten business."⁴¹

On February 12 the President, in an address before the National Republican Club in New York, announced his determination to seek out and punish all guilty persons, whether Republican or Democratic:

³⁶ Harry B. Hunt, Washington, D.C., in *Helena Independent*, Feb. 24, 1924.

³⁷ *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 23, 28, 1924; *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1540-47 (Jan. 28, 1924).

³⁸ *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1728-29 (Jan. 31, 1924). The *Springfield Republican* (Feb. 1, 1924) saw this as an "exceedingly significant victory" for the Democrats of the Senate, which meant that Coolidge, to save himself politically, must act.

³⁹ *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2245 (Feb. 11, 1924); *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1924.

⁴⁰ *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 27, 1924.

⁴¹ Jan. 29, 1924.

There will be immediate, adequate unshrinking prosecution, criminal and civil to punish the guilty, and to protect every national interest. In this effort there will be no politics, nor partisanship. I am a republican, but I cannot on that account, shield anyone because he is a republican. I am a republican, but I cannot on that account prosecute anyone because he is a democrat.⁴²

This exemplified Coolidge's strategy, which one of his supporters described as "admit nothing; claim everything."⁴³

After some show of stubbornness, however, Coolidge yielded with respect to two members of his cabinet, Denby and Harry Daugherty. In both cases the weight of public opinion was irresistible.⁴⁴ Of the Daugherty case David Lawrence commented: "Panic has seized the Republican leaders in Washington. Swept off its feet by the tales of an outraged public opinion, the Grand Old Party is torn between fear of what may happen in the next elections and the knowledge that to yield to popular clamor is a confession of guilt which upon investigation would not be proved."⁴⁵ At the same time William E. Borah wrote privately of the tortured and demoralized state of his party.⁴⁶ In this situation Denby and Daugherty had to go.⁴⁷

In the meantime Coolidge had appointed two special prosecutors who gained the approval of the Senate. They were a Republican, Owen J. Roberts of Philadelphia, and a Democrat, the former senator from Ohio, Atlee Pomerene. With the co-operation of Senator Walsh, they studied the evidence on oil leasing⁴⁸ and shortly moved for an indictment of the oil criminals.

The significance of President Coolidge's cleaning campaign has been generally overlooked. It is hardly enough to dismiss casually, as one writer does, "a wave of excitement" at the height of the scandal sufficient to cause the

⁴² Quoted in *Helena Independent*, Feb. 13, 1924.

⁴³ George Wharton Pepper, *Philadelphia Lawyer: An Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 198. Cf. Calvin Coolidge, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), p. 188.

⁴⁴ Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals" prepared by Henry C. Beerits in 1933-34 for Charles Evans Hughes, Hughes MSS, Library of Congress; Herbert Hoover, *Memoirs: The Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933* (New York, 1952), p. 54; Edwin Denby to Calvin Coolidge, Feb. 17, 1924, Coolidge to Denby, Feb. 18, 1924, Coolidge MSS, Library of Congress. As the *New York Times* saw it, "Secretary Denby's resignation simply had to be. . . It had . . . become impossible for him longer to ignore or defy the popular fury that beat upon him" (Feb. 19, 1924). On the Daugherty resignation see *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 29, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 1924; Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS; White, *A Puritan in Babylon*, pp. 266-69.

⁴⁵ *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 24, 1924.

⁴⁶ William E. Borah to Abner P. Hays, Feb. 26, 1924, Borah MSS, Library of Congress.

⁴⁷ Coolidge's secretary to Harry M. Daugherty, Mar. 27, 1924, Coolidge MSS. The tendency of administration leaders was to make first Fall then Daugherty into scapegoats, whereas President Harding, Edwin Denby, and others received kindly treatment. Charles Evans Hughes made an elaborate defense of Denby, although this is not mentioned in the recent Hughes biography and, in fact, the opposite impression is given. Herbert Hoover did likewise. Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS; E. Merlo Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York, 1951), II, 565-69; Hoover, *Memoirs*, p. 54.

⁴⁸ See Walsh's correspondence with Atlee Pomerene and Owen J. Roberts in the Walsh MSS. Walsh's co-operation occurred after the two men had been approved by the Senate over his opposition. *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2559-60 (Feb. 16, 1924).

dismissal of two cabinet members and the appointment of special oil counsel.⁴⁹ The "wave of excitement" had lasting consequences. Coolidge had disassociated himself from the "Harding Gang." Through his special oil counsel, moreover, he took an important step toward restoring government control of the naval oil reserves. Perhaps his motives were not exactly spiritual; perhaps he could have acted more vigorously. But the important thing was that, in effect, he had repudiated the leasing policy of Harding and Fall. He had retained—or even won—the support of respectable, middle-of-the-road Republicans.

The attitude of the Springfield *Republican* toward Coolidge is illuminating. Here was a newspaper respected by Republicans and Democrats alike, partly for its vigorous advocacy of a bipartisan policy on conservation.⁵⁰ From the first damning disclosures it had denounced the Fall leases, the "gasoline plutocrats," "the upstart, braggart millionaires of the Sinclair and Doheny type."⁵¹ It called upon President Coolidge to express his liberty of action and good intentions by expelling Denby and Daugherty from the cabinet: "Mr. Coolidge inherited his cabinet, but he is not obliged to pay an excessive inheritance tax on the estate left to him. The public would approve such changes as the developments have made to seem desirable for the public service and his own liberty of action."⁵² When Coolidge began to clean up and took steps toward regaining the naval oil reserves, the *Republican* was appeased. It saw no inconsistency, therefore, in lavishly praising Senator Walsh, the Democrat, while supporting Coolidge, the Republican, for another term as President.⁵³

The same kind of reasoning went on among Republican politicians of recognized integrity. Senator Borah and Abner P. Hayes, judge of the city court in Waterbury, Connecticut, provide a good illustration. Both men were disgusted over the Harding scandals. Both were impatient and critical of Coolidge's delays. But Hayes attributed the corruption to the usual deterioration in moral standards that followed all great wars and concluded that the Republican party, "with all its imperfections," still afforded the best hope for "orderly and decent government." Senator Borah agreed.⁵⁴ His solution was

⁴⁹ Allen, *Only Yesterday*, pp. 154–58.

⁵⁰ Joseph P. Tumulty, former secretary to President Wilson, sent a clipping from the Springfield *Republican* to Senator Walsh and remarked: "When I was in the White House we looked upon the Springfield Republican as one of the most reliable newspapers in the country. Therefore, I know you will be interested in the enclosed tribute to you." Tumulty to Walsh, June 10, 1924, Walsh MSS.

⁵¹ Springfield *Republican*, Jan. 28, 1924; see also issues of Jan. 22, 24, 25, 26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1924.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, June 7, 10, 13, July 10, 11, 1924.

⁵⁴ Abner P. Hayes to W. E. Borah, Feb. 23, 1924, Borah to Hayes, Feb. 26, 1924, Borah MSS.

for the Republicans to "clean out" and in the future to take more care about whom they raised to high positions in the government.⁵⁵ It was not necessary to turn the Congress and Presidency over to the Democrats.

None the less, for the Republicans merely to clean up their own party was not enough, or so administration leaders decided. Political security also demanded a counterattack against the Democrats who were beating at their door. They must return blow for blow, however and in whatever manner exigencies required. The Democrats unfortunately were open to assault, in some ways not yet described.

Senator Walsh was by no means invulnerable in his role as investigator and accuser. From the start Republicans had suspected his motives, and as time passed they made use of flaws that appeared in his armor. Personally ambitious, Walsh had, from 1913 when he had entered the Senate, worked persistently, sometimes passionately, for Democratic party success. He believed that interparty fault-finding was a "cardinal virtue" of the party system and that purely political opposition was entirely justifiable.⁵⁶ To consider Walsh politically reckless or irresponsible would be an error; even so, his reputation for being a partisan Democrat was such that when he played the game straight, as he tried to do in the Teapot Dome investigation, there were reasons to question his impartiality.⁵⁷ One critic noted that he took himself too seriously, that he would have done better to show a grain of humor once in a while.⁵⁸

A curious and ironic development of this whole affair was the friendship between Senator Walsh and Doheny, the culprit. For many years, at meetings in Washington and elsewhere, mostly of a political nature, the two Democrats had come to know each other rather well. Doheny at the time was a quiet little man of good reputation,⁵⁹ but the chain of circumstances at length forced him to come before the Public Lands Committee and admit his relationship with Fall. Walsh was distressed,⁶⁰ but did his duty and got the essential facts from Doheny.

⁵⁵ W. E. Borah to Mrs. Olive Stott Gabriel, Mar. 7, 1924, Borah MSS.

⁵⁶ Walsh, "True History of Teapot Dome," *Forum*, LXXII, 2.

⁵⁷ Walsh's role, for example, in the Newberry contested election case of 1922 had been at least partly political. See Spencer Ervin, *Henry Ford vs. Truman H. Newberry* (New York, 1935), *passim*; *Cong. Record*, 67 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 993-97 (Jan. 10, 1922); T. J. Walsh to J. C. Hooker, Jan. 14, 1922, Walsh MSS; Pepper, *Philadelphia Lawyer*, pp. 144-45.

⁵⁸ Pepper, p. 169.

⁵⁹ One evidence of his standing in the party is a letter written by former Senator James D. Phelan shortly before Doheny testified in Washington. Phelan and other California leaders were about to elect Doheny a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. "Confidentially," Phelan asked Senator Walsh, was there anything in the oil leases which would reflect on the integrity of their friend? Indeed there was, replied Walsh; and McAdoo by being on Doheny's payroll was also in danger. Phelan to Walsh, Jan.—, 1924, Walsh to Phelan, Jan. 24, 1924, Walsh MSS.

⁶⁰ T. J. Walsh to J. D. Phelan, Jan. 24, 1924, Walsh MSS.

The tongues, however, began to wag. Evidence was dug up that in December, 1923, in the middle of the investigation Doheny had invited Walsh to join him in an oil "proposition" in Montana. The senator had rejected the invitation, saying it would be improper for him to take part in a business that might require a government lease.⁶¹ Nevertheless, a different and sinister interpretation was easy.⁶²

Then, too, there were rumors that Walsh had conferred with Doheny in his private railroad car before he testified and that they had arranged not to bring up the fact that McAdoo was on his payroll.⁶³ There was some truth in the accusation: Walsh did not press the oil man about his Democratic employees, as he might have pressed a Republican. It seems likely that while Walsh had not conferred with Doheny in his railroad car he had communicated with Doheny's lawyer, Gavin McNab, about the predicament in which the Democrats found themselves.⁶⁴ Whatever the facts, the Democratic embarrassment was acute, and Republicans sensing this made the most of it. One of the most popular cartoons of the season represented two portraits side by side: a shy "McAdoo Done in Oil" by Doheny and a Napoleonic "McAdoo Done in Whitewash" by Senator Walsh.⁶⁵ The foes of the probe sometimes went to the opposite extreme and said that, instead of protecting McAdoo, Walsh had deliberately tried to injure him as a Presidential contender so that his own chances for winning the nomination would be improved. Thus an editorial in the New York *Tribune* inquired, "Who Hit McAdoo?"⁶⁶

Additional propaganda for the partisan press was provided by the record of Senator Walsh and other Wilsonian Democrats on oil-leasing questions. In 1920 after years of controversy, a bill providing for the leasing of petroleum lands had become law. Most conservationists approved this policy.⁶⁷ Instead of selling petroleum lands or keeping them withdrawn from private use the government, while retaining control, would lease to those who qualified. This was the beginning of a permanent new policy, and Secretary of the Interior John Barton Payne, in accordance with the law, granted a number of leases before leaving office in 1921. Secretary of the Navy Daniels also permitted a few small leases on the naval oil reserves. Three years later the Republican

⁶¹ T. J. Walsh to E. L. Doheny, Dec. 24, 1923, Walsh MSS.

⁶² See, e.g., New York *Tribune*, Mar. 8, 1924, Congressman James F. Byrnes to T. J. Walsh, Mar. 19, 1924, Walsh MSS.

⁶³ *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 3000-3002 (Mar. 27, 1924); Paul Y. Anderson in St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Mar. 28, 1924.

⁶⁴ Cf. Gavin McNab to T. J. Walsh, Jan. 21, 1924, Walsh to James D. Phelan, Jan. 24, 1924, William G. McAdoo to Walsh, June 23, 1925, Walsh MSS; testimony of Doheny, *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 1771-1823 (Jan. 24, 1924), pp. 1935-60 (Feb. 1, 1924).

⁶⁵ Los Angeles *Times*, Feb. 26, 1924.

⁶⁶ Apr. 1, 1924.

⁶⁷ Ise, *United States Oil Policy*, p. 352.

National Committee and many Republicans insisted that the "Democrats Leased Naval Oil Reserves," that the Democrats, by starting the policy of leasing oil lands, were as much to blame for the scandals as the Harding administration.⁶⁸

Josephus Daniels and Senator Walsh came in for special attack. They had helped to formulate the leasing policy mentioned above; indeed Daniels had designed that particular section of an amendment under which the corrupt leases later occurred. He admitted his role but pointed out quite accurately that Secretary Fall had flagrantly misinterpreted and violated the act. Honest people were supposed to administer the laws; it was not his fault that Fall had been appointed to a position of power.⁶⁹ But no matter how logical Daniels' defense, the amendment had been carelessly drawn, as Walsh admitted,⁷⁰ and some, reading headlines and slanted stories, drew inferences unfavorable to the Democrats.

Senator Walsh was peculiarly vulnerable on the background of leasing legislation. From the time he entered the Senate he had insisted that western public lands should be opened to development. He had labored therefore for a general minerals-leasing bill, including that which passed in 1920. Some papers even remembered that on one occasion in Senate debate he had cited E. L. Doheny as an oil expert whose integrity could not be doubted and, like Doheny, had seemed to favor leasing the naval oil reserves.⁷¹ He had enthusiastically supported the program of Franklin K. Lane, Wilson's Secretary of the Interior, whom the ablest scholar on the subject classes among the "exploiters" of the public domain,⁷² and who finally resigned to accept a high-paying job with Doheny. A few suspected Walsh, like Lane, of being anti-conservationist.⁷³ The truth seems to be that Walsh was a fair-minded man

⁶⁸ Wilmington (Del.) *Evening Journal*, Feb. 28, 1924; see also (Helena) *Montana Record-Herald*, Feb. 8, 1924; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 25, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 25, 1924; *New York Times*, Feb. 27, June 6, 1924. So eminent a Republican as Charles Evans Hughes helped to distort this issue. Cf. Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS; Ise, *passim*; Commander H. A. Stuart's letter to Senator Walsh, quoted in *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 3258-60.

⁶⁹ Daniels, quoted in *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 26, 1924; Thomas J. Walsh in *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1924.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., 1 sess., p. 4770 (Sept. 3, 1919). See accounts in Missoula (Mont.) *New Northwest*, Feb. 15, 1924, clipping in Walsh Scrapbooks; *Montana Record-Herald*, Feb. 8, 1924.

⁷² John Ise, in his *United States Oil Policy*, pp. 336-37. Walsh mentioned in one connection that Lane was under suspicion and yet stated elsewhere that he had been Lane's mainstay in the Senate. Thomas J. Walsh in *The Outlook*, CXXXVII (May 21, 1924), 97; Walsh to Helena *Independent*, Aug. 11, 1914, Walsh MSS; Walsh quoted in *Helena Independent*, Aug. 3, 1924.

⁷³ T. J. Walsh to P. N. Bernard, Dec. 12, 1923, Walsh MSS; *Poughkeepsie Eagle*, Apr. 1, 1924, clipping in Walsh Scrapbooks.

and a moderate on conservation; yet there were contradictions between his past and present attitudes that invited assault.⁷⁴

Senator Walsh's methods in running the investigation were not above reproach. On the whole he was fair, but inevitably he became involved emotionally and politically. In the fight to force Denby out of the cabinet Walsh pressed relentlessly and perhaps was carried away by a sense of his own importance. Vacationing at Pinehurst, North Carolina, among throngs of awed admirers, he was reported to have commented apropos of Denby's resignation: "He was just a piece of putty in their hands [Fall's and others]. They are through with him, and I cannot see that he will be of any further use to us. Let him begone. The stage is that much clearer for those who are to come later."⁷⁵

This sort of attitude, not an isolated one, was no less than a challenge to the Coolidge administration. Walsh, in fact, engaged in virtually a running duel with the President and charged that administration leaders had perpetrated a plot to prevent the oil exposures, that Coolidge himself had been a friend of the guilty ones, and that the investigating and detective agencies of the government had not "lifted a finger" to help.⁷⁶ Walsh could not hope, however, to pin anything incriminating on Coolidge; none of his appointees was in trouble. And the shrewd little man from Massachusetts knew more than one way to fight back. Though periodically he wavered on the investigation, he and administration stalwarts were finding ways to strike at the Democracy. In March a new pro-administration senator joined the hearings and challenged Walsh's actions and motives point by point.⁷⁷ Administration speakers also were actively befogging the issue. Senator George Wharton Pepper of Pennsylvania declared that the Democrats, through their investigations, had aimed at the Republicans "and hit America." Nicholas Longworth, the Republican leader in the House, deplored the opposition's obstructionist tactics and its vituperation "designed to blast the reputations of honest men with reflections upon the dead as well as upon the living." The

⁷⁴ For instance an Iowan wrote to Senator Walsh enclosing a cartoon depicting the senator as silent when the noxious oil-leasing bill had passed. "The Iowa public," he said, "would like to have you answer the enclosed cartoon." C. L. Voss to T. J. Walsh, Mar. 7, 1924, enclosing clipping from a Chicago newspaper, Walsh MSS.

⁷⁵ Ben Dixon MacNeill in *Raleigh News and Observer*, Feb. 20, 1924. It was only to be expected that Coolidge, Charles Evans Hughes, and others who were fond of Denby and who believed him a victim of circumstances would resent Walsh's attitude. See *Springfield Republican*, Feb. 1, 1924; Walsh speech of Feb. 8 in *Cong. Record*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2055-65.

⁷⁶ *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1924; Robert Barry in *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Feb. 24, 1924; *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 2699-2701 (Mar. 12, 1924). Publicly and privately the Montana senator was bitter toward Coolidge and believed, with reason, that the feeling was reciprocated. See T. J. Walsh to George Randall, June 19, 1924, Walsh to W. M. Buckles, Sept. 10, 1924, Walsh MSS.

⁷⁷ Selden Spencer of Missouri made himself thoroughly obnoxious. See *Naval Oil Hearings*, pp. 3004-15 (Mar. 28, 1924).

influential Senator James E. Watson of Indiana expressed similar views.⁷⁸

Walsh's colleague from Montana, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, further excited the Republicans. In Montana Wheeler had been known as a radical. On arriving in Washington he quickly vindicated his reputation by leading the special investigation of Harry Daugherty which forced that discredited figure from the cabinet. In getting results Wheeler was effective, but his methods were those of a sometimes amiable, sometimes defiant young politician with an eye for the big chance.⁷⁹ Against him the Republicans undertook their most audacious counteroffensive. An agent was sent to Montana to get something on Wheeler.⁸⁰ Consequently in April, 1924, Wheeler was indicted in the federal district court in Montana on a charge of illegally using his influence to obtain oil concessions for a client, and not until 1925 was this issue resolved by his acquittal before a federal jury. Harlan Stone, the Attorney General who had succeeded Daugherty and who later was to become a respected member of the Supreme Court, believed in Wheeler's guilt and pressed the charge against him.⁸¹ In the meantime the two Montana senators were linked in many minds as a pair of reckless, if not hypocritical, investigators.

The trend of the investigation in April and May, the last two months, was such as to anger Republicans and alienate many newspaper readers. Senator Walsh got wind of an "oil conspiracy" in the Republican convention of 1920, which he believed had brought about Harding's nomination, Fall's appointment, and the subsequent scandal.⁸² An inquiry into this was legitimate according to the resolutions of the Senate. Therefore, with Fall, Sinclair, and Doheny refusing to talk further about their machinations,⁸³ the

⁷⁸ Washington *News*, Apr. 7, 1924.

⁷⁹ Until 1922 Wheeler had been identified with the radicals of Montana. In that year, with some kind of "compromise" (evidence not clear) on the part of the Anaconda Copper Company, he was elected to the Senate. He apparently continued during the 1924 campaign to have a working arrangement with the conservatives at home, though, partly at least, by virtue of his investigation of Daugherty he was at this time on the Progressive ticket with La Follette. See T. J. Walsh to Tom Stout, May 22, 1922, Walsh to C. B. Nolan, Feb. 13, Apr. 3, 1922, B. K. Wheeler to Walsh, Apr. 20, 1922, Walsh MSS; Helena *Independent*, July 17, Oct. 2, 1924. Cf. Samuel Hopkins Adams, *Incredible Era* (Boston, 1939), pp. 413-14; MacKay, *Progressive Movement of 1924*, pp. 140-41; Bruce Bliven, "Wheeler's Way and Walsh's," *New Republic*, XXXVIII (Apr. 2, 1924), 148-50.

⁸⁰ Helena *Independent*, May 2, 1924; T. J. Walsh to Albert F. Coyle, Mar. 29, 1924, Walsh MSS; MacKay, p. 141.

⁸¹ MacKay, p. 141; Pringle, *Taft*, II, 2020. As MacKay declares, Stone was a man of high quality. The only explanation of the attitude of such men as Stone and Chief Justice Taft seems to be that they sincerely distrusted Wheeler and Walsh. In later years when Stone had become a member of the Supreme Court, he and Wheeler were reconciled. Walsh also formed a high opinion of the future Justice. B. K. Wheeler, cited in MacKay, p. 141; author's interview with Mrs. Genevieve Walsh Gudger, Walsh's daughter, Feb. 21, 1950, Washington, D.C.

⁸² T. J. Walsh to H. F. Alderfer, Nov. 10, 1927, Walsh MSS. Walsh continued to believe in the existence of such a conspiracy, although unable to prove it.

⁸³ U. S. Senate, *Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves*, Report No. 794, 68 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, 1924), pp. 24, 35-36.

committee began to follow the new lead. But the subject was both elusive and explosive. Republicans of prominence such as Nicholas Murray Butler, Senator Watson of Indiana, and George Harvey either did not remember or did not choose to talk of oil deals in 1920.⁸⁴ Thwarted by reputable witnesses, Walsh turned to others who were less reputable, such as the ex-convict and politician Al Jennings of Oklahoma. The character of his witnesses, the poised dagger of his inquiry, and his own insinuations about a Republican conspiracy⁸⁵ led to new and bitter counterattacks, even fair-minded observers like Mark Sullivan becoming critical.⁸⁶

By June of 1924 Senator Walsh's popularity had waned somewhat, and other Democrats seemed less likely to capitalize upon the Harding scandals. For the issue had become a muddled one. In the course of the campaign that followed, one development after another further undermined their prospects. President Coolidge gradually gained the confidence and support of Old Guard professionals while placing his own friends, notably Frank Stearns and William M. Butler from Massachusetts, in control of the party machinery. The Republicans continued on their smooth and reassuring way. In the Cleveland convention Coolidge won an easy victory, with only the La Follette Progressives seriously disaffected.⁸⁷ At the same time a quickening of the business pace and a temporary rise in farm prices, the beginning of "Coolidge prosperity," contributed to party strength and unity.⁸⁸

As for corruption, the strategy changed very little. Republican spokesmen usually avoided the subject, but when necessary they had a plausible argument. The "Honest Government" plank in their Cleveland platform emphasized the need for constant vigilance to maintain high standards of government and offered the example of Calvin Coolidge. Prosecution of alleged criminals already had started and would continue. Punishment would be speedy. But dishonesty existed in both parties, and the sale of influence (a reference to McAdoo?) was bad. The party leaders, moreover, took a healthy whack at Democratic mud-slingers: "We declare no greater wrong can be

⁸⁴ Nicholas Murray Butler to T. J. Walsh, Apr. 7, 1924, Walsh to J. J. Baumgardner, Apr. 19, 1924, and to Harriette G. Osborn, Apr. 21, 1924, Walsh MSS.

⁸⁵ Theodore M. Knappen (interview with Senator Walsh), "What I Think of the Oil Scandal," *Magazine of Wall Street*, XXXIII (Mar. 15, 1924), 892-93; Thomas J. Walsh in *The Outlook*, CXXXVII (May 21, 1924), 98.

⁸⁶ Sullivan, *The Twenties*, pp. 338-49. A resident of Long Island wrote that one month before Walsh was a great investigator; now people considered him a muckraker. Herbert Bodman to T. J. Walsh, Mar. 11, 1924, Walsh MSS. A "woman voter" sent a cartoon from the Portland *Oregonian* showing a rogues' line waiting to testify before the Senate committee. This, she said, embodied the sentiments of the women voters and "other intelligent people of the Pacific coast." Anonymous to T. J. Walsh, Apr. 2, 1924, Walsh MSS.

⁸⁷ See MacKay, pp. 92-93; Fuess, *Calvin Coolidge*, pp. 342-44.

⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that from the beginning of the oil investigation, editorials in some of the best newspapers alternately concentrated upon rising prosperity and the revelations of scandal. Springfield *Republican*, Feb. 1, 4, 9, 1924; Washington *Evening Star*, Jan. 27, 31, 1924.

committed against the people than the attempt to destroy their trust in the great body of their public servants."⁸⁹ While the President said almost nothing in the campaign, his trusted adviser, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, delivered several addresses which earned for him a sobriquet in certain quarters as the "official dry cleaner of soiled Republican reputations."⁹⁰ At St. Paul, Minnesota, on October 15 Hughes ignored certain facts and did a good job of dry cleaning:

We detest political corruption and we demand the punishment of the guilty. The Republican who soils his hands in corrupt dealing is as treacherous to his party as to his country. . . . It was President Coolidge who took the initiative in having this prosecution conducted by counsel taken from both political parties and selected by the President because of their ability and eminent fitness for this important task. These cases are now in the courts. Every demand of justice is being met and every interest of the Government is being safeguarded.⁹¹

Newspaper readers were not compelled to take Hughes's word concerning prosecution of the criminals. They could read about it from day to day in the work that the special prosecutors, Pomerene and Roberts, were doing. There was every reason to be impressed when on June 30 a grand jury handed down criminal indictments against A. B. Fall, Harry Sinclair, E. L. Doheny, and E. L. Doheny, Jr. Some people saw this court action as the vindication not only of Senator Walsh but also of President Coolidge. In the opinion of William Randolph Hearst, a zealous Democrat, the Republicans had well nigh destroyed the corruption issue; Coolidge's vigorous action left the Democrats only one recourse if they hoped to win on a corruption plank: to nominate Walsh, the investigator himself, as a symbol of clean government.⁹²

Meanwhile in their convention of 1924 at Madison Square Garden the Democrats, in the minds of many, convicted themselves of being somewhat hypocritical—only slightly if at all better than the Republicans. The keynote address of Senator "Pat" Harrison of Mississippi, full of bombast and rhetoric, contrasted the purity of Democratic administrations with "a saturnalia" of Republican corruption.⁹³ Another major address was delivered by Senator Walsh, who because of the supposedly great issue which he had given his party was made permanent chairman of the convention. But his message was not "a clarion note," as William Allen White observed.⁹⁴ Rather it was the typical effort of a convention politician. Walsh defied the world to name any

⁸⁹ Republican National Convention, 1924, *Official Report of the Proceedings* (New York, 1924), p. 113.

⁹⁰ Amos Pinchot to Edwin A. Van Valkenburg, Oct. 23, 1924, Pinchot MSS.

⁹¹ Memorandum on "The Fall Oil Scandals," Hughes MSS.

⁹² Hearst in the *Helena Independent*, July 2, 1924. See also *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 1, 1924, clipping in Walsh scrapbooks.

⁹³ Democratic National Convention, 1924, *Official Report of the Proceedings* [1924], p. 7.

⁹⁴ *New York World*, June 26, 1924; Democratic Convention, *Official Proceedings*, pp. 80-88.

Democrat who was tainted with corruption, but, when some of the delegates snickered, Walsh hedged, "while he was in public office."⁹⁵ Most of the delegates, including Walsh, were in the predicament of supporting for the Presidency McAdoo, whose name was not totally unbesmirched.

In the bitter sectional rivalry between the forces of McAdoo and the forces of Al Smith one issue was "oil." For some time before the convention, certain Democratic leaders publicly or secretly charged that McAdoo had disqualified himself for the nomination. As the party's chief issue was corruption, they said, it would be senseless to nominate McAdoo, who was himself covered with oil. The party must have a clean government candidate.⁹⁶ When the convention began, partisans of Al Smith in the balconies showed their disrespect for McAdoo and his friends by shouting "Oil! Oil! Oil!" or by jeering at appropriate moments.⁹⁷ Thus McAdoo's implication in the oil scandals added one more detail to the unsavory disputes of a convention that succeeded before it was through in destroying the party chances for victory. The compromise nominee finally chosen on the hundred and third ballot was John W. Davis of West Virginia, whom few people really wanted.⁹⁸ To retain any prospect of victory in the fall campaign the Democrats had needed to appeal to all those thoughtful voters who favored at least reform or honesty in government. But instead, as the influential conservationist Harry Slattery observed, they had "muffed the ball from the kick-off."⁹⁹

As a consequence, the strongest influence upon the reform vote was exercised by the La Follette Progressives, malcontents who could not brook either of the old parties. Merely by existing, the Progressive party seemed to confute reform pretensions of the Democrats. Moreover, La Follette and his running mate, Senator Wheeler, repeatedly charged that both Democrats and Republicans were corrupt and monopoly-ridden, and in La Follette's view the policies and candidates of the major parties were as "alike as two peas in a pod."¹⁰⁰ The effects are apparent. La Follette garnered almost five million votes, most of which otherwise might have gone to the Democrats. On the other hand many, believing in good government but not caring for the "radi-

⁹⁵ W. A. White, Arthur Krock, in *New York World*, June 26, 1924.

⁹⁶ *New York World*, June 21, 1924. "Shall the Party Be Hamstrung?" asked the *World*. If McAdoo were nominated, it asserted, every Democratic candidate for every elective office would be hamstrung. Governor Pat M. Neff of Texas declared that neither Smith nor McAdoo should be a candidate: "Smith is too wet. McAdoo is too oily." He refused to be a delegate from his state. *Philadelphia Record*, June 24, 1924.

⁹⁷ O. H. P. Garrett in the *New York World*, June 27, 1924.

⁹⁸ Alfred E. Smith, *Up to Now: An Autobiography* (New York, 1929), pp. 292-94; White, *A Puritan in Babylon*, pp. 306-307; Charles Michelson in *New York World*, July 10, 1924; *Springfield Republican*, Oct. 20, 1924; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Nov. 6, 1924.

⁹⁹ Harry Slattery to Amos Pinchot, July 5, 1924, Pinchot MSS.

¹⁰⁰ *Springfield Republican*, Sept. 19, 1924, La Follette speech at Madison Square Garden. See also La Follette and La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette*, II, 1132, 1138, 1142.

cal" La Follette and perhaps afraid of throwing the decision into the House of Representatives, were persuaded to "keep cool with Coolidge."¹⁰¹

As between John W. Davis and Calvin Coolidge there was, for the voters, no issue of corruption. This may help to explain why hardly more than half of those qualified to vote bothered to do so. Davis was known as a corporation and Wall Street lawyer. He represented to many not only the party of Jackson and Wilson but that of McAdoo, Doheny, and Tammany Hall. His election promised no panaceas, in spite of his allusions to Republican rottenness, and many of the sixteen million who voted for Coolidge must have sensed that fact. Many others thought "Puritan Cal" was the cleanest man in the race.

Even Josephus Daniels, though disappointed in his party's defeat, declared, "The issue of Common Honesty undoubtedly received the approval of the American people."¹⁰² The *Christian Science Monitor* found that Coolidge's personal conduct was closely in accord with the Golden Rule. The people had recognized this, the *Monitor* said, and voted for him as "the exemplar of those virtues, personal and political, which his party platform either evaded or ignored."¹⁰³ The *Springfield Republican*, while admitting Coolidge's many limitations, saw in his re-election something approximating the "enthronement of the New England conscience."¹⁰⁴ The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, one of the great liberal newspapers of the country and one that had aided Senator Walsh in his inquiry, did not look so tolerantly upon Calvin Coolidge. Its diagnosis, nevertheless, did not mention the corruption question and concluded that Democratic disunity and Coolidge prosperity were chiefly responsible for the outcome.¹⁰⁵

One of the ironies of American politics was this accidental rehabilitation of the Republican party through the rise of Calvin Coolidge, while weaknesses in the Democratic party were accentuated by that issue which they believed would win the election. How much the corruption issue actually influenced the voters there is no way of knowing. Certainly neither party was faultless, and the honesty of Calvin Coolidge might have been more significant than Democratic charges against his party. It is therefore impossible to isolate the issue and to claim either that it did determine or that it should have determined the outcome.

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¹⁰¹ New York *World*, Nov. 6, 1924.

¹⁰² Raleigh *News and Observer*, Nov. 5, 1924.

¹⁰³ Nov. 8, 1924.

¹⁰⁴ Nov. 5, 1924.

¹⁰⁵ Nov. 6, 1924.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Federal Convention: Madison and Yates

ARNOLD A. ROGOW

IT may be said, with only slight exaggeration, that it was something like a slip of the pen that cost Robert Yates everlasting fame. Suppose, for example, that Yates, delegate from New York to the Federal Convention in 1787, had taken copious and detailed instead of rough notes on the proceedings¹ and, further, that instead of quitting the Convention in early July he had remained until the closing session in September. Yates, of course, has a claim on history as an opponent of the Constitution; but it is a fair speculation that had his account of the Convention been more complete, his place in history would have been more secure. Unfortunately, the Yates *Secret Debates* did less than justice to the thought and language of the delegates. The representative from New York tended to squeeze or compress meanings, and frequently to distort them. And, as noted, his account ends when the Convention is barely six weeks old. For these and other reasons, histories of the Convention have largely been based on Madison's notes.² Yet it is possible that the *Secret Debates* deserve more attention than they have received. There are some grounds for belief, at any rate, that the Yates account is, or should be, an important source of information on the Convention and, in particular, on the philosophy of Madison at the time of the Convention.

It should be noted, to begin with, that Madison himself had a considerable, if concealed, respect for the *Secret Debates*. When the Yates account appeared in 1821, presenting Madison in the role of nationalist or "consolidationist" at the Convention,³ Madison was quick to reject the account as a "very er-

¹ The Yates notes were published as the *Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention, Assembled at Philadelphia, in the Year 1787, For the Purpose of Forming the Constitution of the United States of America. From Notes Taken by the Late Robert Yates, Esquire, Chief Justice of New York, and Copied by John Lansing, Jun. Esquire, Late Chancellor of That State, Members of That Convention* (Albany, 1821). The Yates account also appears in Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (3 vols., New Haven, 1911); but the references in this article to the Yates notes, hereafter cited as the *Secret Debates*, are taken from the second edition, published at Richmond, Virginia, in 1839.

² Madison's notes, first published in 1840, are reprinted in Farrand, *op. cit.*

³ A somewhat distorted version of the *Secret Debates* had appeared, in 1808, in *A Letter to the Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States*, by a "Citizen of New York" (E. C. E. Genet). It is reprinted in Farrand, III, 410-16.

roneous edition of the matter."⁴ In a letter to J. G. Jackson, December 27, 1821, he wrote: ". . . I cannot doubt that the prejudices of the author guided his pen, and that he has committed egregious errors at least, in relation to others as well as to myself."⁵ And in an introduction to his own notes which appeared in 1840 he thought it "proper to remark, that with a very few exceptions, the speeches were neither furnished, nor revised, nor sanctioned, by the speaker, but written out from my notes, aided by the freshness of my recollections."⁶ The "exceptions," he made clear, did not include reliance on Yates. But, as Farrand observed, Madison copied from Yates on over fifty occasions, adding to his own notes material he found in Yates. Generally, Farrand observed, the additions "were a number of speeches or remarks, including several of his own, that Madison failed to note in any form, but later thought worthy of inclusion. And there were also new ideas or shades of thought which Yates had noticed but which Madison failed to catch."⁷

The additions, however, did not materially alter Madison's account of the Convention, or bring it into agreement with Yates's *Secret Debates*. A comparison of the two reports reveals important differences, particularly in the respective accounts of the speeches of Hamilton and Madison. Hamilton, of course, was an outspoken admirer of the British system of government, and, equally, there can be little question that he wanted political power to reside with the property interest. But it is worth noting that he is somewhat more republican in Madison's notes than he is in Yates's account. Compare, for example, their treatments of one of his Convention speeches:

Madison's notes
June 18, 1787

Hamilton. . . . This progress of the public mind led him to anticipate the time, when others as well as himself would join in the praise bestowed by

Yates's *Secret Debates*
June 18, 1787

Hamilton. . . . I believe the British government forms the best model the world ever produced, and such has been its progress in the minds of the many, that

⁴ Quoted in Farrand, I, xviii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 449. Yates's "prejudices," apparently, were not entirely in evidence at the Convention. William Pierce, in his "Character Sketches of Delegates to the Federal Convention," observed of Yates: "Some of his enemies say that he is an anti-federal man, but I discovered no such disposition in him." Farrand, III, 90.

⁶ "Introduction to the Debates in the Convention," *Journal of the Federal Convention* (reprinted from the edition of 1840, Chicago, 1898), p. 50.

⁷ Farrand, I, xviii. Madison's hostility to the Yates notes was chiefly occasioned by the Yates account of Madison's own speeches in the Convention. As Irving Brant has observed, in 1821 "publication of the Yates notes revealed Madison's long-buried nationalism and hostility to state sovereignty. . . . But by 1821 he had become an oracle of strict construction and a bulwark of state sovereignty. His contrary position, before and during the writing of the Constitution, was unsuspected. He could not admit the validity of what Yates had written without a shattering blow to his own prestige and an implied verification of the Marshall-Hamilton conception of national power. He combated it, therefore, by countercharge, avoidance and implied denial . . . not actually denying his previous hostility to the states, but toning it down far more than Yates had sharpened it." Brant, *James Madison: Father of the Constitution* (New York, 1950), p. 21.

Mr. Neckar on the British Constitution, namely, that it is the only Govt. in the world "which unites public strength with individual security."—In every community where industry is encouraged, there will be a division of it into the few & the many. Hence separate interests will arise. There will be debtors & Creditors &c. Give all power to the many, they will oppress the few. Give all power to the few they will oppress the many. Both therefore ought to have power, that each may defend itself agst. the other. To the want of this check we owe our paper money—instalment laws &c. To the proper adjustment of it the British owe the excellence of their Constitution. Their house of Lords is a most noble institution. Having nothing to hope for by a change, and a sufficient interest by means of their property, in being faithful to the National interest, they form a permanent barrier agst. every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the Crown or of the Commons. [Farrand, I, 288-89.]

this truth gradually gains ground. This government has for its object public strength and individual security. It is said with us to be unattainable. If it was once formed it would maintain itself. All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and, as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrolling disposition requires checks. . . . It is admitted, that you cannot have a good executive upon a democratic plan. See the excellency of the British executive. He is placed above temptation. He can have no distinct interests from the public welfare. Nothing short of such an executive can be efficient. [Yates, pp. 144-45.]

According to Madison, Hamilton, in effect, is insistent that each of the two major interests in society have power to check the other, although he is more concerned that the propertied class, here as in Britain, "form a permanent barrier agst. every pernicious innovation." In the Yates account, however, the flavor of Hamilton's opinion is unmistakably Hobbesian, and only the propertied class is to have a "distinct, permanent share in the government." Yates, sharply opposed to Hamilton, was throughout inclined to exaggerate Hamilton's anti-Republican sentiments, but it is undeniable that Hamilton's own notes for his speech are more in keeping with Yates than with Madison. To be sure, Hamilton in his notes observes that the tendency of minority government is to "tyrannize over the many" and the tendency of

majority government is to "tyrannize over the few," and that, therefore, government "ought to be in the hands of both." But there follows a long listing of reasons why, in fact, effective minority rule is to be preferred. The power of the aristocracy, says Hamilton, "should be permanent . . . so circumstanced that they can have no interest in a change. . . . There ought to be a principle in government capable of resisting the popular current. . . . The principle chiefly intended to be established is this—that there must be a permanent *will*."⁸ In short, Yates apparently got the significance of the word "chiefly" in Hamilton's remarks; Madison apparently did not.

But the contrast in their respective treatments of Hamilton's speeches, while important, is less interesting than a comparison of Madison's self-portrait with Yates's picture of the "Father of the Constitution." Madison's speeches as reported by himself are subdued and restrained; he emerges as a cautious, hesitant, even compromising supporter of the Virginia Plan. On June 5, reports Madison of himself, he "disliked the election of the Judges by the Legislature . . . was not satisfied with referring the appointment to the Executive . . . rather inclined to give it to the Senatorial branch. . . ."⁹

For Yates this tentative mood simply will not do. Madison, he writes, "opposed the motion, and inclined to think, that the executive ought by no means to make the appointments, but rather that branch of the legislature called the senatorial; and moves, that the words 'of the appointment of the legislature,' be expunged."¹⁰ Three days later, on June 8, according to Yates, Madison declared, "It is impossible that the articles of confederation can be amended; they are too tottering to be invigorated; nothing but the present system, or something like it, can restore the peace and harmony of the country."¹¹ These remarks appear nowhere in Madison's account. Similarly unreported by Madison is a statement attributed to him by Yates on June 22: "Our national government must operate for the good of the whole, and the people must have a general interest in its support; but if you make its legislators subject to, and at the mercy of, the State governments, you ruin the fabric. . . ."¹²

Even where Madison's remarks are treated by both, and at length, the differences in shading and emphasis are hardly less striking. As the following excerpts show, Yates places Madison in the Convention much closer to Hamilton than Madison places himself.

⁸ Hamilton's notes appear in Farrand, I, 304-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 120.

¹⁰ Yates, *Secret Debates*, p. 109.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

Madison's notes
June 26, 1787

Madison. . . . In all civilized Countries the people fall into different classes havg. a real or supposed difference of interests. There will be creditors & debtors, farmers, merchts. & manufacturers. There will be particularly the distinction of rich & poor. . . . In framing a system which we wish to last for ages, we shd. not lose sight of the changes which ages will produce. An increase of population will of necessity increase the proportion of those who will labor under all the hardships of life, & secretly sigh for a more equal distribution of its blessings. These may in time outnumber those who are placed above the feelings of indigence. According to the equal laws of suffrage, the power will slide into the hands of the former. No agrarian attempts have yet been made in this Country, but symptoms of a leveling spirit, as we have understood, have sufficiently appeared in a certain quarters to give notice of the future danger. How is this danger to be guarded agst. on republican principles? How is the danger in all cases of interested co-alitions to oppress the minority to be guarded agst.? Among other means by the establishment of a body in the Govt. sufficiently respectable for its wisdom & virtue, to aid on such emergencies, the preponderance of justice by throwing its weight into that scale. . . . [Farrand, I, 422-23.]

Yates's *Secret Debates*
June 26, 1787

Madison. . . . in all civilized countries, the interest of the community will be divided. There will be debtors and creditors, and an unequal possession of property, and hence arise different views and different objects in government. . . . The government we mean to erect is intended to last for ages. The landed interest, at present, is prevalent; but, in process of time, when we approximate to the states and kingdoms of Europe; when the number of landholders shall be comparatively small, through the various means of trade and manufactures, will not the landed interest be over-balanced in future elections, and unless wisely provided against, what will become of your government. In England, at this day, if elections were open to all classes of people, the property of the landed proprietors would be insecure. An agrarian law would soon take place. If these observations be just, our government ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation. Land-holders ought to have a share in the government, to support these invaluable interests, and to balance and check the other. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body; and to answer these purposes, they ought to have permanency and stability. . . . [Yates, pp. 182-83.]

In the Yates account, in other words, Madison is essentially echoing Hamilton's appeal of June 18 that the power of the aristocracy "be permanent . . . capable of resisting the popular current. . . ." Madison's own notes, on the other hand, while they show him cognizant of the future danger from a landless proletariat, suggest only a solution "on republican principles." In both accounts the Senate, of course, is to represent "the preponderance of justice," but the conception of *Realpolitik* underlying Madison's position is more forcefully stated in the Yates account.

It has been noted that Madison was sharply critical of the Yates *Secret*

Debates in general, but his most determined attempt to discredit Yates was occasioned by Yates's account of one of his speeches of June 29. Although, as Farrand observes, Madison incorporated a portion of the account when he revised his own notes, he accused Yates of a number of "self-condemned" errors. "Who can believe," he wrote N. P. Trist in December, 1831, "that so crude and untenable a statement could have been made on the floor of the Convention as 'that the *several States* were political Societies, *varying* from the *lowest Corporations*, to the *highest sovereigns*' or 'that the States had vested *all the essential rights* of Government in the *old Congress*.'" ¹³ Yates, however, hardly deserved such censure, for in point of fact both statements are misquotations, not in Yates but of Yates. As the following excerpts show, Madison altered the Yates account, thereby exaggerating the conflict between the Yates report and his own notes.

Madison's notes
June 29, 1787

Madison . . . thought too much stress was laid on the rank of the States¹⁴ as political societies. There was a gradation, he observed from the smallest corporation, with the most limited powers, to the largest empire with the most perfect sovereignty. He pointed out the limitations on the sovereignty of the States as now confederated; (their laws in relation to the paramount law of the Confederacy were analagous to that of bye laws to the supreme law, within a State.)¹⁵ Under the proposed Govt. the (powers of the States)¹⁶ will be much further reduced. According to the views of every member, the Genl. Govt. will have powers far beyond those exercised by the British Parliament when the States were part of the British Empire. . . . [Farrand, I, 463-64.]

Yates's *Secret Debates*
June 29, 1787

Madison. . . . Some contend, that States are sovereign, when, in fact, they are only political societies. There is a gradation of power in all societies, from the lowest corporation to the highest sovereign. The States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty. These were always vested in Congress. Their voting as States, in Congress, is no evidence of sovereignty. . . . The States, at present, are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. The States ought to be placed under the control of the general government; at least as much so as they formerly were under the King and British Parliament. . . . [Yates, pp. 199-200.]

It is curious, indeed, that Madison, in his letter to Trist, should have altered "essential rights of sovereignty" in Yates to "all the *essential rights* of Government." Perhaps he was quoting Yates from memory, but the substitu-

¹³ Farrand, III, 517.

¹⁴ According to Brant, in revising his notes Madison crossed out the word "equal" before "rank of the States." Brant, p. 86.

¹⁵ Farrand observes: "Substance taken from Yates," I, 464.

¹⁶ Originally "their character" in Madison's notes. Brant concludes that the original version contained "practically everything Yates ascribed to Madison . . . except the remark about by-laws." Brant, p. 86.

tion was of crucial importance. In the corrected, and original, form, the statement in Yates can be reconciled with Madison's own account of the limitations on the sovereignty of the states within the Confederation, and, in particular, his attempt to equate state laws in the Confederation to "bye laws . . . within a State." But by misquoting the Yates account of his speech, to the effect that Congress had possessed essential rights of *government* as distinct from an implied sovereignty, which was manifestly not true, Madison was able to discredit the Yates report.

Two years later, in a letter to W. C. Rives, Madison again commented on the Yates report of his speech of June 29, 1787. On this occasion, however, he correctly quoted the Yates account, and went some distance toward agreement with it. It was on Yates's authority alone, he wrote Rives, "that J. M. is charged with having said 'that the States never possessed the essential *rights of sovereignty*; that these were always vested *in Congress*.'" ¹⁷ Yates had misunderstood him, he cautioned Rives, but

It is quite possible that J. M. might have remarked that certain powers attributes of sovereignty had been vested in Congs; for that was true as to the powers of war, peace, treaties, &c. But that he should have held the language ascribed to him in the notes of Mr. Yates, is so far from being credible, that it suggests a distrust of their correctness in other cases where a strong presumptive evidence is opposed to it.

Again, J. M. is made to say "that the States were only great political corporations having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they were not contradictory to the general confederation."

Without admitting the correctness of this statement in the sense it seems meant to convey, it may be observed that according to the *theory* of the old confederation, the laws of the States contradictory thereto would be ineffectual. That they were not so in *practice* is certain. . . . ¹⁸

But, again, the apparent attempt to correct Yates somewhat distorts Yates's account. For no one at the Convention, least of all Madison, argued that state laws, in practice, *were* ineffectual. Nor can it be believed that Yates was somehow confused as to Madison's position. In the Yates account Madison is engaged in an almost continuous examination of the weaknesses of the Confederation, and especially its inability to nullify "contradictory" state legislation.

Indeed, the notes of both Madison and Yates present Madison as a strong supporter of national supremacy. To be sure, in Madison's notes the national supremacy argument is linked to the interests of the smaller states, but an attempt to link the two was, after all, an imperative of Convention politics. At any rate, there can be little doubt that Madison thought in terms of "a

¹⁷ Farrand, III, 521.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 522.

perfect incorporation" of the states under a national government. "In a word," he told the delegates on June 28,

the two extremes before us are a perfect separation & a perfect incorporation, of the 13 States. In the first case they would be independent nations subject to no law, but the law of nations. In the last, they would be mere counties of one entire republic, subject to one common law. In the first case the smaller states would have everything to fear from the larger. In the last they would have nothing to fear. The true policy of the small States therefore lies in promoting those principles & that form of Govt. which will most approximate the States to the condition of Counties. . . .¹⁹

It is also worth noting that Madison originally favored granting to the President or Congress a veto power over state laws "*in all cases whatsoever*,"²⁰ not merely in order to maintain the purity of the Constitution, but to prevent, in his own words, "a constant tendency in the States to encroach on the federal authority; to violate national Treaties, to infringe the rights & interests of each other; to oppress the weaker party within their respective jurisdictions."²¹

In the Yates account, of course, the complete rationale underlying Madison's position is often omitted; stripped of their nuances and shadings, his speeches are uncompromisingly nationalist. Similarly, Yates's rough transcripts give the impression that Madison's general political philosophy was rather closely related to Hamilton's. If, on the other hand, Madison's extensive notes are credited, Madison was more concerned with the preservation of the states, and less Hamiltonian in general than Yates suggests. The question, then, is: how important is the Yates *Secret Debates* in evaluating Madison's role in the Convention during the period that Yates was in attendance?

There is considerable corroborative evidence to support the Yates account of Madison's nationalism in 1787. To begin with, it should be noted that Yates presumably was able to make notes on Madison's speeches while Madison was speaking. Madison, we can assume, filled in his own notes only after the Convention concluded its daily sessions; he could hardly have had time, in the Convention, to write out his own speeches and those of the speakers who followed him. His reports of his own remarks, in other words, were probably included in his notes only after some delay, and after his speeches had been discussed, debated, or criticized. It is at least possible that

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 449.

²⁰ Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Mar. 19, 1787, *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, published by order of Congress (Philadelphia, 1865), I, 285. "The effects of this provision," Madison wrote, "would be not only to guard the national rights and interests against invasion, but also to restrain the States from thwarting and molesting each other; and even from oppressing the minority within themselves by paper money and other unrighteous measures which favor the interest of the majority."

²¹ Farrand, I, 164.

Madison's report of some of his speeches, particularly those which were extemporaneous, was affected by the ensuing discussion or the effect of it on his own thinking. Yates, by contrast—although we cannot be certain of this—may have transcribed Madison's remarks as given. One thing is certain: Yates was remarkably silent in the Convention and apparently did little else but take notes on the debates.

But the most substantial support for the Yates account comes not from the Convention but from Madison's own writings apart from his Convention notes. The Yates account of Madison as a strong supporter of national supremacy is essentially consistent with Madison's essay *Vices of the Political System of the United States*, which was written in April, 1787. The principal "vices," Madison made clear, were the "failures," "encroachments," "violations," and "trespasses" of the states; and he was in agreement with Hamilton in noting that the Articles of Confederation had never received "ratification by the people."²² Nor was he satisfied that the Convention had gone far enough in the direction of national supremacy. The "Father of the Constitution," his letters make clear, was hardly a proud parent. The Constitution, he wrote Jefferson on September 6, 1787, "will neither effectually answer its national object, nor prevent the local mischiefs which everywhere excite disgusts against the State Governments."²³ A year later he was no more enthusiastic. "I agreed to the Constitution," he observed to Philip Mazzei, October 8, 1788, "because I thought it safe to the liberties of the people, and the best that could be obtained from the jarring interests of States, and the miscellaneous opinions of Politicians; and because experience has proved that the real danger to America & liberty lies in the defect of *energy & stability* in the present establishments of the United States."²⁴

There is little evidence, however, that either before or during the Convention Madison favored the obliteration of the states in what was then termed a "consolidated" government. There were, to be sure, a few delegates at Philadelphia who demanded the outright destruction of the states as governmental units, but in Madison's view the states were to play an important, although subsidiary role in the new national system. According to the Virginia Plan, which Madison undoubtedly drafted, the states were not only to be guaranteed a republican form of government and territorial integrity but they were also to nominate, through their legislatures, members of the upper and more important house of the national legislature. The term "consolidate," Madison pointed out in 1824, had not meant in the Convention

²² *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 320-28.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 338.

²⁴ *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), II, 67.

"destruction of the States," or the substitution of monarchical for republican government. "Consolidate," Madison wrote Henry Lee in June, 1824, meant the need "to give strength and solidity to the union of the States,"²⁵ through a strengthening of the authority of the central government.

The term "national," on the other hand, had a somewhat more extensive meaning in 1787 than the one Madison ascribed to it after publication of the Yates notes. The expression "National," Madison observed to Thomas Cooper in December, 1826, "as contradistinguished from the term 'federal,' . . . was not meant to express the *extent* of power, but the *mode* of *its operation*, which was to be not like the power of the old Confederation operating on States; but like that of ordinary Governments operating on individuals. . . ."²⁶ "National" in 1787 meant that, of course, but it also meant something more. It was used to signify a central government with a far greater "extent of power" than the Confederation government had enjoyed in practice, and about which there was some doubt it enjoyed in theory.²⁷ It referred to a government that was not only constitutionally superior to the states in the vital matters of sovereignty and jurisdiction, but a government that was able to maintain its sovereign position *over* the states.²⁸ In the context of the state rights controversy, Madison in 1826 had good reason to modify his earlier nationalism; 1826, after all, was more than halfway between the Constitutional Convention and the Civil War. But taking all the evidence into account, it is a fair conclusion that Madison's nationalism in 1787 was more accurately reported in the Yates notes than it was in his own notes and subsequent writings.

Similarly, although Yates exaggerated Madison's conservatism in the Convention, there is evidence that the *Secret Debates* are important in evaluating Madison's general political philosophy in 1787. To begin with, Madison's analysis, as distinct from his solution, of the basic problem in 1787, was not dissimilar, in certain respects, to Hamilton's diagnosis. "Representative appointments," he noted in the *Vices*, in a statement with which Hamilton would not have disagreed, "are sought from 3 motives: 1. Ambition. 2. Personal interest. 3. Public good. Unhappily, the two first are proved by experience to be most prevalent."²⁹ Much has been made of Madison's interpretation of "faction" set forth in the *Federalist* No. 10. There, he observed, factions may base themselves on different opinions concerning religion, govern-

²⁵ Letter to Henry Lee, June 25, 1824, in Farrand, III, 464.

²⁶ Letter to Thomas Cooper, Dec. 26, 1826, in *ibid.*, III, 474-75.

²⁷ See in particular Madison's speech of June 29, 1787, in *ibid.*, I, 463-64.

²⁸ "State sovereignty had virtually no place in the scheme of government Madison outlined to Washington, Randolph and Jefferson on the eve of the Constitutional Convention. The state governments were to be regarded as 'subordinately useful' local authorities subject to 'a due supremacy of the national legislature.'" Brant, p. 13.

²⁹ *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 325.

ment, "and many other points. . . . But the most common and durable source of factions, has been the various and unequal distribution of property."³⁰ On the other hand, the attitude expressed in a letter to Jefferson, October 24, 1787, is Hamiltonian in the sense that, like Hamilton, Madison saw property as the only fundamental or "natural" source of social cleavage. "In all civilized societies," he suggested to Jefferson,

distinctions are various and unavoidable. A distinction of property results from that very protection which a free Government gives to unequal faculties of acquiring it. There will be rich and poor; creditors and debtors; a landed interest, a monied interest, a mercantile interest, a manufacturing interest. These classes may again be subdivided according to the different productions of different situations and soils, and according to different branches of commerce and manufactures. In addition to these natural distinctions, artificial ones will be founded on accidental differences in political, religious, or other opinions, or an attachment to the persons of leading individuals.³¹

Madison's analysis of "natural distinctions" in society led him to develop a conception of majority rule which was rather more qualified than Jefferson's, and he went further than Jefferson in demanding safeguards. Whereas Jefferson feared the tyranny of government, and believed that it was the natural tendency of government to encroach on majority rights and liberties, Madison was more concerned with the problem of tyranny *through* government as a result of majority power. Indeed, he clearly anticipated the modern conservative analysis of the welfare state in arguing, in 1788, that "In our Governments the real power lies in the majority of the community, and the invasion of private rights is *chiefly* to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents."³² Although he was sympathetic to Jefferson's view, based on observations of "abuses of power issuing from a very different quarter," he nevertheless insisted that he was stating "a truth of great importance, but not yet sufficiently attended to."

Majority power was to be qualified by adopting, in Madison's words, a "middle way" with regard to the suffrage. Commenting on Jefferson's proposed constitution for Virginia, which gave the suffrage to "all free male citizens" with one year's residence in the state, Madison suggested that a

³⁰ John C. Hamilton, ed., *The Federalist* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 106.

³¹ *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 351.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 425. "There is no maxim, in my opinion," he wrote James Monroe, October 5, 1786, "which is more liable to be misapplied, and which, therefore, needs more elucidation, than the current one, that the interest of the majority is the political standard of right and wrong. Taking the word 'interest' as synonymous with 'ultimate happiness,' in which sense it is qualified with every necessary moral ingredient, the proposition is no doubt true. But taking it in the popular sense, as referring to the immediate augmentation of property and wealth, nothing can be more false. In the latter sense . . . it is only re-establishing, under another name and a more specious form, force as a measure of right. . . ." *Ibid.*, I, 250-51.

"freehold or equivalent of a certain value be annexed to the right of voting for Senators, and the right left more at large in the election of the other House."³³ To extend the suffrage to all citizens, Madison wrote Caleb Wallace in 1785, "or even to all who possess a pittance may throw too much power into hands which will either abuse it themselves or sell it to the rich who will abuse it."³⁴ The "middle way," he noted, would secure the two principal objects of government: personal rights and property rights. It might "offend the sense of equality," but he saw "no reason why the rights of property which chiefly bears the burden of Government & is so much an object of legislation should not be respected as well as personal rights in the choice of rulers."

In general, Madison placed greater emphasis than Jefferson on authority and property rights, and less emphasis on majority liberty. Unlike Jefferson, he did not believe that invariably "power tends to corrupt"; too much power in government could result from "abuses of liberty," and in 1788 the danger was from an insufficiency of power. "It has been remarked," he confided to Jefferson in a letter of October 17, 1788,

that there is a tendency in *all* Governments to an augmentation of power at the expense of liberty. But the remark, as usually understood, does not appear to me well founded. Power, when it has attained a certain degree of energy and independence, goes on generally to further degrees. But when below that degree, the direct tendency is to further degrees of relaxation, until the abuses of liberty beget a sudden transition to an undue degree of power. With this explanation the remark may be true; and in the latter sense only it is, in my opinion, applicable to the existing Governments in America.³⁵

Placing the emphasis elsewhere, Madison differed with Jefferson and other liberal critics of the Constitution on the addition of a bill of rights. "I never thought the omission," he wrote Jefferson in the same letter, "a material defect, nor been anxious to supply it even by *subsequent* amendment, for any other reason than that it is anxiously desired by others."³⁶ He now favored a bill of rights, he continued, because "it might be of use, and, if properly executed, could not be of disservice." Clearly, his attitude toward a bill of rights was casual and even indifferent.

The evidence, in short, suggests that the Yates notes merit careful consideration in appraising Madison's position at the time of the Convention. The Yates account and Madison's own writings of the period tend to demonstrate that Madison analyzed the pre- and post-Convention scene in much

³³ "Remarks on Mr. Jefferson's 'Draught of a Constitution for Virginia,' sent from New York to Mr. John Brown, Kentucky, October 1788." *Ibid.*, I, 187.

³⁴ *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, II, 171-72.

³⁵ *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, I, 426.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 424.

the same way as Hamilton; that both were supporters of national supremacy; and that both were disappointed that the Constitution, in Madison's words, did not "effectually answer its national object." They were also agreed on the primacy of economic divisions in society.

Beyond these points there was disagreement; it is not correct to observe that there was no difference between the two men "in fundamental principles of government."³⁷ It is quite clear that Yates exaggerated the Hamiltonian elements in Madison's Convention speeches if, indeed, he did not sharpen Hamilton's own critique of representative government. There is no evidence, for example, that Madison ever supported the major proposals in Hamilton's plan of government, nor was he in entire accord with the philosophy that had produced it. Although he distrusted majority power, he was much less willing than Hamilton to entrust government to a minority of the "rich and well-born." In general, the New Yorker demanded weight in government and was willing to achieve it at the expense of balance; Madison, it is clear, insisted on both.

But if Madison was to the "left" of Hamilton in certain respects, he was, in the early period, to the "right" of Jefferson in general outlook. The "Jeffersonian view," Adrienne Koch has succinctly commented,

placed greater confidence than the Madisonian in the people themselves. . . . Jefferson located the center of tyrannical infection in centralized power. Madison, on the contrary, located the center of tyrannical infection in the undisciplined and overbearing impulses of local majorities to trample on private rights (and property rights) of minorities.³⁸

He was therefore more conservative than Jefferson in working out political equations for authority and liberty, and it was the former he chose to stress in 1787-1788. He did not, however, neglect the other side of the equation, and it is beyond dispute that he rapidly absorbed democratic views after the adoption of the Constitution. Needless to say, in 1787 democracy and republicanism did not go together, but it is important to note that Madison's republicanism was a seedbed for a future democracy. Indeed, the successful joining of democracy and republican government in the nineteenth century owes much to Madison's contribution at Philadelphia and subsequent career. The Yates notes and other documents are important in providing us with an understanding of Madison's position in 1787, but they should not confuse us as to his achievement.

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³⁷ Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1949), p. 51.

³⁸ Adrienne Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration* (New York, 1950), pp. 43-44.

Reviews of Books

General History

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY. By *Marie Collins Swabey*, Associate Professor of Philosophy in New York University. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. x, 257. \$3.75.)

VALEUR DE L'HISTOIRE. By *Joseph Hours*. [Initiation philosophique, Number 9.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. 89. 240 fr.)

PROFESSOR Swabey has written in her new book a critique of the historian's techniques and premises which few historians could equal in incisiveness. She has at her command a penetrating logic for critical purposes. Her intention is to controvert the present "tendency to accept the plasticity of the past and the perversions of myth," and "to state the case for historical truth, the rights of the inviolable past, and for values beyond the flux of temporality" (p. ix). Mrs. Swabey has carried out much of her assignment brilliantly. Her defense of "common sense history" in which man and his world are taken at face value could hardly be more persuasive. In her strictures on the historical relativists and a variety of determinists and naturalists she has an unerring aim for the vulnerable parts of their armor. She effectively champions Francis Parkman as an exemplar of "philosophical history," after a devastating analysis of the changing and self-contradictory assumptions of Charles Beard's historical writings.

The reputation of a distinguished historian like Beard, however, is not demolished by Mrs. Swabey's deft jabs, for she is herself not immune to criticism. This is all the more regrettable because the task she has undertaken of upholding the intrinsic power of ideas in history and the enduring core in the historian's reconstruction of the past still needs to be done tellingly. She has weakened her case by putting into her category of "scientific history" an assortment of historical outlooks which have only an adventitious connection with one another, while her other category of "philosophical history" is too exclusive. One gets the impression that Plato and Whitehead are the only high priests to consult for a philosophic state of grace, although her exposition of Whitehead is admirable. She overlooks the basic affinity between the empirical tradition and the scientific approach on the one hand and confidence in reason on the other. Spengler, who was contemptuous of both reason and science, is put with the scientific historians only because of his use of the biological metaphor. Toynbee is torn to shreds for weaknesses selected from his essays and the Somervell abridgment. She has him escaping "the deadliness of natural determinism" by mere "ingenuity" (p. 225), instead of recognizing that the very heart of the first six volumes of *A Study of History* is his restoration of the decisive role of human wills.

In her final chapter Mrs. Swabey is in a more charitable mood and discrimi-

nates perspicuously among three categories which depend on "whether the historian consults his desires, his senses or his concepts" (p. 230). Her plea for the "normative historian" is cogent but I think it would have been strengthened had she drawn on Collingwood.

The little book by Joseph Hours covers a large subject with lucidity and skillful brevity. It surveys the concept of history from its origins to the present giving particular attention to the emergence of the modern problem of historical knowledge arising out of relativism. M. Hours elucidates the basic characteristics of the historical enterprise and the postulates essential to it, distinguishing it from other disciplines which nonetheless fructify it. The claims he makes for history are modest but dignified.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

SALVADOR DE SÁ AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BRAZIL AND ANGOLA, 1602-1686. By C. R. Boxer. (London: Athlone Press, University of London; distrib. by John de Graff, New York. 1952. Pp. xvi, 444. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Boxer is, to our benefit, an innovator. His is the field of the East and especially of the East as affected by the Portuguese, a field little studied except by the Portuguese themselves and almost unknown to the English-reading public. His study of Salvador Correia de Sá e Benavides lies farther west on both sides of the Atlantic and may seem at first a new departure in his interests. But Salvador was a soldier and governor of an empire that even in the seventeenth century stretched far around the globe and what Salvador was doing in the Atlantic was a part of the life of the whole empire.

Our author touches little without adorning it. He has a gift for defining historical problems that enables him to use to the full his extraordinary knowledge of archival deposits in the East and the West. Documents in hand, he applies a disciplined imagination to the task of creating his account of what happened. His use of primary material is at once an example and a reproach to other writers who have dealt with his period on the basis of secondary works, and it is to be hoped that what he has dug up will stimulate further exploration of archives. His style is vigorous, sometimes individual in syntax, but always readable.

The outline of the book is simple: the life and career of Salvador in the government of the Portuguese Empire. The richness comes from the wealth of subordinated detail. Here we have an index to the value of Professor Boxer's book. So little is available in a trustworthy form concerning the history and institutions of the period that Professor Boxer finds it wise constantly to digress for a paragraph or so as each relatively unknown matter comes to hand. The result is that his book will become an indispensable reference for a wide variety of topics—the government, the church, the navy, the slave trade, and so forth. The reader, I think, will welcome such digressions, especially when they reflect in many cases

the use of hitherto unexplored material. His text is supplemented by a genealogy, a chronology, a glossary, a bibliography, and other aids.

The book opens with the struggle between the Netherlands and Spain at the time when Portugal was under Spanish domination. Following the formation of the Dutch West Indies Company and its attack on Brazil came a Portuguese-Spanish reaction to expel the Dutch. Through this period, Salvador, of a Portuguese family long connected with Brazil, rises in 1628 to become *alcaide-mor* of Rio de Janeiro. An interlude of five years thereafter finds him putting down Indian uprisings in the viceroyalty of Peru as an officer of both empires. Then he returned to Brazilian territory and, becoming governor of Rio de Janeiro in 1637, once more took up the struggle against the Dutch. It is in the handling of the final phase of that war that Professor Boxer makes his most substantial contribution. He clarifies the position of Salvador in the creation and execution of the strategy that sought to undermine the Dutch in the sugar fields of Brazil by depriving them of the slave markets that they had captured in Angola. With the loss of "the black mother," Brazil became an uneconomic holding for the Dutch, just as the recovery of Angola gave the Portuguese the labor that they needed. As general of the Brazil fleet, Salvador was at his best and it is to the reader's advantage that Professor Boxer gives two chapters to this phase of his career. With the Dutch out of the way, Salvador then became captain-general of the south and took up problems of finding gold, maintaining order, and encouraging colonization. In 1663, he returned to Portugal and served on both the Overseas Council and the Council of War. His death occurred between 1681 and 1687.

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ALEXANDER MARCHANT

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Edited by *Pierre Renouvin*. Volume II, DE CHRISTOPHE COLOMB A CROMWELL. By *Gaston Zeller*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1953. Pp. 326. 850 fr.)

THIS book is concerned with "diplomacy and war" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An introductory chapter gives a succinct but informative account of the manners of diplomacy in this period and describes the slow and gradual growth of customs' systems separating the greater political units from each other. In its chief parts the book provides a factual narration of developments in the diplomatic and military sphere. Probably the "handbook character" of the series, of which this book forms the second volume, asks for a comprehensive and detailed treatment of negotiations and treaties; the result is that the reading is sometimes heavy going, although the presentation never lacks clarity and precision.

Certain interpretations—like the emphasis on the traditional aspects of Richelieu's foreign policy and the rather negative view of Mazarin's diplomacy—stand out as reflecting the special research which the author has done on these topics, but it is clear that a book of this sort will not be based on new and original investiga-

tions. Its originality lies in its organization around geographical principles. Europe—or more correctly the world—is divided into a number of areas; the policy pursued in each of these areas is regarded as having an autonomous character determined by the physical nature of the area and is treated in a special section. The book is divided into two parts—one dealing with the sixteenth, the other with the seventeenth century—but both parts are organized in a very similar manner. “The Problems of the Ocean” is a special chapter, subdivided into sections on the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic Sea. There is a chapter on “Western Europe,” concerned with the rivalries of the Great Powers in this area, and then the affairs of “Eastern Europe and Asia” are discussed in a separate chapter.

This manner of organization has the advantage that events happening in border areas, which in books of this kind are frequently neglected or superficially treated, receive careful attention and are fully explained. But an unavoidable result of this manner of organization is that repetitions occur. The picture of the political aims and methods of a statesman is frequently blurred because, as in the case of Gustavus Adolphus, he makes his appearance in different chapters. However, the chief disadvantage of this method of organization is that the account of the politics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lacks a center and individual character. Consciously and unconsciously, those historical factors which might have formed a unifying dynamism and transcended the division into separate areas are slighted.

In an interesting, but somewhat debatable, discussion the author insists that the influence of the religious division of European politics has been overemphasized. He denies that the Peace of Westphalia represents an important break in European developments. The importance of the economic factor is clearly seen in the chapter on the “Problems of the Ocean,” but the impact of these developments on the relative strength of the Great Powers in western Europe and on the outcome of their rivalries does not emerge.

The author shows a sovereign mastery of a great mass of material, and my main criticism is that he sticks pedantically to the framework set for this series. The reader becomes hardly aware—behind the well-marshaled facts—of the concrete historical forces of this period.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Edited by *Pierre Renouvin*. Volume IV, LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE ET L'EMPIRE NAPOLÉONNIEN. By *André Fugier*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1954. Pp. 422. 1100 fr.)

THE first volume of this commendable series, *Le Moyen Age* by Professor François L. Ganshof, appeared in 1953 (*AHR*, October, 1953, pp. 182–83). The second, *De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell* (see above) and the third, *De Louis*

XIV à 1789, both by Gaston Zeller, followed later in the same year. With the fourth now available the series seems to be headed for completion in record time. The three that remain, *De 1815 à 1871*, *De 1871 à 1914*, and *Les crises du XX^e siècle* are all slated to be written by Professor Renouvin himself. His acknowledged mastery of nineteenth- and twentieth-century history is an assurance that they will maintain the high standard of their predecessors.

The fourth volume, by André Fugier, reviewed here, offers a panoramic survey of the international scene from 1789 to 1814, an appraisal of remarkable scope and detachment. Far from limiting himself to diplomatic history, Professor Fugier achieves a synthesis that includes the interplay of political, economic, military, diplomatic, and cultural factors. The foreign policy of every important state is clearly and succinctly related to its internal structure and problems. The dominant ideas of the revolutionary age, the impact of science and technology, the influence of religious institutions, evangelical fervor, and missionary enterprise are all evaluated. Nor does M. Fugier fail to make clear how the Napoleonic wars affected the relations of Europe with other continents, weakening its political ties with the Americas and abating or postponing European pressures on the peoples of the Orient.

As might be expected, the wars waged by France against the successive coalitions claim the center of the stage throughout most of the volume. But the European convulsions during that tumultuous quarter century are viewed in just proportion and related to contemporary events and trends outside Europe. Three of the twelve chapters and two of the five maps are concerned with developments on other continents.

Such resolute broadening of the focus is, of course, in accord with the prevailing trend of postwar historiography. The time has passed when the history of modern Europe could be presented with little or no regard for its global context. It is significant that Fugier, under Renouvin's direction, devotes six per cent of his space to the New World at a period (1789-1814) when the Americas held less than three per cent of the global population.

Further evidence of the more prominent position America has come to occupy in European thought may be found in the chapter bibliographies where books and articles by North and South American scholars are mentioned with gratifying frequency. Chapter XI, for instance, on the "Émancipation du Nouveau Monde," closes with a list of thirty-four titles of which thirty-two have a New World imprint.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: A STUDY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ATLANTIC ECONOMY. By *Brinley Thomas*. [The National Institute of Economic and Social Research: Economic and Social

Studies, XII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xxv, 362. \$8.00.)

IN this economic analysis of British transatlantic investment and migration after 1830, Professor Brinley Thomas of Cardiff successfully challenges a number of accepted interpretations. He denies the significance (seen by Harry Jerome) of the concurrent British and American business cycles. Rather, the Atlantic countries stood until 1914 in an inverse, complementary relationship. In his words: "When the United States experienced a strong upsurge of activity, she absorbed large quantities of labour and capital from Britain and the rate of growth in the latter country slackened. Then, when the American system was digesting what it had swallowed, Britain's appetite for home investment would increase and her real income would grow faster than usual, while her exports of men and money became negligible. There was no such thing as an international long cycle" (p. 108).

He also modifies Jerome's corollary that immigrants generally were "pulled" by American opportunities and not "pushed" by European hardships. The American economy was influenced most strongly, he believes, by those peasants whom Malthusian crises had ejected from Europe. The Irish and Germans of the 1850's, both as laborers and as consumers, set the pace of fixed capital investment in America. Although after the Civil War the American economy entered a new phase in which investment preceded and in general stimulated immigration, once again the waves of Germans, Scandinavians, and Italians of the 1880's and 1900's "had the character of evacuations" (p. 118). This supply of cheap, unskilled labor speeded the mechanization of American industry.

Curiously, however, this "study of Great Britain and the Atlantic economy" all but ignores the skilled newcomers from Britain, men and women who helped bring American technology abreast of that of their homeland. Not his "small *élite*" (p. 228), they by the thousands responded to the "pull" of high wages which America offered for their initially indispensable skills. The British and their children not only were able rapidly to climb the American social-economic ladder, as Professor Thomas notes; many of them began on a high rung.

Again, it is the reluctance of unskilled British laborers to compete with machinery run by poorly paid southeastern Europeans to which he attributes the decline of British immigration to the United States after 1900. But would not the skilled hands likewise hesitate? What place was there for British-trained craftsmen in an America whose technology was racing ahead of that of Britain? For, as Professor Thomas laments, after 1900 British investors once more sent capital overseas (this time to the Dominions) and let home industry stagnate.

The statistics upon which this book rests—erratic as the author shows them to be—leave serious gaps in the economic account of British migration to America. Harder to come by but equally important is the evidence of various demands for specialized labor—in textile mills and machine shops, potteries and tinplate works, quarries and mines.

"The problems under review," Professor Thomas suggests, "offer ideal opportunities for co-operation between economists and economic historians" (p. 166). He has here admirably carried out the economist's share of the task.

Princeton University

ROWLAND T. BERTHOFF

POLITICS AND OPINION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. By *John Bowle*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. 512. \$4.50.)

THIS survey of European political theory from Herder to Durkheim continues the kind of scholarship Mr. Bowle showed us in his *Western Political Thought*.

There are probably few readers who will quarrel with Mr. Bowle's commitment to "the principles of rationality, of justice, compassion and freedom . . . reinforced by science." We are all liberals; we are all humanists. There will be many scholars, however, who, while sympathizing with Mr. Bowle's principles and admiring his avoidance of jargon and his use of wit, will not accept without serious question his several judgments and assumptions.

His survey of many of the writers is at best competent, if conventional. The tactics with "difficult" thinkers such as Hegel and Nietzsche reveal Mr. Bowle's weakness. He has read Sabine's revised opinion of Hegel and Kaufmann on Nietzsche. Hegel and Nietzsche cannot thus be attacked directly but can be criticized "for what they led to." Kaufmann and Sabine somehow turn out to be beside the point. The usual attacks are made on Carlyle and Sorel and other sub-rationalists. But the "dangerous consequences" of utilitarianism, and rationalism in general, are passed over. The words totalitarian and ideology are used in discussing men like St. Simon, in violation of any sense of historical appropriateness.

Mr. Bowle is rightly interested in how liberal humanist civilization, which promised so much at its high tide a half century ago, was forced onto the defensive. In trying to account for this change he deals easily with many ideas, particularly when they nourish his own admirable wishes for mankind. He is less comfortable and satisfactory when he is working out the processes by which ideas exert their influences and change their nature in history. His conception of intellectual history is perhaps too simple. He does not see whirlpools, rapids, and hidden coves. For him culture is a straight, smooth flow, not a twisting torrent. Close textual analysis and historical understanding are often sacrificed to classification of men and ideas. This easily degenerates into a "cops and robbers" theory of culture with the "good guys" opposing the "bad guys."

Hasn't Mr. Bowle seen, as George Orwell did in his essay on H.G. Wells, how totalitarianism draws not only from "irrationalism" but also from what most generous minds believed in before 1914: rationalized administration, a secular culture, "planning," science, internationalism, and the other Wellsian and Shavian ideals? Why does he not consider the threat of universalist and internationalist

movements in the twentieth century which, as Hannah Arendt has helped to show, have been the great disturbers of peace and destroyers of liberty in our time?

Mr. Bowle "leads to" a kind of culture in which political ideas will be so unambiguous as to be incapable of bad consequences. We can be sure that this is not his intention. He knows that in real politics, especially in the politics of liberalism, there are few such ideas. All good ideas are complex, dangerous, and force us to take chances. They are supposed to do just that.

Columbia University

BERNARD W. WISBY

THE ORIGINS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By *Robert Paul Browder*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 256. \$5.00.)

THIS is a workmanlike and useful survey of the rocky road of Soviet-American relations, with emphasis on the periods preceding and following United States recognition, 1929-1935, prefaced by a brief review of their relations from the March Revolution to the onset of the depression. Here, a somewhat fuller analysis of the conflicting motives and aims which shaped the American policy of intervention would have been appropriate, and Dr. Browder has accepted a little too completely the now traditional view that America's participation in it was primarily a concession to the pressures of its allies. A brief description of successive and incompatible Soviet interpretations of the American intervention would have been a pertinent illustration of the Kremlin's facility for turning historiography to political uses.

Dr. Browder has given a careful and realistic analysis of the role of trade and "technical assistance" in the development of Soviet industry during the first five-year plan and the American depression. Only access to the records of major American firms would add substantially to it. The effect of the Japanese aggression in Manchuria in bringing Soviet and American interests into partial alignment has been traced with skill. The ripening of the American decision to offer recognition has been well told, and Roosevelt's negotiations with Litvinov are set forth with care. Dr. Browder shows with objectivity how the underlying disagreements between the concepts and aims of the two governments were plastered over with verbal formulas, leaving the issues unresolved. His analysis of the campaign for and against recognition, and of the reactions of public opinion to the issues as they were presented, can stand as a model of clarity.

Dr. Browder has given a clear and objective treatment of the disillusionment that followed close upon recognition. Soviet refusal to make a debt settlement without a loan, the inability of both sides to undertake an active policy of opposition to Japan's policy in China, and finally the revival of the issue of Comintern intervention in American affairs, were stages in the failure of recognition to exert any tangible influence on either American or Soviet policy. Dr. Browder's final assessment of the significance of recognition is a judicious one.

The interpretation of the program of the 1935 Comintern Congress (p. 209) overemphasizes the "united front" policy, and overlooks its foreshadowing of the "popular front" and "people's democracy" strategy, which has been applied so effectively since 1944 (see Kermit E. McKenzie, "The Soviet Union, the Comintern and World Revolution: 1935," *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1950, pp. 214-37). The Chinese Eastern Railway is referred to as the "Chinese and Eastern Railway" (p. 53).

Columbia University

PHILIP E. MOSELY

Ancient and Medieval History

EVERYDAY LIFE IN BABYLON AND ASSYRIA. By *Georges Contenau*.

Authorized translation by K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 324. \$5.00.)

FIRST published in 1950 as a volume in the popular French series, "La vie quotidienne," this work now appears in an admirable English translation augmented by a large number of illustrations and a few additional footnotes and bibliographical items. Dr. Contenau is one of the foremost Assyriologists of our time whose authoritative *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (4 vols., 1927-47) and numerous monographs have established his mastery of archaeological and linguistic studies relating to ancient Western Asia. The present volume surveys a cross-section of life in Mesopotamia during the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods from approximately 700 to 530 B.C. This period of 170 years in the history of a civilization which endured for some twenty-six centuries is selected because it is richest in source materials and is "truly representative of Mesopotamian civilization." The latter point may not be readily accepted by many readers who may well feel that the earlier centuries, when the Sumerians created this civilization and the Babylonians of Hammurabi's time refashioned it, were more significant than the later Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian phases when its creativeness was largely spent. Nevertheless, all will welcome this judicious résumé of all aspects of Mesopotamian life.

Dr. Contenau interprets "everyday life" in the broadest sense to include thought ("the heart of book") and religion, and he devotes half his space (chaps. III, IV) to these subjects. It is in this half, particularly, that the author finds his self-imposed chronological limits too restrictive, and in order to gain necessary perspective and understanding he is forced continually to refer to earlier developments. This is all to the good, for the result comes close to being a general survey of the whole sweep of Mesopotamian literature and religion. The first two chapters deal with the material side of the civilization. Chapter I ("General Information") has as its main divisions "The Structure of Society," "Everyday Life," and "Labour and Trade." Chapter II is concerned with the "King and State." In this

first half of the book the variety and richness of the source materials from the period selected for study becomes apparent. ". . . We know more of the trivial details of everyday family life under the Sargonid dynasty of Assyria than we know, for example, of that of the Norman peasant" (p. 1). Yet even here frequent reference is made to earlier antecedents. Discussions of art are liberally scattered throughout the volume.

The one map, select index, and short bibliography are satisfactory, but the serious reader will miss a more complete and consistent documentation.

Tulane University

NELS M. BAILKEY

TITHES AND PARISHES IN MEDIEVAL ITALY: THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF A MODERN PROBLEM. By *Catherine E. Boyd*, Associate Professor of History, Carleton College. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1952. Pp. xi, 280. \$4.00.)

THIS monograph, which began in part as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of Dr. George La Piana of Harvard University nearly twenty years ago, is to be welcomed as a solid, comprehensive, and critically objective treatment of an important problem which is still very much alive in Italy. In fact, the long controversy inaugurated by the act of the Italian parliament in 1887 abolishing compulsory ecclesiastical tithes, but at the same time confirming the legality of the dominical tithe or perpetual land rent based on a portion of the produce and paid to the landlord, stimulated Miss Boyd to investigate the historical origins and development of tithes in Italy. The first two chapters are concerned with the problem of tithes in Italy from the closing decades of the last century and with the origin of the ecclesiastical tithes in general. They thus constitute an excellent and necessary background for the whole work. In a series of twelve subsequent chapters, the author gives a systematic account of the development of tithes in Italy from the close of antiquity to about 1300, but without neglecting to indicate at least briefly the function of tithes in fact and theory from the late Italian Middle Ages to the present time. She has examined firsthand and in great detail the documentary evidence available for Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, and Emilia, i.e., for northern and central Italy. She has presented also the results of her researches based on a liberal sampling of documents covering southern Italy and Sicily.

The ecclesiastical tithe was gathered chiefly from rural areas, and there was the closest relationship between the tithe and the development and life of the parish. Miss Boyd has therefore emphasized this relationship throughout her book. She describes in detail the origin and evolution of the Italian parish, the development of baptismal churches and proprietary churches, the relations between the lower clergy, the higher clergy, and the lay aristocracy, and their respective roles in regard to the parishes and, in particular, to the imposition, gathering, and

distribution of the tithes. Her book thus constitutes a most valuable contribution to the history of the Italian parish in the Middle Ages. Special attention is called to the account of the development of the Italian parishes in the early Middle Ages and their gradual subjection and feudalization by the early eleventh century as reflected in the *Constitutio de Feudis* of Conrad II in 1037 (chaps. III and V), to the treatment of the Gregorian reform against the background of tithes and parishes—the grass roots of medieval culture, as the author so aptly puts it in her preface—and of the failure of that great reform, in spite of its many successes, to eliminate lay domination in rural parishes and in proprietary churches (chap. VI), to the description of the Italian parochial system in the twelfth century (chap. VIII), to the story of the struggle between the episcopate and the communes over tithes and clerical immunities (chap. X), and, finally, to the valuable analysis of tithes and rents as described in medieval Italian agrarian contracts (chap. XII).

In a conclusion, which is characterized by a penetrating examination and scrupulously careful interpretation of historical data, Miss Boyd is able to state that, down to the end of the thirteenth century, in northern and central Italy the ecclesiastical tithe was the general rule and the dominical tithe a dubious exception; that, in the south, there is somewhat better evidence for the existence of the dominical tithe and from an early date, but here too the ecclesiastical tithe would seem to have been the normal one; that the major portion of the ecclesiastical tithe in medieval Italy never belonged to the parish churches or had any real connection with religious functions as such.

The book contains four valuable appendixes, a good bibliography, and an adequate index. In the handling of many difficult texts, Miss Boyd has shown unusual competence and accuracy. And, in spite of the specialized nature of the subject matter, she has succeeded in writing a very readable book. The following minor criticisms and suggestions are offered: the passage ascribed to St. Ambrose on pages 59–60 is not his but is found in pseudo-Ambrose or Ambrosiaster, and the reference should be 497, not 471; on page 63, line 7 from end, for Monsieur read Monsignor. To the bibliography the following works might well be added: Henry G. J. Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century* (Rome, 1950), especially pp. 43–84; Owen J. Blum, O.F.M., *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life* (Washington, 1947), especially pp. 169–97.

This monograph is an outstanding contribution to historical scholarship. It does honor to its author and also to its sponsor, the American Historical Association.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

ESSEX SESSIONS OF THE PEACE, 1351, 1377–1379. Edited with an Introduction by *Elizabeth Chapin Furber*. [Essex Archaeological Society, Occasional

Publications, Number 3.] (Colchester: Wiles and Son for the Society. 1953. Pp. ix, 216. 35s.)

THE records of the sessions of the peace comprised in this volume span some of the most troubled years of the fourteenth century. Unhappily neither "roll" is a complete record of the sessions for the year or years which it represents. Yet fragmentary as these records are, their survival through the circumstance that the King's Bench went to Chelmsford in 25 Edward II and again in 3 Richard II is fortunate. They are the only known medieval rolls for Essex and, although nothing "new" of a legal nature is, according to the editor, to be found in them, nonetheless they do add significant detail to the total mass of evidence available for study of medieval society and its criminal law.

For example, they do illustrate the medieval jurors' rejection of the strait jacket of technical terminology (discussed by Professor Plucknett in Miss Putnam's *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace*) and their human tendency to elaborate extenuating or intensifying detail of the defendant's guilty acts. They do show, after a great deal of hard work on the part of the editor in identifying names, that juries at this time were not aristocratic but represented all lay classes in the community from the wealthier landholders to the Barstable mariners. They also illustrate the leniency of medieval criminal law. Conviction did not often follow indictment for felony. It was more common in trespass, for which the penalty was most often a fine, and felony was sometimes scaled down to trespass. Those who did not appear in answer to either sort of indictment seem to have had a good chance of escape. Pardons could be readily, although perhaps expensively, bought. Altogether the records suggest that the justices were more interested in the financial proceeds of justice than in the liquidation of felons.

For the general reader, the main interest of the volume lies in the "broad picture of lawlessness and labour unrest during the years between the Black Death and the Great Revolt in a county which was a leader in that revolt." The editor's view is that the stringent enforcement of the labor laws (in 1351 the justices took fines from 7500 persons, in "other words from *at least* one out of every six adults in the county"), which probably continued throughout the period, explains the violence of the Essex insurgents in 1381 against some of the local gentry who had served on commissions. An American reader finds himself irresistibly, though perhaps morbidly, attracted to the doings of Lord John Fitzwalter, a man of good family and great possessions but nonetheless a familiar racketeer type. When the king pardoned Fitzwalter in June, 1352, a list of his offenses incorporated into the document read like the index to a record of indictments for a whole county. The reason for the pardon becomes clear when we find that he spent the last ten years of his life buying back from the king his confiscated estates.

The publication of this volume is another star in the diadem of Professor Bertha Putnam's life work on the medieval justices of the peace, and Mrs. Furber

maintains the high standard of editing and analysis that we expect from Miss Putnam's collaborators in this valiant enterprise.

New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University

MARGARET HASTINGS

MEHMED DER EROBERER UND SEINE ZEIT: WELTENSTÜRMER
EINER ZEITENWENDE. By *Franz Babinger*. (Munich: F. Bruckmann
Verlag. 1953. Pp. xiv, 592. DM 36.)

SCHOLARS in the West have long lamented the lack of a satisfactory biography of the Turkish conqueror of Constantinople. It was only fitting that in the year of the five hundredth anniversary of that event such a biography should appear. This is not an effort put out quickly to take advantage of the occasion. It is a solid and thorough work.

The life of Sultan Mehmed II is traced in great detail from his birth in 1432 to his death in 1481. The training he received as a young prince at Amasya and Manisa is most revealing and the difficulty of his position as sultan upon his father's voluntary retirement are well explained. Some may feel that too much space is devoted to the taking of Constantinople and its effect upon the varying Western views of Mehmed II and the Turks. Professor Babinger rightly contends that Ottoman society had been affected by Byzantine and Western contacts for more than one hundred years before the conquest to such an extent that the act itself did not produce the shock upon Ottoman political and social life that Western scholars have usually imagined. However, he does not permit this recognition to minimize the significance of the conquest to the Turkish people. The full circle of the conqueror's life is brought forth in the final chapter (more than one hundred pages) on his personality and on the intellectual and artistic life which he stimulated within the empire.

The author has enriched his work by adding interesting details concerning the many personages who appear on the scenes of the conqueror's life. The pages are full of such diverse personalities as Gentile Bellini, the Venetian artist, Hersekoglu Ahmed, the suave, brilliant Balkan princeling turned Ottoman, and Gedik Ahmed, the burly, brusque, and capable general and vizir. With the many minor individuals standing out in considerable detail, the study contributes a more rounded conception of Ottoman life in the fifteenth century.

Naturally in such a work as this, anyone who has given considerable study to this particular period and the literature about it will find details wherein he will disagree with the presentation in this volume. However, Professor Babinger has given here an excellent and true portrait of a man little understood by his own people in his own day and so frequently misrepresented ever since.

Ohio State University

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

Modern European History

MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE. By *Gustave Reese*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1954. Pp. xvii, 1022. \$15.00.)

It is a curious fact that historians of the Renaissance, while discussing literature, learning, and the visual arts at length, have as a general rule ignored music. Until the last few years they could plead with some justice that there was relatively little material about Renaissance music available. The musicologists of the past generation, however, have done much to remedy that defect. Those who have ears to hear can now listen to a good deal of the best music of the period in recorded form. And any remaining excuse for neglecting an art that was intimately related to the life of Renaissance people has been finally removed by the publication of Gustav Reese's masterly study, *Music in the Renaissance*.

This is in every respect a magnificent book, comprehensive in scope, completely erudite yet entirely readable, and so carefully organized that it can serve the needs of every type of reader from the general historian whose interest in music is no more than peripheral to the most specialized musicologist. It is a book, in fact, that may be read at many different levels. The general historian will find introductory sections which place music in its relation to the social and cultural developments of the period. Reading further, he will find biographical sketches of the outstanding composers and a great deal of interesting information about the social setting of music and about the musical interests of such varied characters as Lorenzo the Magnificent, Leo X, Ercole d'Este, Rabelais, Henry VIII, and Martin Luther. If he is not musically illiterate, he may also follow much of the technical discussion, aided by the large number of brief but well-chosen examples. But, even if he is forced to pass over these, he cannot escape being infected with the author's conviction that here is God's plenty of lovely music; and if he is not inspired to listen to such of it as is available, he is but fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils.

From the point of view of the general historian, one of the most illuminating aspects of Professor Reese's study is the evidence it furnishes to support, modify, or correct current notions about the general character of the Renaissance. The pre-eminence and seminal influence of northern France and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century, the relative unimportance of Italian music in the great period of her achievement in the visual arts, the vigorous leadership in music asserted by Italy when her golden age in the other arts had passed its peak, and the reinvigorating influence exerted by Italy on English music in the age of the Elizabethan madrigal, finally the cumulative evidence of increasing secular content in Renaissance culture, these are but a few of the problems which the cultural historian will be forced to consider by the material here presented.

A brief review can do no more than scratch the surface of a work of such magnitude. A final word, however, should be said about the footnotes, biblio-

graphy, and index, which are masterpieces in themselves. They are ingeniously tied together by a system of abbreviation which seems rather bewildering at first sight but which is easily mastered and thereafter serves to guide the reader unerringly through all the intricacies of the book.

New York University

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

STORIA D'INGHILTERRA. Volume II, LA NAZIONE DAL 1066 AL 1307. Volume III, LA NAZIONE DAL 1307 AL 1603. By *Mario M. Rossi*. [La Civiltà Europea.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1952, 1953. Pp. 425; 644. L. 2500, 4000.)

In these two new volumes of his *History of England* Professor Rossi achieves the difficult task of detailing the rise and development of the English nation from the Norman Conquest through Elizabeth's reign. The multitudinous facts and the fearful complexities of the political, dynastic, and military vicissitudes of more than half a millennium of English history described in the thousand pages of these volumes never for a moment obscure the fundamental elements in the evolving pattern of an original, almost unique, national civilization. The author's technical and methodological apparatus in the performance of his task evinces a preparation that is little short of heroic, a skill quite worthy of the best classic historical writing. In this, perhaps his most ambitious and mature work, Professor Rossi once again reveals the genuine touch of the true critical master whose product carries the stamp of infinite pains and intelligence and becomes a labor of love by a mind restlessly in search of the truth. In this search Professor Rossi would strangely be false to himself if he placed the comfortable blindfolds of scheme and thesis upon his acute intellectual eyes. This he never does. But it would be absurd to expect that a man who has for so long and so deeply meditated upon and worked in English history had not assumed some sort of working hypothesis to give his monumental labors a sense of direction and a possible final meaning. With sensitiveness and integrity Professor Rossi suggests rather than reveals the master-threads of his historical reconstruction. He thus sees the larger and more enduring elements of England's historic destiny (a word he does not belabor in its excessively cosmic, Spenglerian, or Churchillian sense) emerge from the interplay of a sort of dual dialectical process: a series of tensions, of parallel yet related conflicts of an external and internal nature, frequently functions of each other.

In Professor Rossi's account English external politics oscillates from an "In-sular" to a "Continental" phase until, with the Tudors and particularly with Elizabeth, a refraction occurred which split the landward Continental interest from the novel, dynamic, thalassic-imperial sphere (III, 559-60). Within the framework of this long quest for an "international" center of gravity, English national life took shape and direction. Contrary to the belief and wish of "certain

utopians," England was not destined by God or other gods to be "the promised land of liberalism, the model of constitutionality, a democracy in perpetual progress." English history is rather "a succession of incidents and of measures and of political acts" which ultimately succeeded in shaping a balance between English monarchy and English "liberties." From the "Magna Carta" of Henry I to the Stuarts and beyond, there never was a deliberate effort toward the transformation or evolution of the state in a liberal-democratic sense. "If some progress in this sense has taken place," Professor Rossi states, "it has been due to circumstances independent of deliberate will, [and rather to] the mechanical development of economic and social forces" (II, 66-67).

The last phrase—"the mechanical development of economic and social forces"—is at once a suggestive and a questionable, or at least equivocal, expression of what a careful reading of Professor Rossi's work reveals as a key methodological concept and a major thematic evaluation. In his treatment of the evolution of fundamental English institutions, Professor Rossi apparently utilizes the rather fertile technique, often even the terminology, of the theory of the political class. Paretan or Moscan as his reading may be—it seems fortunately closer to the latter—"mechanical" appears hardly appropriate to describe the character of the clash and contrast of political, economic, and social forces so acutely dissected by the author throughout his two volumes. The sixteenth-century phenomenon, to cite only one example, so brilliantly discussed in the beautiful chapter titled "Christ, the Robbers, and the Poor" (III, 465-98), is presented as a historic drama involving the tragic conflict of individual and collective wills, interests, and goals. Professor Rossi's approach and treatment of this drama is nondeterministic, nonmechanical, humanistic. The grave and recurring contrasts between tradition and innovation, challenge and resistance, war and peace, Elizabethan economic, political, and cultural splendor and the decay and poverty of the humbler classes of the English people, the dynamics of an incipient capitalistic economy and the frustrated religious afflatus among the poor and the disinherited, all these and more so vividly and carefully and humanly drawn and projected onto Professor Rossi's vast canvas, are there to attest to the eminently nonmechanical moving forces of the English historical *commedia*.

By the close of the suggestive final chapter Professor Rossi has taken England to the "dawn" of a new era. We shall await most eagerly his genial and secure guidance, in the next two volumes, through the tumultuous times of England's great experiment with empire and strange hegemony.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640-1641: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF ITS MEMBERS. By *Mary Frear Keeler*, Lecturer in History, Wellesley College. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 36.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1954. Pp. ix, 410. \$6.00.)

For nearly forty years American and British historians have been interested in the lives of the members of the English House of Commons. Wallace Notestein and J. E. Neale have directed many students on both sides of the Atlantic into this wide field of research. In recent years a project to compile a history of parliament through the lives of its members has been inaugurated in England under the direction of Neale and Sir Lewis Namier. Except for Lord Wedgwood's two volumes, which appeared under different auspices nearly twenty years ago, no part of this work has been published.

Mrs. Keeler's *Long Parliament* has no connection with the English history of parliament. Initially inspired and directed by Wallace Notestein, she has worked for over twenty years; and her labors have borne magnificent fruit.

Mention must here be made of *Members of the Long Parliament* by D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington published in England a few months before the appearance of Mrs. Keeler's book. It is a great temptation to compare the two studies, but it is hardly warranted in this review. Suffice it to say that though they occasionally impinge on each other, Mrs. Keeler's work with its hundreds of biographical sketches goes far beyond the essay based on much careful research produced by Messrs. Brunton and Pennington. (See *AHR*, October, 1954, p. 81.)

The Long Parliament is divided into three parts: "Portrait of a Parliament," "Elections and Returns," and "Biographical Dictionary of the Parliament Men," with the first two serving as introductions to the third. Though Mrs. Keeler has sketched the lives of 547 members, it is unfortunate but understandable that she has had to put arbitrary limits to her work. She has confined herself to the first fourteen months of the Long Parliament. Her "Parliament Men" are the original members and those sent to the house before January, 1642, through by-elections and because of restored parliamentary boroughs. It is a shame that approximately 275 "recruiters" find no place in this extremely able book.

In her brief biographies the author's object is to present the member of parliament as he was when elected to the House of Commons in November, 1640. His career is followed from birth to death but is heavily weighted for the years before 1642. Mrs. Keeler has been able to identify every one of her members with only an occasional doubt or possible confusion between father and son of the same first name. Each brief biography is most readable and in this respect is comparable in many instances to the lives in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Of the 547 members in Mrs. Keeler's work, 173 appear in that great compendium; and she corrects and adds information to many articles in the *D.N.B.*

In each of her biographies the author displays through her numerous footnotes the tremendous breadth and depth of her sources. She has consulted every possible printed work, as far as I can tell, as well as a vast number of manuscripts of all types. They include a large number of manuscript borough records, the invaluable W. D. Pink manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, and a host of others.

This scholarly apparatus appears in all three sections of Mrs. Keeler's work, of which the first, "Portrait of a Parliament," covering nearly thirty pages in double column (employed throughout) of this beautifully produced oversize quarto book, is in many respects the most interesting. I should like to devote my entire review to this part with its fascinating statistics and conclusions about the 310 parliamentarians, 182 royalists, 44 reformers who became royalists, 6 straddlers, and 5 unclassified members. Their ages, their education, their offices, their wealth, and the influences which sent them to parliament make reading *The Long Parliament* most entertaining as well as instructive. It should serve in many respects as a model for future historians of parliament.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

THE STRENUOUS PURITAN: HUGH PETER, 1598-1660. By *Raymond Phineas Stearns*. (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1954. Pp. x, 463. \$7.50.)

A DETAILED study of a Puritan minister who lived from 1598 to 1660 is very welcome, especially when he was associated like Hugh Peter with many notable events. Professor Stearns by his prior contributions to the publications of learned societies had already shown that he had investigated minutely parts of Peter's life; and he has now produced a biography that passes the most exacting tests. Such errors as he commits—and who from faults is free?—rarely affect Peter himself. Examples are the statements that old style dates can be equated with new style by adding eleven (instead of ten) days, that Henrietta Maria exercised "obvious influence" over Charles during the years 1625 to 1629 (her influence was slight before Buckingham's assassination), that Cromwell expelled the Long Parliament on April 23 (should be 20), 1653, and that libels on Peter amused "Tory minds" at the Restoration (an anticipation by twenty years of the use of Tory as a party designation). The suggestion (p. 411) that Monck thought that the minister was plotting with Desborough and other army officers in the spring of 1660 raises the question whether Desborough was engaged in any plot. The letters in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1659-1660*, to which reference is made, seem manifestly fictitious. Monck can hardly have believed Desborough to be a plotter because he left him at liberty. These trivial errors do not lower the high standard of scholarship maintained throughout this book.

In nearly every stage of Peter's life something new is added, whether about his ancestry, his early years in England, his exile in Holland, his ministry in New England, his career as a kind of war correspondent for the New Model, and his many activities after the wars were over. He was a very controversial figure all his life, but Dr. Stearns treats the various charges against him, usually of corruption or immorality, very judiciously. A fine illustration of this impartiality is furnished by the account of Peter's dealings with Anne Hutchinson. The minister is shown to have been very active in collecting evidence against her and to have

broken his promise to her by revealing a private conversation. The hypothesis is that he felt no compunction in betraying a confidence in order to ensnare an emissary of Satan. An admirable feature of the book is that it explains why Peter made both friends and enemies. Contemporaries were rarely neutral: they either admired or detested him. To some he had a hand in advancing every good cause, to others he was a busybody always bent on enhancing his own importance by his extreme advocacy of prevailing trends. There is no reason to accuse him of hypocrisy when he wrote of the Hamiltonians in 1648: "We are for God, they worke against God." This was precisely the attitude of the army and the "Saints." Yet these self-righteous Puritans quarreled, and in the end Peter was left alone without any influential friends though with many admirers among the humble.

Dr. Stearns heads his last chapter "Anticlimax." It covers the years from the establishment of the Protectorate to the Restoration and Peter's execution. What is the precise connection between the minister's decline and fall and the history of these seven years? One answer is that his work was done by 1653 and that he had no fresh contribution to offer. Another is that his type of enthusiasm was unacceptable now that a conservative reaction had set in. A third is that both civilian and military leaders were ungrateful to one who had labored so hard for the "good old cause," and now disparaged his efforts as meddlesomeness. A fourth is that Peter's health had been undermined by his too strenuous services and that he was no longer the man he had been. Perhaps all four answers taken together explain why he played such an insignificant role during the last years of the Puritan revolution.

Readers of this book will find ample material to form their own opinions of Peter. They are not likely to reach conclusions markedly different from those of its learned author.

Huntington Library

GODFREY DAVIES

BRITISH POLITICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Charles R. Ritcheson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 320. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Ritcheson of Kenyon College, student of Morison and Feiling and disciple of Namier, makes a highly promising debut as colonial historian with this study of the political scene in Britain between 1763 and 1778. His book is organized with care, written with clarity, and documented with severity; more than that, it is—if I may brighten a worn but useful phrase with the help of A. A. Milne—a Genuine Contribution to our understanding of the formative years of the American Republic.

Though he ranges far and wide through the fantastic maze of British politics in the age of George III, the author never loses touch with the main purpose of his book—to describe and analyze two closely related series of events: (1) the

progress of British imperial thought and policy from Grenville's ideal of a mercantilist empire of "supreme center and subordinate parts" to the "acceptance in elemental form of the idea of a federal empire or commonwealth of nations" in the proposals of the Carlisle Commission; (2) the progress of the British party system from the fluid and confusing combinations of the first years of George III's reign to the much firmer groupings at the time of the Revolution. It is Mr. Ritcheson's particular task to show how and why these two developments were in fact closely related, and this he does by documenting with thorough, occasionally excessive detail the complaint of a British politician, delivered in early 1776, that in parliament "every point now turns immediately into something American." The influence of American events on British politics during the fifteen years of his narrative is thus well summarized: "America, since the lingering death of Jacobitism, was the first fully developed 'issue' in British politics. It was not to be a biding one, but the divisive force which it engendered was to remain, and new issues and principles springing from it would bring Britain to the threshold of her modern party system. The American problem in British politics had resulted in the consolidation of a new conservatism, the seedbed of a new Tory party. But it was also preparing, about the Old Whigs as a nucleus, the emergence of a new Whig party."

One more step would have to be taken before Britain could cross this great threshold: the transformation of the king from a party manager, a man deeply and angrily involved in the political struggle, to a symbol of unity, a man above party and beyond policy. But it was just this shortcoming, the immaturity of a party system in which a king like George III could play a dominant role, that made the ideal of a commonwealth of equal partners impossible to realize—whether in 1778 when the British advanced it too late for the Americans or in 1774 when Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Iredell, and Wilson advanced it too early for the British. The Americans, it must be conceded, were moving the wrong way in history by pushing their "dominion theory" so hard. In their anxiety to exclude parliament from their affairs, they seemed to be pleading for a wholesale revival of the royal prerogative, and the champions of parliamentary supremacy, who remembered the Stuarts as the Americans did not, would have none of it. If he has done nothing else in this fine book—and he has of course done a great deal more—Mr. Ritcheson has driven home an important point about which there can henceforth be no serious dispute: The pattern of politics, not the principles or policies, of eighteenth-century Britain was the final stumbling block to the dream of "Novanglus"—a federalized empire held together by allegiance to a royal person above the strife of party politics. Even had the Americans not passed the point of no return, the Carlisle Commission could never have succeeded.

INGHILTERRA E REGNO DI SARDEGNA DAL 1815 AL 1847. By *Nello Rosselli*. Introduction by *Walter Maturi*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1954. Pp. xxviii, 940. L. 6000.)

THIS carefully documented study, the result of minute research in British and Italian archives, offers more than an account of Anglo-Sardinian diplomatic relations in the years from 1815 to 1847. It is, to a lesser degree, also a history of Sardinian foreign policy during this period.

Emerging from the Congress of Vienna greatly strengthened by the territorial addition of the important maritime city of Genoa, the Kingdom of Sardinia continued its traditional role of buffer state between France and Austria. To offset the pressure of its two powerful and often antagonistic neighbors and to retain a certain degree of independence in its domestic and foreign affairs, Sardinia looked to England for help and support. England, whose dominant position in the Mediterranean made her sensitive to developments on the Italian peninsula, found it useful to befriend and to protect Sardinia.

After 1830, however, the close ties between the two countries suffered considerable strain and intermittent coolness. England followed the road of liberalism, both in politics and trade, while Sardinia remained an absolute, protectionist state. These differences in national character emerged clearly from the policies adopted by England and Sardinia during the 1830's toward the Spanish and Portuguese succession crises. The many vexing restrictions suffered by the Waldensians under the House of Savoy provided another cause for disagreement. Protestant England lodged numerous official protests which Sardinia rejected as interference in its internal affairs. But despite these differences, Sardinia did not hesitate to seek British help to stop the Barbary pirates from preying on its merchant ships and to negotiate a favorable trade agreement with Constantinople. By the late 1840's Anglo-Sardinian friendship was restored to its old footing and Lord Minto's visit in 1847 eased any remaining tension.

For all its profound scholarship the book sheds little light on Charles Albert, who became king of Sardinia in 1831. As an absolute monarch he played no little role in determining his country's foreign policy. In Rosselli's pages his motives for jeopardizing English friendship remain nebulous and enigmatic. Again, Rosselli seemed to have misunderstood Palmerston's concept of the European system and his opinion of Metternich. Consequently, Palmerston's Italian policy, reflected in English relations with Sardinia while he headed the British Foreign Office, appears somewhat distorted. These are minor shortcomings, however, and may in part be due to the fact that the author, one of Italy's abler young historians who refused to accept the Fascist distortions of history, was not able to make final revisions of his book. The almost completed draft was found among his papers after he and his brother, Carlo Rosselli, were assassinated by Mussolini's agents in 1937. The difficult task of preparing the book for publication fell upon Paolo Treves, who preferred to leave the text untouched and limited himself to

the not inconsiderable task of completing footnote references and compiling the very rich bibliography. An able introduction by Walter Maturi discusses the literature on the period and raises interesting questions.

The book deserves to be read by anyone interested in the Risorgimento. It illuminates the evolution of Sardinia from a conservative, reactionary, bigoted state to one which could assume, after 1848, the leadership of the Italian liberal national movement and shows the role played by England and by Palmerston in this transformation. Moreover, it does so against the background of general European developments and links the Risorgimento to the political and economic changes taking place in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Watertown, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION: ORIGINS AND HISTORY UP

TO 1949. By *A. E. Musson*, Assistant Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Manchester. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 550. \$4.80.)

THE Typographical Association, the organization of the printing trades outside the London area, set a good example for other crafts and industries when it secured a professional historian to write its centennial volume, allowed full access to its records, and gave a free hand in the writing. The result is a well-documented study valuable for an understanding not only of a particular craft but also of the whole British labor movement.

The author deals first with the origins of trade unionism in the printing industry, then with the Typographical Association, 1849-1914, and finally with the period since 1914. It is the story of one of the better-paid crafts whose members regarded themselves as among the aristocracy of labor, for composition required reasonably educated and skilled workmen. Mechanical invention, which affected printing later than most industries, turned what members had liked to regard as a profession into a trade, and ultimately produced a sense of solidarity with the working-class movement. Organization then accomplished much: gains were registered in hours, wages, and working conditions; a democratic constitution was developed; agreements on a national scale were negotiated with employers' associations; and the members became politically educated. It was not all done quickly and easily. The reader is impressed with the innate conservatism of the British worker: it was apparent a century ago in the printers' indifference to Owenism, Chartism, and direct action, and in their preference for Victorian thrift and self-help; they lagged in their conversion to a centralized national organization and in their response to the socialist movement. A narrow sectionalism lingered and members long showed themselves concerned more with local and immediate questions of wages and hours than in the political and social aspirations of the more advanced sections of the working class.

The author never spares criticism. He cites policies frequently based not on principle but on expedience, refers to the apathy and indifference of members which at times permitted an executive to utilize democratic forms to develop a dictatorship, and notes survivals in the twentieth century of nineteenth-century thinking which, heedless of appeals from a Labour government, led to restrictive and selfish demands at times when the national economy called for greater productivity. He concludes, however, with a hopeful reference to signs of the presence of a broader and more statesmanlike outlook in the present leadership.

In printing and format the volume is a fitting memorial to a typographical association.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

ETUDES SUR LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By *Georges Lefebvre*, Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. viii, 326. 1,500 fr.)

THE present volume represents a gift made to Georges Lefebvre, by friends and admirers of his work, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. It is a collection of articles originally appearing in various French historical journals, and as such gives us on some points, in more detail than can be obtained from his books, the thought of the great master in the field of the French Revolution. Most of the articles have long ago been meditated and digested by those whose work leads them into the special literature of the Revolution, but it is a great service to have them now gathered in one place in permanent form.

Here will be found, for example, the measured judgment of Albert Mathiez, published at the time of Mathiez' death in 1932, and in Mathiez' own journal, the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, of which Lefebvre has been editor ever since. Without clashing with the proprieties, or the true feeling, suitable to an obituary, it yet presents a critical review of Mathiez' work. Mathiez' well-known emphasis on class conflict, and his partisanship for Robespierre, are here analyzed by a friendly but more comprehensive mind, since Lefebvre himself, at the time, had reached a deeper understanding of French class structure, and a more tragic sympathy for Robespierre, than the more pugnacious Mathiez had attained. The article on Danton, also from 1932, is a kind of peace treaty coming after the fifteen-year private war waged against Danton by Mathiez. Lefebvre concludes that Danton's conduct and policies can be extenuated though not always admired down to the end of 1793, at which time he did inexcusably lend the support of his name to forces undermining mobilization, at the decisive moment, in the war against counter-revolutionary Europe. The great articles on the French peasantry, landownership, and agrarian institutions, before and during the Revolution, are in the present volume also. Lefebvre explains his belief that peasant landownership increased during the Revolution more than has been some-

times said, but that the Revolution issued in a kind of compromise between peasant and bourgeois interest, in that peasant obstruction limited the spread of capitalism in agriculture, and bourgeois resistance prevented the poorest of the farmers and farm laborers from realizing their objectives. Many readers will value also the articles on Babeuf, which bring a needed corrective to the pure history of ideas. It is admitted that Babeuf formed his doctrine mostly from books, such as Morelly's *Code de la Nature*, but it is pointed out that he formed it also from actual facts and conditions, namely the collectivist practices in village life before the Revolution, and the age-old peasant resistance to the free market, free enterprise, and the individual private control of specific parcels of the land. Of the dozen other articles only one can be named, "La Révolution française dans l'histoire du monde," in which the international repercussions of the French upheaval are briefly reviewed. It is Lefebvre's belief that since the "Anglo-Saxon" revolutions emphasized liberty more than equality, the French Revolution was the *révolution de l'égalité* in a special sense. This may be true, in the last analysis, but it suggests that the author, like many of his countrymen, may exaggerate the resemblance between Britain and America in modern times, and may fail to sense how deeply the drive toward equality has affected the history of the United States.

In form, though not at all in content, the present volume reminds one of Carl Becker's *Everyman His Own Historian*, which also was a collection of essays made possible by former students in lieu of a *Festschrift*. Since in the nature of the case the assembled thoughts of the master are almost bound to be more memorable than disconnected ideas of the disciples, it is to be hoped that the older ritual of the *Festschrift* will more often yield to this better method of saluting one who, by our professional standards, is a great man.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

LES IDÉES POLITIQUES ET SOCIALES DE LA RÉSISTANCE (DOCUMENTS CLANDESTINS—1940-1944). Textes choisis et introductions par Henri Michel et Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch. Préface de Georges Bidault. Avant-propos de Lucien Febvre. [Esprit de la Résistance: La Guerre—L'Occupation—La Déportation—La Libération.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. xi, 410. 1,200 fr.)

THIS first volume in a new series, "Esprit de la Résistance," is fresh evidence of the vitality of current concern with the history of the French underground. It has as editors Henri Michel, who has given us an *Histoire de la Résistance*, and Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, whose studies of constitutional government are too well known to need comment. The editors are here not interested in the great drama of the Resistance but in the thoughts of participants on how new the better world was to be, in Carl Becker's phrase—on the nature of the social and political "révo-

lution" to come. They have given us two general "pathfinding" pieces, one by Michel on the evolution of Resistance thought (the clandestine press, the study committees, the nuances of the various political and other groups); the other by Mirkin-Guetzévitch, which discusses the spectrum of more purely political ideas and the five different "types" of constitutional plans which were evolved.

But the heart of the book is the documents themselves, arranged under eighteen different rubrics, of which the most important are: "Resistance and the Third Republic," "Resistance and Political Parties," "Resistance and Gaullism," "Resistance and Revolution," "Objectives and Programs," "The Resistance and International Organization." A substantial number of footnotes offer guidance of various kinds.

The editors have brought together an illuminating group of documents; of special interest are those from private individuals now published for the first time. But the collection has also some shortcomings. It appears to us that a collection of this kind should either be very extensive, so that its inclusiveness permits general conclusions to be drawn by the reader himself, or, if it is to be highly selective, the choices should be rationalized by intercalated material by the editors indicating clearly why a certain document was selected and what it demonstrates about the specific aspect of the problem to which it relates. This collection fulfills neither requirement. It is far too brief for the first: eleven of the rubrics include only one to five documents. And neither the introductory essays nor the footnotes are substitutes for the intercalated explanations we have in mind for the second.

But this book will be read with deep interest by all who are concerned with the ironic and tragic contrast between the hopes and plans of the Resistance and the accomplishments of post-Liberation France. Michel offers one explanation for the divergence: the Resistance was a minority; the mass of Frenchmen (and this was true in occupied countries generally) lived as best they could from day to day, awaiting an uncertain future which they lacked the courage and initiative to influence; but with the re-establishment after Liberation of universal suffrage, it was inevitably the *attentistes* who had their way.

Harvard University

DONALD C. MCKAY

BIOGRAPHISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZUR DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE.

By *Hellmuth Rössler* and *Günther Franz*. With the co-operation of *Willy Hoppe*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1953. Pp. xlviii, 968.)

THIS biographical dictionary aims to be "useful and necessary . . . for the student and teacher of history, for journalists, politicians, and every reader interested in history" (preface). It is to be followed immediately by a dictionary of German history of similar dimensions, and the two volumes are planned to supplement each other.

In order to save time the editors wrote most of the articles themselves. Hoppe assumed responsibility for those on the migrations and the Middle Ages (to 1440), Franz for the period 1440 to 1550, Rössler for the years 1550 to 1815, and Franz again for those between 1815 and 1933. They have emphasized political history, but they have also included biographies of individuals in the history of law, philosophy, literature, art, music, and medicine, and have in part drawn on specialists for writing the articles in these fields. Although they did not attempt to cover the period since 1933, they have brought the story of a few persons subsequently important, like Hitler and Goebbels, up to that date.

The value of the dictionary to American students cannot be predicted in a review; it must be tested by use. The editor-authors have endeavored to distribute the approximately 2,400 names judiciously among the periods of German history. They have interpreted the term "German" in a sense sufficiently broad to cover personalities in Austria and Hungary irrespective of whether or not they were of German nationality. They also have written up individuals of Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden who were of German nationality and influenced the course of German history; and they have put in some foreigners, like Erasmus, Peter the Great, and Napoleon, apparently on the assumption that their significance for German history was so great that anyone working on the subject would need to know about them. Whether the editor-authors acted wisely in devoting space to these persons is a matter of opinion; this reviewer would have preferred sketches of more Germans. Much more open to question is the distribution of emphasis among the occupations. As the convenient occupational index shows, the editor-authors devoted a large part of their space to the biographies of intellectuals—professors, especially historians, political writers, and others. For example, for the period 1789 to 1933 some thirty-one political writers and seventy-six historians are treated and only about thirty economic leaders. The historians are almost as numerous as the soldiers. The dictionary reflects the unfortunate emphasis which in recent decades German scholars have placed upon *Geistesgeschichte*. The articles themselves are factual and compact, and the authors have included some German bibliography.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

GESCHICHTE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. Volume I, VOM ZUSAMMENBRUCH DES KAISERTUMS BIS ZUR WAHL HINDENBURGS.

By *Erich Eyck*. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1954. Pp. 468. DM 17.50.)

IN a brief foreword to this lucid and suggestive book on the early years of the Weimar republic, the author makes no secret of the fact that the subject, so far as he is concerned, is a painful one. Why, then, did he decide to treat it? His answer, in part at least, is that the problems which today confront Germany

and her erstwhile foes cannot be solved without a proper knowledge and understanding of the recent past. Turning to the actual implementation of his decision, he remarks that because of the very nearness of the people and developments discussed, the historian who depicts them can do so not objectively but only from a certain point of view. This, he feels, is not serious, particularly if no attempt is made to dissemble the point of view in question. The readers of his book, he is quite sure, will be constantly aware that his approach is that of a liberal and democratic supporter of the republic. This approach, as a matter of fact, is indeed palpably and continuously evident, but so is the author's consistent and highly successful effort to deal fairly with personalities, movements, and parties that do not conform to the pattern of his own political and social convictions. He has written not only feelingly and sensitively but also judiciously.

This study, which ends on a somber note—the last chapter deals with the death of Ebert in February, 1925, and Hindenburg's elevation two months later to the presidency of the republic—is tellingly but not voluminously documented. In preparing it, the author has relied on firsthand knowledge as well as on the more important printed sources. This utilization of the data of personal experience informs his account with a vividness that greatly enhances its readability. The book abounds in the kind of observations about men and events that can be made only by someone who has known these men and witnessed these events. Accuracy marks the treatment throughout. This is one of the strongest features of the work. Another is the skill with which the author handles such diverse subjects as the fall of the Hohenzollern empire, the nature and significance of the Weimar constitution, the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, the impact of Keynes's *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* on the emotions of many Germans, the Erzberger-Helfferich trial, the political repercussions of the occupation of the Ruhr, Ebert's stature as statesman and patriot, and the meaning of Hindenburg's successful candidacy. What stands out in every instance is the author's ability to combine meticulous analysis with mature historical judgment. He breaks no new ground. Rather, he sifts and reassesses what we already know, but he does so with unfailing care and perceptiveness.

One shortcoming—and a grave one, to be sure—mars this otherwise excellent book. It consists in the author's failure to give sufficient heed to the always close relationship between the political scene, his main preoccupation, and the socio-economic areas of German life.

University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

LE RÉARMEMENT CLANDESTIN DU REICH, 1930-1935: VU PAR LE
2^e BUREAU DE L'ÉTAT-MAJOR FRANÇAIS. By *Georges Castellan*.
Preface by General Weygand. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1954. Pp. 571. 1,650 fr.)

THIS copious volume, introduced to the reader by General Weygand, pictures on the basis of the overwhelming mass of documents in the possession of the

French "2ème Bureau" ("G-2" in the U.S. Army), the rearmament of a Germany developing into the Third Reich. This gives the book a threefold interest: we may expect from it the possible revelation of still unknown historical facts; the revelation of the degree of information obtained by the French army leaders about the then secret German rearmament, and, thirdly, a possible disclosure of the effects of this information on France's political leaders of those days.

Starting with the first point, the work gives the public for the first time a wealth of systematically digested data and facts illustrating the gradual development of the German rearmament, as in a slow-motion picture. In order to evaluate this material fully it would of course be necessary to compare it with other sources in the possession of the World War II Allies, especially the documents of the German army, access to which, the author states, was denied him by the United States authorities.

Looking at the volume and the quality of information the French military authorities were able to collect, one cannot but marvel at the thoroughness of their work and at the typically French acumen with which they digested it. This is true of both their analysis of the politico-military scene and their presentation of the actual technical progress of the secret rearmament which took place in three stages: a preparatory period in the time of Chancellor Brüning, that figure of transition between the sunset of Weimar and the dawn of Nazism; the *Umbau* of the Reichswehr in 1932, mainly connected with the name of Schleicher, and the period of the Nazis marked by Hitler's secret aims. It is a melancholy sight to find a Socialist deputy like Stücklen—known for his pre-1914 revelations of dubious practices of German munitions makers—defend Groener's blown-up Reichswehr budget in order to prevent Brüning's fall (p. 36). Piecing numerous bits of information together, the French experts concluded that Schleicher's *Umbau* would increase the Reichswehr to twenty-one divisions by 1938 (p. 84)—the same figure once envisaged, but not reached, by Seeckt.

M. Castellan's presentation of the records, his style, and general handling of the findings come up to high level of the men who speak in these documents, and show the same typically French lucidity and clarity. A few minor slips were noted here and there. Major Marcks (not Marx, pp. 51, 53, 78, 85), mentioned as being close to Schleicher, was a son of the historian Erich Marcks and one of the so-called "three Musketeers," i.e., Marcks, Erwin Planck—a son of the great physicist—and Schleicher.

Thorough perusal of this volume leaves but one regret: that the author, presumably for lack of time and space, has not explored the mystery that a country which was so well informed about the constant violation of existing treaties by its neighbor did virtually nothing to enforce its rights and bring about a showdown. The documents reproduced in the appendix of the work, while proving that Weygand and others warned France's political leaders, do not suffice to solve this riddle, which is of such importance for the proper understanding not only of the France of that time but also of the French of our own day. This must not obscure

the fact that M. Castellan's book contains a wealth of important material presented in a most competent manner.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume VIII, THE WAR YEARS, SEPTEMBER 4, 1939-MARCH 18, 1940. [Department of State Publication 5436.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. lxxxvi, 974. \$4.00.)

DIPLOMACY has in a sense gone into "winter quarters," State Secretary Weizsäcker wrote in January, 1940. Though he might with relative truthfulness say this of part of the winter, it is not true of the whole half-year covered by this volume. Naturally the invasion of Poland and preparations for an attack in the West took first place, but the war situation itself produced new problems and tensions which led to a very active German diplomacy, directed particularly at Russia, Italy, Turkey, and the smaller neutrals of western Europe. Uneasy relations with Japan and estrangement from the United States are also reflected during this period of Nazi-Soviet collaboration and the phony war, as well as Hitler's "peace offensive" after Poland's collapse, and other abortive peace moves.

The swift German advance into Poland, coupled with Russia's tardy intervention, caused revision of the Nazi-Soviet pact on September 28, giving to Germany more of Poland (though not the hunting grounds for red deer that Ribbentrop coveted), and Lithuania to Russia. Thereafter, despite considerable tension, the Germans kept hands off while Russia moved in on the Baltic states and defeated Finland. Four months of hard-headed and sometimes heated negotiation at top level, here extensively documented, produced the Nazi-Soviet trade agreement of February 11, 1940. German-Italian relations involved constant explanations and self-justifications arising from the sudden success of Germany, Italian dislike of the USSR, Italy's military and economic weakness and her nonbelligerency. The Turks allied themselves to England and France despite strong German protests, and drove a hard bargain for what chrome they were willing to deliver, but the Germans were instrumental in preventing the formation of any strong league of Balkan neutrals. All neutrals, especially those of western Europe, were squeezed between the Allied blockade and German pressures, both political and economic.

Unlike the first five volumes, this one is chronologically arranged (as are VI and VII, not yet available from England). A topical table, though it lacks cross-references, is of great assistance. Because most of these documents are from the Foreign Ministry files, the process of policy formulation is not always apparent. Other recent publications give greater insight into war plans, and into Hitler's thoughts and idiosyncrasies. But a judicious selection of Führer directives, OKW documents, and of a few from the Aussenpolitisches Amt of the NSDAP, gives the diplomatic historian a general view of major decisions and of occasional clashes

of opinion in their making. Footnotes cite other materials, particularly Nuremberg trial documents. The editors on occasion refer also to memoirs, but wisely do not attempt to collate all that have appeared. A number of these documents have already been published elsewhere, which is not invariably indicated. It is nowhere stated that some 50-odd of the approximately 700 documents in this volume appeared in 1948 in *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*, sometimes with slightly varying wording in the English translations. There are, therefore, no startling revelations here, but the volume remains a carefully edited and indispensable chunk of raw material for the diplomatic history of World War II.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946: HITLER'S EUROPE. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee*, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Professor of International History in the University of London, and *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 730. \$14.50.)

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946. Volume II, HITLER'S EUROPE. Selected and Edited by *Margaret Carlyle*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 362. \$6.10.)

THE political, economic, and military history of Nazi-occupied Europe, 1939-1946, is a subject of first-rate importance that is as difficult to survey adequately as it is fascinating to study. Professor and Mrs. Toynbee have chosen a team of highly qualified experts to assemble, evaluate, and present the evidence on the areas of their special competence. The editing, as well as the writing of each specialist, is so well done that the book has a smoothness and degree of unity that is unusual in collaborative works. Professor Toynbee confines himself to an introduction distinguished by its suggestive historical parallels and its intriguing generalizations on the significance of Hitler and the Nazi ideals, strategy, and administrative system. The evidence in the rest of the volume and from other sources does not support some of these assertions, e.g., that a statistician might reasonably have forecast that Nazi Germany with its control of resources in the summer of 1942 "could never be brought to the ground by any counter-coalition" even when "these included the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the states member of the British Commonwealth" (p. 6). Nor does Toynbee's great stress on Hitler as the "key" to the amazing success and collapse of Nazi Germany (p. 1) seem justified. Even the greatest leaders depend upon the support of groups who share in the formation of policy and in the ruling and fighting. A more acute analysis would specify the complex social groups who brought Hitler into power and sustained him in his exercise of power.

Part I centers on the political structure of Hitler's Europe. Clifton J. Child is the scholarly author of the sections dealing with Germany, the concept of the New Order, the SS, the administrative and legal aspects of German-occupied Europe; James Parker writes on the German treatment of the Jews. The economic structure of Hitler's Europe is treated in Part II by Patricia Harvey and W. Klatt. The latter expounds the position of food and farming in Germany and the rest of Nazi Europe; the former tackles with courage and skill an exposition of the economic controls, industrial developments, raw materials, labor supply, transport, and finance of the German-controlled economies. The political, economic, and military problems of the Nazi-occupied countries are then taken up. Part III is devoted to a searching examination of Italy by Katherine Duff, with Elizabeth Wiskemann adding a section on the Italian resistance movement. France is the subject of Part IV; Alfred Cobban contributes an adroit account of the complex situation in Vichy France that is matched in its *expertise* by Sir Desmond Morton's sketch of the Free French movement. Viscount Chilston in Part V gives the highlights of the varied problems of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, and Norway. The last fifth of the volume presents a series of incisive and balanced studies of Poland, the Ostland, and Finland by Sidney Lowery; of partitioned Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania by Elizabeth Wiskemann; of the Ukraine under German occupation by Clifton J. Child; and of Greece by Elizabeth Barker.

Specialists on specific areas and topics may take exception to certain statements of fact and judgments in the volume. For example, there is evidence that contradicts the German claim that the Herman Göring Works at Salzgitter was important for its exploitation of the low-grade iron ores in that area (p. 187). Rebecca West would give a different evaluation of Mihailović's role than that given in the text (pp. 656 ff.). Students of the Comintern and Cominform, e.g., Franz Borkenau or Hugh Seton-Watson, would give greater stress to the linkage of the different communist parties to Moscow's program for world domination. The role of the neutrals—Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey—in the Axis war economy is indicated but not developed in proportion to its strategic importance. Perhaps another volume in this series will do justice to this theme and that of economic warfare and will follow the leads of D. L. Gordon and R. Dangerfield in *The Hidden Weapon*. The volume under review is a proof that contemporary history may be written on as high a level of scholarship and impartiality as more noted works of the distant past.

The accompanying volume of documents on Hitler's Europe, edited by Margaret Carlyle, reveals skill and sound judgment in the choice of documents, careful translation, and clear explication of sources and relevant data; it supplements admirably the massive pioneer work of Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.

HJALMAR SCHACHT, FOR AND AGAINST HITLER: A POLITICAL-ECONOMIC STUDY OF GERMANY, 1923-1945. By *Edward Norman Peterson*. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1954. Pp. 416. \$5.00.)

THE BORMANN LETTERS: THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARTIN BORMANN AND HIS WIFE FROM JANUARY, 1943, TO APRIL, 1945. Edited by *H. R. Trevor-Roper*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; New York: British Book Centre. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 200. \$3.75.)

On first glancing over the field, one might conclude that there was little need for another Schacht biography, especially one that reads like an expanded doctoral dissertation. Beside Norbert Mühlen's *Hitler's Magician* and Franz Reuter's *Schacht*, in German, we have Karl R. Bopp's University of Missouri study, *Hjalmar Schacht: Central Banker*. Schacht's own apologia is also available in English as *Account Settled*. As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Peterson has written the fairest and most systematic study to date, with the inclusion of the Nuremberg materials on Schacht, which were of course future history for Mühlen, Reuter, and Bopp.

Mr. Peterson straddles two different steeds, biography and German economic history, 1923-1945, as his extensive title indicates. As a consequence the format of the book is dominated by ambivalence. We get a few biographical chapters: "Background of a Banker," "Toward the Nazi Camp," "Schacht in Politics," "In the German Underground," but the weightier chapters are titled "The German Economy, 1924-29," "Domestic Economy, 1933-39," "Schacht's Foreign Trade Policy," and "The Four Year Plan: Schacht's Nemesis."

For and Against Hitler has the tone of a balanced response to the amazing claims of Schacht himself and to the embittered and even petty attacks upon him under color of the anti-German vindictiveness of the war years. The author has obviously immersed himself fully in the economic literature concerning the problems Schacht faced and as a consequence makes a very convincing appraisal of Schacht's gifts and shortcomings. In his conclusion he emphasizes the "summation of contradictions" in Schacht's career: "He made many changes in the German economy but would really have preferred things as they had been. . . . He was immediately successful but was notable for his failures; he failed to prevent a new war; he failed even to prevent a new inflation." Mr. Peterson is content to leave us with the contradictions. There are only stabs made here and there to get at the mind hiding behind that familiar fierce stare and the high collar. The contradictions in Herr Schacht are, like his quaint enthusiasms for the German colonies, William II, and cultural anti-Semitism, unfortunately all too familiar among clever Germans. Why?

The book has a twenty-three-page bibliography but no index. Mr. Peterson would have profited from some assistance with his sentence structure, and the frequency of typographical errors (three on p. 284) is appalling.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler classified all men as "the fighters, the lukewarm, and the cowards." Martin Bormann's letters help to explain how his personality, unattractive even in Nazi circles, fitted him better even than Goebbels and Himmler for the Führer's confidence. To a man like Adolf Hitler, for whom only one criterion of human worth mattered, Bormann was able to offer willingness to give battle twenty-four hours a day, year-in, year-out, in 1925 and also in 1945. No mere intellectual commitment to a philosophy of life but a conviction of constitutional proportions is revealed in these completely human, sentimental letters to the mother of his nine children. With the publication of this correspondence Bormann ceases to be the mystery-man of the Third Reich, becoming instead the paragon of stupid incorruptibility and incorruptible stupidity which made him hated by such different types as Hermann Göring, Albert Speer, and Joseph Goebbels. The letters of Gerda Bormann, the daughter of *Altkämpfer* Walter Buch, illustrate how a super-Nazi female bigot could also be a typically warm German mother and wife. Trevor-Roper tells us that on her deathbed in 1946 she entrusted her children to the care of a Roman Catholic priest. The letters are full of *Onkel Heinrich* (Himmler) and his Bunny (his mistress) and of Evi (Eva Braun), that is, the inner circle. Perhaps this collection will aid historians to find the human in the Nazi perpetrators of inhumanity and thus help us to grasp the nature of the German tragedy.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ROBERT L. KOEHL

RUSSIA, POLAND AND THE WEST: ESSAYS IN LITERARY AND CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Wacław Lednicki*. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1954. Pp. 419. \$5.00.)

EVER since the emergence of Russia as a European power under Peter the Great, the problem of her relations with the West has grown steadily in importance and has received constantly increasing attention both from statesmen and scholars. One of the most recent scholarly treatments of this problem is that of Professor Wacław Lednicki of the University of California, Berkeley. Being a student of Slavic literature, Professor Lednicki approaches the subject not from the usual political angle but from a literary point of view; and, being a Pole, he employs his native country as an illustration of Russia's relations with the West.

Except by implication, Professor Lednicki is not at all concerned with the contemporary scene; his setting is in the nineteenth century; his hero is Adam Mickiewicz. The great Polish poet influenced not only the writings of Pushkin, with whom he was well acquainted, but those of Chaadaev, Lermontov, Dostoevsky, and others. Even the Marquis de Custine, that keen French interpreter of the Russian scene who has only recently been rediscovered, owed much to Mickiewicz. Before undertaking his journey to Russia in 1839, Custine had met the Polish poet in Paris and had read many of his works.

The greater portion of Professor Lednicki's study is devoted to the anti-Polish and anti-European ideas of Pushkin and Dostoevsky. Both writers entertained such views only in their later years: Pushkin, after the defeat of the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, and Dostoevsky, after his Siberian exile. The "intransigent and almost ferocious attitude" expressed by Pushkin in some of his odes affected the thinking of future generations of Russians toward Poland and Europe, according to Professor Lednicki. "These odes," states the author, "became a canon, a national catechism, an ideological citadel erected by the powerful hand of the great Russian poet, in which he imprisoned the thought of many Russian politicians, writers, and poets." Professor Lednicki goes so far as to suggest that had Pushkin written otherwise, the whole course of Russian-Polish relations, and to some extent even Russian-European relations, might have been different. Most students of Russia will find this suggestion difficult to accept.

Like Pushkin, Dostoevsky was deeply indebted to Europe in the formation of his art and thought; and yet his writings show that he "felt nothing but disgust and hatred for Europe." For Poland and the Poles his hatred was so vehement that Lednicki states it might be called "pathological." One can scarcely believe that this was the man who read Belinsky's famous *Letter to Gogol* before the Petrashevsky circle. The terrible punishment of Siberian exile resulted in Dostoevsky's complete transformation. He not only repudiated the "Europeanism" which was responsible for his exile, but he embraced the teachings of the Slavophiles. Siberia, as Lednicki points out, was "the cradle of Dostoevsky's Russian Messianic imperialism."

The significance of Professor Lednicki's book lies, it seems to me, in its confirmation of the fact than an understanding of the history of no country so much as of Russia is dependent upon a knowledge of the literature. Likewise, Professor Lednicki shows once again that Russia's attitude toward and relations with Poland are a reflection of her approach to the Western world in general.

Ohio State University

CHARLES MORLEY

HUNGARIAN PREMIER: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF A NATION'S STRUGGLE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Nicholas Kállay*. With a Foreword by C. A. Macartney. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xxvii, 518. \$6.00.)

THESE reminiscences of the man who was premier of Hungary from March, 1942, to March, 1944, were written in exile in 1946-47, without benefit of archival records or even a Hungarian newspaper file. A complete collection of his most important speeches was available and from these he quotes liberally. Kállay has also drawn on the personal records of fellow Hungarian exiles and in a few instances relies on accounts in other books.

Kállay's point of view is the typical conservative one of the Magyar govern-

ing class, which he considers to be liberal and a manifestation of the essential values of the French Revolution. The book is full of judgments with which many will disagree. He is particularly harsh on Beneš ("everything that man touched became a source of catastrophe," p. 251) and the Rumanians, and of Yugoslavia he says: "another fiction which was blown sky-high by spontaneous combustion when Croatia turned against Serbia and went over to the Germans" (p. 55). The Poles come in for much praise; the harsh words that are in general meted out to the Slavs are clearly not meant to apply to them. Considering past history it is rather astonishing to learn that: "We Hungarians alone in the world are capable of loving other races" (p. 113). From Kállay's viewpoint the peace treaties of 1919-1920 and particularly the treaty of Trianon were fundamentally responsible for all the ills of Europe and the Second World War. For Hungary to attempt to regain its lost territories was neither imperialism nor conquest. Hungary achieved a return of some of her lands by the two Vienna awards, marched into Ruthenia at the request of Poland, and took over the Bachka only after Yugoslavia had disintegrated. All these acquisitions the author holds to have been made by peaceful means.

The heart of the volume is the account of how Kállay with Horthy's full cooperation sought to ward off the danger of German occupation. The amount of independence Hungary was able to maintain up to 1944 is generally not realized, and accounts of interviews with Hitler and Mussolini are particularly enlightening. Kállay was forced to enact some anti-Sémitic economic measures in order to appease the Nazis, but under his guidance Hungary was indeed a haven for Jews and refugees in that perilous time. It was upon Italy rather than Germany that Hungary relied, and Kállay strangely maintains that Italy's official withdrawal from the war ended all Hungary's obligations to the Axis. Much as the Hungarians feared and hated Germany, their fear of Russia was even greater. Horthy and Kállay always believed that Britain and the United States would never permit Russia to take over the Danubian basin, and thus by turning toward the west they hoped to steer a course which would save Hungary from both nazism and communism. With good reason they felt that it was impossible to revolt openly against Germany until the western powers were in a position to move in. Continued contacts with the western allies, tacit permission for western air forces to use the air space over Hungary, refusal to take a more active part in the war against Russia, finally led the Germans to occupy Hungary in March, 1944.

Kállay sought asylum in the Turkish legation. Eight months later, when Hungarian authorities threatened to coerce the Turkish minister, Kállay surrendered himself. After brief stays in various Hungarian prisons he was sent to Dachau, where he associated with Schuschnigg, Blum, and other high-ranking prisoners. Free and grateful for his liberation by American troops, Kállay nevertheless cannot conceive why Hungary now as in 1919 should be classed as one of the defeated states.

Far Eastern History

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1935. In Four Volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5068.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. cvii, 1128. \$4.50.)

A GLANCE at this volume of 1,128 pages reminds one of how much more liberal the American government is in making available its state papers than is any other. *The British and Foreign State Papers* for 1935 (printed in 1941 but not published until 1948) contain 1,011 pages, only 45 of which relate to the Far East. Even when publication of British documents for the years between the world wars is completed, it is pretty certain that the number relating to the Far East in 1935 will be only a fraction of those contained in the volume under review. Large as this volume is it contains only a small, although significant, part of the documents for 1935 which will become available in the National Archives in another five years or so. British documents at the Public Record Office are currently open only to about 1903, and it may be another thirty to fifty years before those for 1935 are opened. Even so British policy is more liberal than that of most other governments, except those defeated powers who have had their documents made public by the victors or where new regimes have considered it to their advantage to make public the "sins" of their predecessors.

The volume under review has sections relating to the Far Eastern Crisis (pp. 1-507), China (pp. 508-820), Japan (pp. 821-1104), Siam (pp. 1105-11), and an index (pp. 1115-28). Those documents relating to countries are of a more or less routine nature except the protests to Japan against the oil monopoly in Manchuria, but those dealing with the Far Eastern Crisis are of more spectacular interest. They show that our representatives in the Far East, Russia, and England were deluging the Department of State with accounts of developments and that the department was carefully watching events. This was the period of Japan's effort to develop autonomous regimes in North China and to force the Nanking regime into subservient co-operation, of expected conflict between Japan and Russia, of the Russian sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, of investigation of Russian penetration of Sinkiang, and of British efforts to work with both Japan and China and to strengthen China's finances through the Leith-Ross mission, all of which are fully reported in the volume.

What stands out throughout the documents is the indecisiveness and negative nature of American policy. Economic and political problems at home, military unpreparedness, and long-established habits of mind made us unprepared for decisive action and willing to let Britain take what leadership was taken, while Britain, finding the United States unwilling to join in a Far Eastern alliance, was unwilling to go beyond the efforts of the Leith-Ross mission. Although aware that our silver purchase policy contributed to China's financial instability we were

unprepared to abandon it or to take leadership in measures to strengthen China. In one memorandum Hornbeck strikes out against this negative policy (pp. 328-30), but in another (pp. 463-67) he shows clearly the inability to do anything decisive in the face of the drive of the Japanese military when no one was prepared if necessary to use force. American policy is best summed up in Roosevelt's statement of January 31 to Hull, "Our immediate course should be to watch closely all evidence, reports, rumors, etc., and be prepared to ask for official information both from China and Japan, if and when the situation warrants it."

University of Chicago

EARL H. PRITCHARD

CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE WEST: A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY, 1839-1923. By *Ssu-yü Teng* and *John K. Fairbank*. [Prepared in Cooperation with the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 296; 84 [Research Guide]. \$6.75.)

THIS is both a fascinating and highly important book. Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank have translated and brought together significant extracts from a long series of Chinese writings dealing with the problems that China faced in her relations with Europe and America between 1839 and 1923. For the first time, there is made available for other than those who read Chinese a body of material that casts a sharp and illuminating light on how representatives of China's scholar-official class sought during these years to shape their country's response to the impact of the West.

The documents commence with the vigorous letter of Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü to Queen Victoria on the opium issue in 1839; they conclude (apart from a review of China's progress by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao) with a speech by Sun Yat-sen adopting the Russian party system as the means for strengthening the power of the Kuomintang. It is impossible within such a brief review even to summarize the wealth of material presented for the intervening years in the form of memorials to the throne, letters, extracts from articles and books. If these expressions of scholar-official opinion have one thing in common, however, it is a continued ethnocentrism. China remains the Middle Kingdom. The persistent advocacy of reform reflects not a conversion to the basic ideas of the West but recognition of the necessity to compete more effectively with its superior technology and military power. And again and again what the Chinese reformers most urgently stress is the imperative necessity for what Liang Ch'i Ch'ao called "the renovation of the people" in meeting the challenge of the West's more materialistic society.

The translations themselves do not make up the entire book. Its authors have brilliantly sketched in the background for the writings they reproduce and have also worked into their text very illuminating biographical notes on the Chinese

writers. Sources and bibliography are available in a companion volume but the documentary survey itself attests on every page both to the two authors' understanding of Chinese history and to their impeccable scholarship.

China's Response to the West does not deal with Communist China. Its terminal date is 1923. Yet today's China can hardly be understood—nor can any real progress be made toward understanding—without far greater knowledge of the China of earlier days than the West now has. The contribution of this book toward such understanding is unique.

Ohio State University

FOSTER RHEA DULLES

JAPAN'S NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA: ITS RISE AND FALL, 1937-45.

By F. C. Jones, Reader in History, University of Bristol. [Issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 498. \$6.10.)

Manchuria since 1931 and other works have already established Mr. Jones's reputation as a leading authority on the diplomatic relations of East Asia. In *Japan's New Order in East Asia* he has made another major contribution to this field. The bulk of this solid volume consists of a detailed, well-documented, and carefully balanced study of Japan's diplomatic relations from the outbreak of the "China Incident" to Pearl Harbor. This is rounded out by an illuminating survey of the political conditions in Japan that lay behind her drive for further empire, two excellent chapters summarizing Japan's wartime policies in her newly conquered domains in Southeast Asia, another recounting her wartime diplomacy and the maneuverings that led to surrender, and finally a thought-provoking chapter of general conclusions.

Mr. Jones has based his work in large part on the ample documentary sources accumulated by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Much of the story has already been told in comparable detail by others, but no other book has covered the whole subject with equal care; nor are substantial modifications to be expected in the future, unless significant new sources are made available by the British or less probably by the Chinese or Russians.

Mr. Jones has devoted his chief attention to establishing the correct record, but he does indulge in occasional judgments. "The foreign policy of Japan," he finds, "did not represent the steady unfolding of a master-plan . . . devised by a coolly calculating and united band of conspirators," but was "a mixture of opportunism and blunderings," devised by "short-sighted mediocrities." Of the Chinese war he writes, "Tokyo and Nanking were plunged into a general conflict which neither had initially desired and which was to prove ultimately fatal to both." He believes that even in the autumn of 1941 Japanese withdrawal from southern Indochina in return for a relaxation of the oil embargo might have provided a

modus vivendi that could have averted the Pacific war, since German defeats in Russia that winter would have altered Japanese attitudes. If the Japanese were not to come to terms with the West, Mr. Jones feels that their best course would have been to co-ordinate their diplomatic and military strategy with the Nazis, rather than to pursue a muddled middle course that "gave Japan the worst of both worlds." Like many others, Mr. Jones believes that the Allied policy of unconditional surrender was a grave mistake. Few will disagree with his general comment on Far Eastern history since 1937 that, "had all the Powers concerned been consciously working to promote the triumph of Communism in that region, they could hardly have been more successful in largely achieving this result."

Harvard University

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

TYPHOON IN TOKYO: THE OCCUPATION AND ITS AFTERMATH.

By *Harry Emerson Wildes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. v, 356. \$4.50.)

JAPAN: FROM SURRENDER TO PEACE. By Baron *E. J. Lewe van Aduard*.

With a Foreword by John Foster Dulles. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1954. Pp. xv, 351. \$7.50.)

THESE two very different books about postwar Japan admirably supplement each other.

Dr. Wildes, writing from rich personal experience as a teacher in prewar Japan and as an occupation official, presents a highly detailed, entertaining, inside account of the American occupation. To him the occupation appeared as a sprawling, hectic, blundering social experiment imposed upon an equally befuddled nation, which nevertheless turned out to be a surprising success. This paradoxical outcome he attributes to the mutual good will of what he calls the occupation's "devoted middle brass" and of the "amazingly cooperative" Japanese populace.

The unique contribution of this book lies in the wealth of intimate facts which the author has assembled. This multiplicity of names, figures, anecdotes, and episodes is handled with such skill and accuracy as to reproduce the authentic "feel" of the frenetic occupation atmosphere. With a sharp sense of humor, the author exposes the occupation's inconsistencies. Out of incomparable familiarity with Japan, he points out the many misapprehensions under which the occupation labored and recognizes many Japanese reactions which most Americans failed to perceive correctly. His observations are shrewd and sound.

The weakness of the book stems from the fact that the author, in his laudable intention to let the facts speak for themselves, has unfortunately gone to the extreme of refraining from any systematic interpretation whatever. The result is that the many facts and episodes he recites, while highly suggestive, are not properly integrated into a balanced picture. The impression he leaves of the occupation, therefore, is that it was a jumble of mistakes and confusion salvaged miraculously by good will alone. But underlying social and historical factors must exist

that explain more rationally why the occupation turned out as well as it did. These factors the author almost wholly neglects, except only for incidental and disconnected flashes of insight.

Baron van Aduard's book answers more than satisfactorily nearly every question Dr. Wildes leaves unanswered. This book is almost starkly bare of details, but it probes penetratingly and systematically into the basic reasons for the events which have affected postwar Japan. As a Dutch diplomat stationed for some time in Japan, the author writes with personal detachment from the immediate concerns of both the American occupation and Japanese life. Reflecting his background, he devotes fully one half of his account to the diplomatic maneuverings leading up to the Japanese peace treaty, which he shows to have been much more significant to the world at large than is generally realized. Even his relatively brief but comprehensive treatment of the purely domestic developments in Japan gains valuable perspective from his keen awareness of the international setting.

While the author approaches his subject dispassionately, he emerges with a warmly appreciative appraisal of the American efforts respecting Japan. He takes due account of the mistakes and shortcomings of the occupation and of the Japanese, including one bit of scathing criticism of the basic American failure to comprehend the contemporary Asian revolutionary movement. But General MacArthur, John Foster Dulles, and their many associates—even Prime Minister Yoshida—are shown to have labored with remarkable devotion, intelligence, and logical consistency in coping with the intricate problem of reintegrating Japan into the world community. He concludes that Japan has been as successfully oriented toward democracy as circumstances would permit. Whether Japan will continue to develop further as a democratic nation or succumb to extremist pressures, he admonishes, will be governed as much by the actions of the world outside Japan as by the efforts of the Japanese themselves.

The great value of this book lies in its balanced, judicious weighing of the great complex of factors affecting Japan. In a deceptively simple literary style, it manages to be comprehensive, logical, and perceptive. While unassuming in tone, it is thoughtful, mature, and wise. Its defects are minor. The author leans a bit too heavily on occupation-supplied data, but his critical sense is sufficient to keep him from being thrown off balance.

Ohio State University

KAZUO KAWAI

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA. By *Hugh Tinker*. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. *Lord Hailey*. [University of London Historical Studies, Volume I.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, New York. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 376. \$7.00.)

IN this work the author's aim is to explain the development of local governmental bodies under British tutelage (especially since 1882), to discuss the in-

terrelations between such development and the movement for national independence, and to indicate the elements of strength and weakness in the foundations of local *self-government* which the new governments of India, Pakistan, and Burma inherited in 1947-48. He deals only with the former "British India," and it is rather extraordinary that no mention is made of the history of local government in any of the Indian princely states, large or small. The book is based almost wholly upon official documents of the former government of India. This necessarily involved the mastery of vast masses of statistics and intractable material in hundreds of official reports. The resulting narrative is crystal clear, and the author is to be congratulated for the skill with which he has dealt with material of this kind. He has written a definitive work which will hold the field for many years.

Despite the book's somewhat technical character, it should by no means be neglected by the nonspecialist. By writing of the last eighty years with his attention focused on the local scene, whether urban or rural, Dr. Tinker has given a new perspective to many aspects of that period which all students of Indian affairs should ponder. First and most important, although local government was an excellent training-ground for the older school of national leaders like Gokhalé and Banerjea, nationalists quickly saw that capture of local bodies would avail them nothing and concentrated their attack on government at the central and provincial level. In modern India foundations of local government and foundations of local *self-government* are very different things; Dr. Tinker's book should remind officials of the new "successor" governments of the imperative necessity of preserving and strengthening the latter and of resisting the temptation to solve too many local problems by dictation from the national or state capital. For example, the experience of the recent past discussed here shows how extremely difficult and complex the problem of revitalizing village panchayats really is. Second, we have in this book further data on the way in which pressure for "communal" representation and electorates manifested itself at the local level even early in this period both with and without "official" inspiration. Third, Dr. Tinker throws much new light on the operation of Indian government in the "dyarchy" period, especially before 1930. The decision to grant greater local autonomy in the 1920's was indeed most significant. Finally, by emphasizing the contrasts with Burma where foundations laid in India were largely absent before 1925, Dr. Tinker makes very clear what a significant contribution the work done since the 1870's to promote urban and rural self-government has made to the present stability of India and Pakistan. His work, under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, begins a new University of London historical series.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDOCHINA. By *Ellen J. Hammer*. With a Preface by Rupert Emerson. [Published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 332. \$5.00.)

THIS is a full and very detailed account of the history of French Indochina, especially since the Japanese occupation of 1940-1941. There is a brief account of French colonial administration prior to World War II, and some attention is paid to the economic situation; but the emphasis is placed on the development of nationalism and on political history. Prior to the war the chance that French control would be overthrown seemed remote. Nationalism was largely confined to the small urban minority and did not receive strong support from the peasant 80 per cent. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia the Japanese occupation immensely strengthened nationalism because it disclosed the inability of France to defend her dependency, and so shattered her prestige. The demand for independence burgeoned in every group of society, though it would be going beyond the evidence to assume that the desire for self-government could be equated with democratic government. The same sentiment prevailed in Cambodia and Laos, tempered by their long-standing hostility to the Vietnamese. They had no desire to exchange the control of France for that of Vietnam, and apart from small groups which operated under the control of Ho Chi Minh, these two states remained neutral during the rebellion in Viet Nam.

The French made the capital blunder of greatly underestimating the strength of Vietnamese nationalism, and of believing that it would be satisfied by partial self-government and the retention of a good deal of French control. The second mistake was that too few troops were sent to defeat so widespread an uprising. One of the few who appraised the situation correctly was General Leclerc, the commander in Viet Nam in 1945-1946. He declared that to crush the revolt would require an army that was beyond the resources of postwar France, and that therefore it was necessary to compromise. Other counsels prevailed, and the result was to drive the majority of the Vietnamese nationalists firmly on to the side of Ho Chi Minh and the Communists. The same policy of partial and inadequate concessions was one reason for the failure of the attempt to use Bao Dai to win back the nationalists from Ho Chi Minh. The latter further cemented his control by a combination of assassinating opponents, introducing moderate agrarian reforms that were popular with the peasants, and placing Communists in key positions in the army and the administration.

The book makes it clear that if an election is held the choice will lie between a Communist dictatorship and an authoritarian regime under Bao Dai. Since the former has a good party organization and the latter has not, and since many regard the Communists merely as nationalists and agrarian reformers, the odds are in favor of a Communist electoral success.

University of Minnesota

LENNOX A. MILLS

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE, 1939-1941. By *Paul Hasluck*. [Australia in the War of 1939-1945. Series Four, Civil, Volume I.] (Canberra: Australian War Memorial. 1952. Pp. xvii, 644. 25s.)

THIS volume of 644 pages, including fourteen chapters, sixty illustrations, ten

appendixes, and an extensive index, is part of a large undertaking to write an official history of the participation of Australia in the Second World War. It is planned to consist of twenty volumes, by thirteen different authors, in five series as follows: Series I (Army) seven volumes, Series II (Navy) two volumes, Series III (Air) four volumes, Series IV (Civil) five volumes, Series V (Medical) four volumes. This is the first volume of a two-volume study in Series IV on the history of the government and the people from 1939 to 1945.

The author has amply demonstrated not only a wealth of training and experience in the field in which he writes but also a high degree of scholarship and good judgment in handling and making clear the most difficult and complicated political and administrative situations. Having served as journalist, university lecturer, senior public servant, officer of the Australian diplomatic service, and member of parliament, he is familiar with the men and events of the period and knows the documents, often from firsthand experience. In his own words, "a conscious attempt was made to tell the story of what happened in Cabinet, Parliament, government offices and the polling booth, as that story was seen during the war and not as it may have been interpreted since the war" (p. xii). It is significant that while this study is part of the "official" history of Australia's participation in the war and while the author had free access and unlimited use of all the official records available in the governmental departments, he was not subjected, during its preparation, to any official scrutiny or any official censorship whatever. In what he included, as well as in what he omitted, he was limited only by his own, and his general editor's, sense of fitness and good taste.

The result, therefore, is a contribution of the first importance not only to the history of Australia and of her struggle for unity and security but also to the history of the British Commonwealth and the vast struggle which called forth its greatest effort and sacrifice. It is a narrative covering an enormous amount of detail in respect to politics, administration, and policy, but in spite of this fact it is well organized and frequently brilliantly executed. Because of the unrestricted use of the official records and the liberal quotations from documents, it is also a source book of major importance. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes in the series will measure up to the high standards set by Mr. Hasluck in this splendid contribution.

State University of Iowa

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON

American History

AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited by *Merle Curti*. [Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 252. \$4.50.)

IN 1943 the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of \$100,000 to the Library of Congress "for the purpose of encouraging the writing and publication of books

on important aspects of American life and culture. . . . [Half of this sum] is being used to subsidize an integrated series of publications dealing with the United States in the twentieth century" (*Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress* . . . June 30, 1949, pp. 20-81).

The present volume, the fifth in the "integrated series," of which Ralph Henry Gabriel is general editor, is edited by Merle Curti, who contributes an introductory essay on "The Setting and Its Problems," which is followed by five other essays: "The Social Sciences," by the late Louis Wirth; "Historical Scholarship," by W. Stull Holt; "Literary Scholarship," by René Wellek; "Classical Scholarship," by Walter R. Agard; and "Philosophical Scholarship," by Arthur E. Murphy. All these essays have substantial interest for historians and deserve their careful reading. A brief review can hardly do justice to this volume, much less to its subject matter, which calls for an essay after the manner of the *Edinburgh Review* in the days of Macaulay. Professor Curti's introductory essay is notable for its insight, its inclusiveness, and its fruitful suggestions; it sets forth a program far more extensive than the five succeeding essays could possibly cover in their two hundred pages. He deals with the emergence of American scholarship from its quasi-dependent status in 1900 to its full independence, and in some fields world leadership in 1950. He emphasizes the influence of scientific research and methods on the scholarly disciplines, the rapidly broadening range of subject matter and the development of new areas of research, the impetus gained through the organization of scholarship and the more effective planning thus made possible, the increasing participation by American scholars in international scholarly organizations and in their activities, the important influence of foreign scholars, many of them exiles, who have become members of the American community, the growing recognition by scholars of their public and social responsibilities and their increasing concern with problems of education, a new awareness on the part of the public and especially of government of the importance and value of scholarly research and the call of scholars to public service on a large scale, and, finally, the delicate problems of intellectual freedom.

The essays on the social sciences, historical scholarship, and classical scholarship seem to be most immediately related to the interests of the historian. All three are admirable, authoritative, and suggestive. The present reviewer, however, does not share Professor Holt's regret (p. 89) that the late J. Franklin Jameson did not elect to devote his great talents to writing history, on his own account, rather than to promoting historical studies of others. His labors in maintaining high standards of scholarship and criticism as editor of the *American Historical Review* (which Gabriel Monod, editor of the *Revue historique*, declared, in 1907, to be the best historical review then published), his work in planning and directing the exploration and description of the major archival sources of American history, his successful campaign for the National Archives building, his comprehensive survey of gaps in the documentation of American history and his success in seeing that many of them were filled, his initiative in setting on foot projects of bibliographical

control, and his many other services to American historical studies were far more useful and far-reaching over the long period than the historical works of highest merit which he would have produced.

Finally the present reviewer regrets that the little volume under consideration is not large enough to include additional essays on such subjects as Oriental studies, Latin-American studies, history of science, history of the arts, including music, historic sites and monuments, linguistics, or the control and description of archives and historical manuscripts.

Washington, D. C.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND

PEOPLE OF PLENTY: ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. By *David M. Potter*. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. xxvii, 219. \$3.50.)

WHAT determined the American character? In nine thoughtful essays, which in basic form were the Walgreen Lectures at Chicago in 1950, Professor Potter singles out "economic abundance." Assailed by misgivings about the concept "national character," he examined the writings of a mixed list of writers as well as the researches of historians and came up with no satisfactory explanation. "National character" was elusive. It could not be pinned down. Even Turner, Beard, and Morison, provocative and learned as they were or are, did not help. For the historians not only "failed to agree on what they mean by 'national character'; they have also failed to agree on what kind of qualities should be taken into account as composing it."

Frustrated in his own discipline in his attempt to explain what determined this "new man" of America, Potter turned to the new behavioral sciences. From the personality and culture concepts of the psychologists and anthropologists, to whom he is willing to give primacy among behavioral scientists, he gained much. Brilliantly utilizing the findings of scholars like Adorno, Kardiner, Klineberg, Kluckhohn, Linton, and Mead, to mention a few, he gained tools of understanding, concepts that included changes in the human environment in which the national character forms and changes. The national character then became what the changing human (as differentiated from the physical) environment did to personality. The findings of historians about the details of the human environment became useful here as they supplemented those of the other more exact behavioral scientists.

What was the particular and peculiar characteristic of the American human environment? It was (and is) economic plenty. As a good scientist Professor Potter tests his hypothesis with experience, in this case with American history. He finds that for himself the hypothesis has validity. The abundance of the United States is proverbial. He cites statistics and gives neat illustrations to demonstrate it. American mobility and lack of status are characteristic. Abundance ex-

plains. Americans are democratic. Abundance permits. Americans believe they have a peculiar mission. Abundance explains both the mission and its peculiar nature. American historians have often followed Turner's frontier hypothesis. The frontier was part of abundance. Americans advertise. This is part of abundance. The very nature of child-rearing in America is determined by America's economic plenty.

This brief summary makes Potter's careful analysis appear all too simple. His book is full of insights and astute observations. This reviewer believes it will rank high among the significant books that have influenced historical interpretation in the United States. The reviewer's question is, Can even the changing national character be explained in terms of one condition, one concept, abundance? Are not the answers pluralistic? Perhaps history is not a science and historians cannot in Newtonian fashion find one causal factor. Perhaps it is here that history may temper the new behavioral sciences.

Washington, D. C.

BOYD C. SHAFER

THE SAVAGES OF AMERICA: A STUDY OF THE INDIAN AND THE IDEA OF CIVILIZATION. By *Roy Harvey Pearce*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. xv, 252. \$4.00.)

RED MAN'S AMERICA: A HISTORY OF INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Ruth Murray Underhill*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. x, 400. \$5.50.)

THESE two books are excellent companion pieces, and anyone who reads one should read the other. Pearce is interested in the philosophical concepts the carriers of western European culture held about the native inhabitants of North America with whom they came in contact in the process of settling the New World. This contact was characterized by misunderstanding and hostility on both sides, and through Pearce's incisive analysis we are given insight into some of the causes. The period covered is between 1609 when Richard Johnson's *Nova Britannia* was published and 1851 when Lewis Henry Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* first came out. During the time between the appearance of these two books a series of stereotyped notions about Indians arose and became accepted. These stereotypes are still prevalent today, although the scientific approach to the study of American Indians is now over one hundred years old. To the professional who is continually running across these misconceptions, the analysis supplied by Pearce is fascinating.

Pearce uses the abstract terms Idea, Symbol, and Image to represent savagery, the Indian, and the literary figure of the Indian in his discussion of the conceptions developed by the English-American colonists and settlers, conceptions dramatized by the position of the white frontiersman, who stood between the Indians on the one hand and the whites on the other. Running throughout the book is the theme that the whites believed the Indians to be savages, alternately noble or base

but always inferior and doomed. Advocates for civilizing the Indians agreed on one basic point with those who believed the Indians should be exterminated: that aboriginal life would disappear before the press of white expansionists.

Miss Underhill's book, *Red Man's America*, is more than just another point of view. It serves admirably as an antidote to the poisonous philosophies so carefully documented by Pearce. The reader has the opportunity to balance the real against the conceptual picture, lending depth to each. Miss Underhill's book covers the reconstructed prehistory as well as the history of all the major culture areas north of Mexico. Following Wissler, she delineates nine such areas: the Plains, Basin-Plateau, Mackenzie, Northwest Coast, California, Southwest, Northeast, Southeast, and Eskimo. Her characterizations are sharp, and she carries her story farther in time than did either Wissler in *The American Indian* or Kroeber in *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*. She shows that descendants of the Indians whom Pearce's settlers tried to exterminate still live on reservations all over the western states. According to Miss Underhill they constitute a new problem for our society to solve, but perhaps this is merely a new phrasing of the old one: civilization or extinction.

At last this reviewer understands why many American historians have adopted the howling wilderness theory in regard to the Indian inhabitants of the New World. Evidently our literate ancestors, believing in the manifest destiny of a superior race, refused to acknowledge contributions made by Indians to white culture. These contributions include many of our major food crops, such as corn, cotton, tobacco, and the so-called "Irish" potato. Furthermore, the role played by Indians in the French and Indian War and the War of 1812 is quite often overlooked. No historian who reads the two books here reviewed is likely to fall into the error of assuming that the Indians were just one more elemental force to be tamed, even if it is now abundantly clear that this is exactly what the settler believed.

Indiana University

J. A. JONES

COTTON MATHER: FIRST SIGNIFICANT FIGURE IN AMERICAN MEDICINE. By *Otho T. Beall, Jr.*, and *Richard H. Shryock*. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, First Series: Monographs, Volume V.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 241. \$4.00.)

THIS study of Cotton Mather's medical knowledge, its background, and his use of it, is the more valuable because it prints for the first time important sections of his manuscript "Angel of Bethesda." Using this medical treatise and relevant passages in Mather's unprinted "Biblia Americana" and his other writings, it presents an orderly exposition of the nature and sources of his learning, his psychosomatic theories and psychiatric practice, and, especially, the scientific issues involved in the inoculation experiments in Boston in 1721 and their importance in

medical history. Mr. Beall and Mr. Shryock believe that Mather was not an officious and credulous meddler in matters he knew little about, but a scholar who had interested himself before 1721 in the possibility that pathogenic organisms caused and spread disease, had carefully read the evidence on the utility of inoculation, and had decided on quite rational grounds that it deserved a trial. His colleague in the ministry, Benjamin Colman, had by 1721 heard of the "animalcular" theory of disease and mentioned it in a tract, but Mather continued to read and think about it and showed in "The Angel" that he was convinced of its truth. In this he was clearly a scientific pioneer, and a few of his other scientific insights show him to have been fully abreast of what now seems to have been some of the best scientific thought of his time and on occasion more enlightened than most of his contemporaries. He was as credulous as most scientists of his day and swallowed many notions which seem to us absurd, but he did pay serious attention to several little-considered medical discoveries and problems, the importance of which has since been proved. Some of his ideas about psychosomatic relationships and the proper treatment of mental afflictions, however little they directly influenced later generations, foreshadow certain demonstrably useful medical developments in recent years. And it was largely because of him that "the history of immunology, with all its ultimate values . . . , began—above the folk level and on a meaningful scale—in the Boston of 1721."

The authors' treatment of the relation between Mather's medical thought and his theology and of the reasons for the passionate controversy aroused by his advocacy of inoculation, will seem inadequate to students of other strains than the scientific in colonial intellectual history. But they should be grateful for this well-documented study, since it uses material many scholars have neglected and reveals a knowledge of medical history possessed by few other writers on Mather's virtues and defects as a scientist.

Harvard University

KENNETH B. MURDOCK

· VALLEY OF DEMOCRACY: THE FRONTIER VERSUS THE PLANTATION IN THE OHIO VALLEY, 1775-1818. By *John D. Barnhart*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 338. \$5.00.)

It should be said at the outset of this review that Professor Barnhart has written a book that will provoke a good amount of discussion. He has undertaken the delicate task of determining the origins of democracy among several of the frontier states, and makes an opening declaration that it was not imported from Europe. He immediately shows that various forms out of which the whole body was shaped did have both an English and a European background. He labels as democratic those activities and forces which placed control of political affairs in the largest number of hands with the fewest restrictions. Likewise he decides early in his study that wherever the planter element of the Atlantic seaboard had

an influence democracy was stifled. "Only north of the Ohio," he says, "were the forces working for democracy strong enough to check the planter." This one sentence should make life interesting for the author for a long time to come.

Great emphasis is placed upon the influence of Pennsylvania in the shaping of the frontier democratic tradition. It is true that the framers of the newer state documents either had direct access to the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790, or they used for patterns constitutions which contained significant parts of it. This was especially true in regard to the various bills of rights. Back of this, however, are the facts that even the Pennsylvania document was a composite of many things, and many of these were of tidewater origin. The question arises at this point, how much more important are the forms of government than the principles of government? This almost becomes a central theme of this book.

The formation of the state of Kentucky presents a basic picture of statemaking in general on the frontier. Scarcely a state was formed thereafter which was not pulled away from some other political body. There was a mixture of sentiments in that western part of Virginia which ranged from abject love of Virginia to detestation of it. Special interests of almost every sort appeared to present their views. Three things, however, overshadowed all others: Indians, land, and the inconvenience of bringing to a conclusion certain legal matters.

It took the Kentuckians a long time to make up their minds that they wanted statehood. Part of it was due to lack of a unified public opinion, part of it was due to a degree of caution which has ever characterized the Kentuckians. James Wilkinson's activities cloud a central part of the move to separate Kentucky from Virginia. While it is true that large numbers of the delegates, in fact practically all of them, were natives of Virginia, they were valley Virginians. Several facts should be kept in mind in regard to this group of delegates. First, only one of them was a "coonskin cap" pioneer and that was Benjamin Logan. Second, the moving influence in the convention that drafted the first constitution was George Nicholas of Tidewater Virginia. Any radical sounds that came from Kentucky in the years 1784-1792, came from the Danville Political Club. This reviewer has found it difficult to connect the first Kentucky constitution with these discussions. Those debates were hot, academic, and basically meaningless so far as the constitution was concerned. As Professor Barnhart says, Nicholas had the Pennsylvania constitution before him 75 per cent of the time in drafting the Kentucky document. Then where did all the letters to the editor of the *Kentucky Gazette* and the debates at Danville go?

The finished Kentucky constitution is in many ways a curiosity. In light of the fact that it was the primary frontier document its elements are strange. There was genuine fear of the people, a concentration of control actually in the Bluegrass, lack of an educational clause, an airtight slavery clause, and a characteristic frontier fear of taxation.

With equal diligence the author traces the development of government in Tennessee and the Old Northwest. He has searched through tremendous piles of

materials, and has documented his study heavily: there are ninety pages of notes. He has kept in mind his original question of the sources of democracy and has identified the forces at work on the frontier.

Professor Barnhart's answer to his basic question will involve him in considerable discussion. This reviewer would like to raise a question of his own. How significant was the application of basic democratic principles to the functioning of a democracy? It would be hard to look at Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee political history, for instance, and come away with the conviction that American democracy in this region of the United States has functioned with the people always in mind. Group, machine, and factional controls have been as important in shaping the political traditions as ideals and democratic impulses. Some would say far more. That too was a cardinal part of the frontier tradition.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

PLANTER MANAGEMENT AND CAPITALISM IN ANTE-BELLUM GEORGIA: THE JOURNAL OF HUGH FRASER GRANT, RICE-GROWER. Edited with Introductory Chapters by *Albert Virgil House*. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, Number 13.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 329. \$4.75.)

Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante-Bellum Georgia is one of the most significant volumes on the history of the South to appear in recent years. Professor Albert V. House has coupled excellent imaginative scholarship with a splendidly edited record of an important segment of specialized plantation economics—"The Journal and Account Book, 1834-1861" of Hugh Fraser Grant of Elizafield Plantation, Glynn County, Georgia. The result is a volume of merit, filled with careful and adequate explanations and interesting interpretation.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first part contains an account of the Grant family and their plantations; the story of rice culture in Georgia and how it differed from that of other areas; and an excellent analysis of the financing and marketing of rice. Part two consists of "The Journal and Account Book" of Planter Grant in revealing detail. The third part, extremely valuable, contains a useful and, in such volumes, seldom found directory of persons and business firms referred to in "The Journal and Account Book." The bibliography is extensive and the index carefully done. Inside the attractive volume are maps of the plantations of the Grant family on the Altamaha.

Dr. Robert Grant, founder of the Elizafield plantation, retired in 1833 and left the management and operation of the divided plantation to his sons, Hugh Fraser and Charles, with extensive provisions for the welfare of all members of his family. Hugh Fraser Grant became one of the ablest and best-known planters of the region and one of the leading citizens of the Georgia rice belt. Charles Grant was not successful and intermittently relied on his brother to manage the plantation he inherited in 1843. The plantations of the former were going concerns until the

Civil War. In the postwar period despite valiant efforts the family ultimately lost their plantation property. "The Journal and Account Book of Hugh Fraser Grant, 1834-1861" provides much information on his success in the earlier period.

Professor House has presented in this volume a picture of another phase of entrepreneurial capitalism—that of commercialized agriculture. In operation the Grant plantations required the same techniques as business combinations and there is evidence that some of the most magnificent long-range detailed planning in that period was done by planter capitalists. The thoroughness with which such planters studied the details of their operations, sought to break bottlenecks and to control related operations is a tribute to their skill and ingenuity. Men accustomed to the hard work of running such plantations and with the patience and ability to see the whole problem while immersed in and familiar with the remote details were eligible to lead in any society or civilization. It is the opinion of the reviewer that this demonstrated capacity plus the necessary utilization of detail in planning large operations was far more responsible for the role Southern planter-statesmen played in state and national politics than any so-called cultural phenomena. Ability to think clearly, to relate details, to analyze carefully, and to handle the managerial problem was the basis for success in any business, and planting was no exception. One of the tragedies of the present writing of Southern history is the fact that such basic studies are being ignored while politics and society are being studied as things apart. Editor House has in this volume pointed the way to such studies.

University of Kentucky

BENNETT H. WALL

NEGRO SLAVE SONGS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Miles Mark Fisher*.

With a Foreword by Ray Allen Billington, William Smith Mason Professor of History, Northwestern University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1953. Pp. xv, 223. \$4.00.)

THIS effort to relate Negro slave songs to the history of Negroes in Africa and the New World is the result of prodigious and impressive research. Dr. Fisher discovers eight kinds of influences that went into making the spirituals, ranging from African experiences to the "great spiritual events of American history." Slave songs, he says, "throw light upon camp meetings, African colonization, the oral instruction of Negroes after 1831, work and leisure-time activities of Negro slaves, the Civil War with its soldiers, education, and evangelism, and the Reconstruction" (p. 180). The major portion of the book is devoted to illustrating this point.

The unique methodology employed by the author has an important bearing upon the conclusions he reaches. In inquiring into the origins of Negro songs Dr. Fisher seeks to understand the conditions surrounding their origins, the experiences of those who first sang them, the meaning of the words in the context of the songs' origins, and the total effect the songs were intended to have. This, of course, involved the extensive employment of the principles of internal criticism,

Consequently, his conclusions consist, to a large extent, of inferences drawn from such criticism.

For example, in tracing the origin of the well-known spiritual, "Lord, I Want To Be a Christian," Dr. Fisher points out that in 1756 a Virginia slave approached Samuel Davies, a Presbyterian minister, and said, in broken English, "I come to you, sir, that you may tell me some good things concerning Jesus Christ and my duty to God, for I am resolved not to live any more as I have done." From this utterance came the spiritual which, Dr. Fisher says, "fits the ministry of Davies between 1748 and 1759 and is specifically in accord with the slave's request at Hanover in 1756, the probable place and date of origin" (p. 31). It seems that the accounts of the origins of spirituals based upon such inferences must be highly tentative; and while they are, in some instances, plausible, it is difficult to regard them as conclusive.

Dr. Fisher holds the view that Africans in the New World preserved a good deal of the culture which they had in their native land. Their knowledge of the culture and their desire to return were important ingredients of many spirituals. The American Negro slave practice of holding secret meetings was African, he says (pp. 66 ff.). One may concede that Africans held secret meetings, but it does not necessarily follow that when American Negro slaves held secret meetings in 1822 or 1831 they were perpetuating an African custom. Is it just barely possible that they could have been following the widespread practices of their white masters, many of whom were Masons or members of other secret orders? Or, might they have simply realized that if they were plotting a revolt or an escape, secret meetings were imperative? Later, Dr. Fisher says that after Nat Turner's insurrection Southerners persisted in the "illogical assumption that abolitionism was the cause of Negro unrest rather than admit that the ancient African cult was at work." The assumption of Southerners was, on the face of it, erroneous since it failed to consider numerous other factors at work. But one is not convinced that it was merely the ancient African cult that was at work in 1831; and one is certainly moved to wonder why the cult had not been frequently at work in the previous century, when there were more African-born Negroes in the United States.

This reviewer must take exception to the author's claim that American Negro slaves were enthusiastic about colonization in Liberia and elsewhere. Except for the overly enthusiastic editors of the *African Repository*, few Americans claimed that Negroes were anxious or even willing to return to Africa. And the small number of Negroes who migrated to Africa—barely 9,000 between 1820 and 1850—seems to suggest a lack of enthusiasm. Is it possible, therefore, as the author claims, that Negro slaves were, by 1824, so anxious to go to Liberia (which had been founded only a few years earlier) that they sang of it as "home," "Canaan," and "heab'n" (p. 111)? This reviewer fails to find any conclusive evidence that Negro slaves were referring to Africa when they sang of "another land." If, as the author states, Negroes were nurtured in the finest traditions of American

Christianity, it may be reasonable to assume that some of them sang of that "other world" which was the perennial subject of songs and sermons of the intensely emotional religious sects of the ante-bellum period. There can be no doubt that many of the Negro slave songs are important historical documents; but it is quite possible to make claims for them so extravagant that proof becomes hopelessly elusive if not altogether impossible.

Howard University

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE DAYS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY: A JOURNAL KEPT BY W. W. HEARTSILL FOR FOUR YEARS, ONE MONTH AND ONE DAY, or CAMP LIFE; DAY BY DAY, OF THE W. P. LANE RANGERS FROM APRIL 19, 1861, TO MAY 20, 1865. Edited by *Bell Irvin Wiley*. (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 332. \$6.00.)

MY DIARY, NORTH AND SOUTH. By *William Howard Russell*. Edited and Introduced by *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xiii, 268. \$4.00.)

WILLIAM W. Heartsill, native Tennessean, enlisted in the W. P. Lane Rangers in Texas on April 19, 1861, and served in the Confederate Army until discharged on May 20, 1865. He kept a daily journal in small notebooks which he later re-drafted, then revised, and in 1874-1876 printed one page at a time on a small Octavo Novelty Press. One hundred copies were printed and only a baker's dozen are known to exist. The editor and publisher have rendered a real service to those interested in Civil War history by making Heartsill's book available. It is to be regretted that they reproduced it in facsimile, for the type is small, often blurred, and always difficult to read.

The editor's introduction gives a brief sketch of the author's life, and the appendix contains a section of the author's original version and another of the author's rewrite. The revision indicates that the changes made were in the nature of added detail, corrected errors, and improved style, and did not sacrifice the basic accuracy of the original notes.

Heartsill served in the Southwest, was captured and had a stint in prison in Illinois, was paroled and assigned to service with General Bragg in Tennessee. Shortly after Chickamauga he deserted, and with a few companions made his way through Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana to Texas where he rejoined the Rangers and served as a guard of Union prisoners at Tyler. He describes vividly the life of the common soldier in camp, in prison, and on the battlefield as well as life on the home front as he observed it on his trek from Georgia to Texas. Heartsill was an ardent Confederate, optimistic and confident of victory to the very end.

Unlike Heartsill's journal, William Howard Russell's *Diary* has been known

and used by nearly all students of the Civil War since the end of that conflict. London *Times* correspondent in the Crimean as well as the American Civil War, Russell was favorably received in New York and Washington although the *Times* was known to be sympathetic to the South. Russell met and passed judgment on nearly all the great and near great and many that were not so great. His extraordinary gift of writing close-ups makes his *Diary* of especial importance. His pen pictures of Lincoln and other leaders are vivid portrayals, and his evaluations of these men generally accurate. He found the inhabitants of New York and Washington lukewarm in support of the Union cause, many in fact openly sympathetic to the Confederacy. The New York merchants were "silent, fearful of offending their Southern friends and connections. . . . Their sentiments, sympathies, and business bound them with the South." But when war came "their change in manners, in tone, and in argument . . . [was] most remarkable."

Leaving Washington, Russell made a tour of the South, visiting Charleston, Savannah, Montgomery, Mobile, and New Orleans. He was favorably impressed with the South generally; and he was sympathetic to the Southern cause, although he openly showed his hatred of slavery. He found great unanimity of feeling in the South, both with respect to the justness of their cause and their confidence in the ability and leadership of President Davis. Russell himself soon became convinced that the South would win its independence and that the Union could not be restored.

From New Orleans Russell went up the Mississippi to Chicago, across to New York, and then to Washington where he observed, but was unimpressed with, the preparations for the first battle of Manassas or Bull Run. His letter to the *Times* describing the panic and rout of the raw, poorly disciplined troops won for him his nickname "Bull Run," and the undying hatred of the Unionists. He made every effort to secure permission to accompany the federal troops under General McClellan in 1862, but was refused permission "because I told the truth about Bull Run," said he. Russell then returned to England and published his *Diary* in 1863.

Fletcher Pratt, as editor, writes an introduction, cuts out Russell's introduction and table of contents, and reduces the contents of the original edition by about two thirds. He says he left out "no essential fact or opinion," "no important personal contact" made by Russell. This may be true but he did omit much valuable data about the people and conditions of both North and South. Because of the brighter appearance and brevity of the new edition it will be popular with the general public, but the serious student of history will use the original edition.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

BEYOND THE HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN: JOHN WESLEY POWELL AND THE SECOND OPENING OF THE WEST. By *Wallace Stegner*. With an Introduction by *Bernard DeVoto*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 438. \$6.00.)

THE author brings his book to an early climax when he tells in great detail the story of Major Powell's passage through the canyons of the Colorado, from Wyoming to Arizona. There is a real contribution here, even though William Culp Darrah published a good account of the same episode three years ago. The superiority of the second telling lies in Mr. Stegner's knowledge of the river and in his power to describe the impressive, vivid, and bizarre scenery through which the Colorado flows. As an extra treat he includes several nineteenth-century drawings and paintings which illustrate how the canyon country stimulated the artist to depart from realistic conceptions of nature.

The chronicler and dramatizer of Powell's great exploration fails to make the grade as historian of his later life. In part it is because Mr. Stegner couldn't decide what to do with many of the facts he collected. Without a standard of selection or discrimination his chapters become a miscellany, or even worse trivial and unoriginal. Part II, on the Colorado plateau, is a mixture of history, geography, science, anthropology, and nature description. Whenever the author introduces a new topic he feels he must do considerable backtracking; but the information he presents is usually quite familiar. He reduces the history of the U. S. Geological Survey to a story of personal feuds and factions.

Of course the book has a focus and a worth-while theme when Mr. Stegner is discussing Powell's abortive attempt to get a reclamation program started. He pictures the major as fighting all by himself in 1890 for science, democracy, and planning while he characterizes the opposition—which in the end includes practically everybody from Kansas west—as stupid, venal, or ignorant. No such unlikely division of virtue and intelligence ever occurred. Struggling with a complicated situation, neither Powell nor his opponents came up with a practical solution, primarily because they would not admit the unpleasant fact that the government must make the capital investment if large-scale irrigation was to succeed. Both sides persisted in the erroneous belief that private financing was feasible.

Mr. Stegner's complementary thesis is equally untenable: that Powell was the fountainhead of the conservation movement. Preoccupied with reclamation, where he was a failure, he left to others the pioneering in forestry, national parks, and soil research. His highest intellectual or political achievements do not lie in this direction at all; their locus is the Geological Survey which he did so much to organize.

Washington, D. C.

THOMAS G. MANNING

WOODROW WILSON AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1910-1917. By Arthur S. Link. [The New American Nation Series] (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. Pp. xvii, 231. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Link's new book, one of the first two volumes to be published in the "New American Nation Series" edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, is a prodigious piece of original scholarship. Drawing on years of

research undertaken for his multivolume biography of Woodrow Wilson, now in progress, Professor Link has based almost his entire narrative not on the articles and monographs of other scholars in the field but on his own delving into the mountainous manuscript sources and periodical literature of the Wilson era. The writer of twentieth-century history is faced by such an Everest of source material that one may well argue that his primary task should be skillful interpretation rather than exhaustive scholarship, that his time is more profitably spent in mastering the literature of the social sciences and of European history in order to present a more meaningful history than in attempting the exhaustive documentation which may be appropriate for earlier periods. In writing this book, Professor Link has demonstrated that a historian of indefatigable energy can still maintain high standards of thoroughgoing research in writing twentieth-century history. This is both the strength and weakness of the book; the scholarship is impeccable, but the book would be stronger if the focus were not so exclusively on the State Department and the halls of Congress, if political and diplomatic events were more closely related to intellectual currents in Europe and America. The problem is not that Professor Link has chosen to write straight "political history"; given the limitations of space and the nature of the period he was studying, he had little alternative. It is rather that one misses the understanding of what Lionel Trilling means when he writes that "it is no longer possible to think of politics except as the politics of culture." In this sense, the book may be regarded as one of the last stands of nineteenth-century German methodology in the writing of twentieth-century history.

This is not to say that Professor Link completely shuns interpretation for straight narrative; on the contrary, he has set forth three new interpretations of the Wilson era that are certain to change markedly the familiar picture of the period that has been presented in American classrooms for the past generation. (If they are not wholly "new," it is largely because they have been adumbrated in Professor Link's earlier writings.) First, he argues that Wilson was not the sponsor of most of the "Wilsonian" reform legislation; that Wilson had only a limited program of reform embodied in his concept of the New Freedom, and that he was coerced into the adoption of more far-reaching measures by southern agrarians like Kitchin and eastern liberals like Brandeis. Secondly, he argues that Wilsonianism must not be thought of exclusively in terms of the New Freedom; that by 1916, indeed, there had been such an "astonishing metamorphosis in Democratic policies" that Wilson had taken over lock, stock, and barrel the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt. Thirdly, he argues, contrary to the interpretation of Matthew Josephson and others, that the Progressive movement had not died out well before the outbreak of war, that, on the contrary, the winter of 1916 "was a time full of joy and hope for another four years of peace and an intensification of the drive for social justice." If Professor Link has not succeeded in demonstrating these points as conclusively as one would wish, if he frequently uses terms like "radical" and "progressive" much too loosely, if he occasionally

views the politics of 1916 in terms of the ideological warfare of 1936, if he sometimes seems unduly harsh in his treatment of Wilson, he has nonetheless written a book which is incomparably the best single volume on the Wilson era.

Columbia University

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

TAXATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Randolph E. Paul*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. xii, 830. \$15.00.)

THIS book is at once a comprehensive history of federal taxation in the United States and an encyclopedic treatment of tax problems. The history includes court and legislative law, considerable general history, biological snapshots, extensive quotations from debates, spicy anecdotes, digests of important literature, collateral foreign developments. Tax problems include such diverse areas as corporate taxation, capital gains, loopholes, fiscal policy, budgetary innovations, tax limits (Colin Clark), and taxation for social and economic objectives. Special chapters deal with problems of administrative and judicial procedure, needed changes in the tax laws, and progressive taxation. The author undertakes to write both for the layman and the tax specialist, for entertainment and for knowledge. Along with Blough, the economist, he attempts to bridge the gap between law and economics. He set himself a truly prodigious task which in nearly 800 sometimes rambling pages he accomplishes with an amazing degree of success.

The author writes from the highly strategic vantage point of experience as a public servant, tax lawyer, and widely read scholar. His point of view (New Deal) is always evident; but its frank exposure and his judicial treatment give the book a fair score of objectivity.

The book illustrates the advantages of the historical approach. It enables one to see in perspective the perennial tax arguments such as that which views each new tax proposal as "crushing the initiative of the American people." It requires one to revise certain impressions such as that which views Republicans always abhorring deficits while Democrats accept them easily. It impresses upon one the fact of certain revolutionary changes in attitudes; the author goes so far as to predict that in the next depression businessmen will be the first to demand governmental increases in spending and reduction in taxes.

The chapter on progressive taxation submits a running review of countless opinions and arguments concerning this controversial subject. The author concludes characteristically that too much of this discussion has been on a highly theoretical level and he pleads for a more pragmatic approach. For example, he submits the argument that revenue necessity requires mass taxation to the endurance-limit of poor people and that fiscally unimportant surtaxes are necessary to support poor taxpayers' morale. He views the tax battle as a perennial struggle between group interests "which will never end in a decisive victory for either side."

Critics will probably find a few flaws in this book. It seems a pity, for instance, that so much reference material should go undocumented by either bibliography or footnotes (the latter being confined to legal cases). The author, while making a number of shrewd and penetrating original points, is usually more successful in presenting the argument of others than in developing a point of view of his own. But the work on the whole is a monumental accomplishment and it will strike the least common denominator of a wide range of needs.

University of Wisconsin

HAROLD M. GROVES

THE SUPREME COMMAND. By *Forrest C. Pogue*. [United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1954. Pp. xxi, 607. \$6.50.)

THE fourth, and to most readers the most interesting, of the subseries of official studies on "The European Theater of Operations" carries the story from the organization of SHAEF and the preparations for the Normandy landing to the final surrender of Germany. Although the book is, of course, a highly technical military study, one reason for its special interest to the general reader is stated in the preface: "This volume differs from others in the European series because of the greater attention necessarily given to political or nonoperational questions. To tell the full story of SHAEF, I have had to interrupt the operational narrative on occasion in order to interject discussions of such matters as press relations, civil affairs, military government, psychological warfare, and relations with the liberated countries of Europe."

The author relates the fairly familiar story of how Eisenhower rather than Marshall came to be the head of the expeditionary force to the Continent. It is interesting to note that a contemporary German estimate rated Eisenhower very highly: "His strongest point is said to be an ability for adjusting personalities to one another and smoothing over opposite viewpoints" (p. 34); yet Mr. Pogue thinks he "showed at times that he lacked the thick skin which public figures so often require" and he was sensitive to newspaper criticism (p. 35). The problems that confronted the new commander were many and great, not merely the technical ones of organization, transport, and supply but the rather wide differences of opinion between British and American authorities as to the general strategy of the war. On the very eve of the Normandy invasion new perplexities arose, ranging from the effect of the German rockets on troop concentrations in southern England to the effect on French civilian morale of American bombings of railway centers in France. It is amazing that in view of the magnitude of the operation the "most jealously guarded secret—the exact area of the main blow and the approximate date—were not included in the German intelligence estimates" (p. 164), as is shown by a postwar examination of German sources.

So successful was the campaign in France that an enthusiastic military intelli-

gence statement prophesied the end of organized resistance by December 1, 1944, or "even sooner" (p. 245), recalling an optimistic forecast of 1943 that Germany was even then in a worse condition than when she surrendered in 1918 (pp. 104-105). General Eisenhower himself was too well aware of the logistic difficulties of a rapid advance to share such illusions. Germany still had the energy for a winter counteroffensive in Belgium, the Battle of the Bulge. Hitler did not begin to lose hope until well into April of 1945; indeed, he professed to see in Roosevelt's death a good omen of victory. But the collapse followed swiftly. Military and civilian heads were rapidly shifted in Germany, and Hitler toyed with many inconsistent and impossible military plans before finally seeking a refuge from responsibility in suicide. The process of surrender gave opportunity for frequent evidence of Russian jealousy and suspicion, forecasting the difficult years which lay ahead, but these problems are not so fully discussed as in Churchill's memoirs. There are many interesting pages on the difficulties caused by three extremely able but highly temperamental "prima donnas" of the war: General De Gaulle, General Patton, and Field Marshal Montgomery.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING POLITICS IN 1952. Prepared by *Paul T. David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph M. Goldman*. Volume I, THE NATIONAL STORY. Volume II, THE NORTHEAST. Volume III, THE SOUTH. Volume IV, THE MIDDLE WEST. Volume V, THE WEST. [Report of the Cooperative Research Project on Convention Delegations Prepared under the auspices of the American Political Science Association.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 256; xi, 369; xi, 363; xi, 344; xi, 298. \$17.50 per set.)

THIS project was carried on with the co-operation of the Brookings Institution and represents the result of the long-continued effort of successive officers of the American Political Science Association to produce such a co-operative research program. The president of the Association, Ralph Bunche, declares in his foreword that the result demonstrates that such "research can be conducted successfully by our Association." Many persons contributed to various parts of the study at various stages. Some of these are named in the acknowledgments made by the project director, Paul T. David of the Brookings Institution. Messrs. David, Moos, and Goldman shared the task of writing the chapters in Volume I.

The plan of the publication presents the national story in Volume I; beginning with "The National Nominating Process" (17 pages), amplified in "The Pre-Convention Campaign of 1952" (44 pages), and continuing with chapters on each of the national conventions (88 pages). The editors then conclude with three chapters on "Procedures and Experience in the 48 States" (35 pages), "Basic Issues of Nominating Procedures" (36 pages), and "The Record and the

Future" (14 pages). The distribution reflects accurately the concentration of interest on the conventions.

Volumes II, III, IV, and V—in which the story of the states is presented—represent the work of approximately one hundred contributors, the majority of them professional political scientists on university faculties in their respective states.

The task of the editors has been successfully performed. There are pages of truly illuminating narrative and exposition in Volume I. A work to which so many have contributed is uneven not only in style but also in content. This is notably true in the treatment of state primary campaigns, and in the evaluation of the process by which candidates won or lost. There are pages which read not unlike the summaries made on the radio from the conventions, but there are also highly important contributions made by participants after (but not too long after) the event. It may well be that, as is asserted on the dust jacket, "more than three hundred and fifty political scientists worked on the project," and certainly every political scientist here and abroad will find these volumes of first importance in the publications of this year.

For the historian there may be another test and judgment. For the historian considering American politics in the twentieth century, these volumes are indispensable. Herein for his use are the facts—meticulously gathered, intelligently arranged and thoughtfully appraised—that he must use in constructing the story of the crucial year 1952. If understanding may arise out of a narrative of the events of this amazing phenomenon of self-government, then it may follow an examination of these volumes.

Whereas the results of this study may be, as is asserted in the advertisement, of greatest interest to those who will participate in the election of 1956, the study itself is of even greater interest to the historian who is concerned with the election of 1952 and the forty that preceded it.

Had we had such a study of the practices that were common in the Republican Convention of 1912, or of the membership of the Democratic Convention of 1932, there is little doubt that the story of 1952 would have been quite different. Politicians learn from experience, but their experience is foreshortened by incomplete records and tricky memories. The political scientist—who is usually a politician at heart—has presented here a great boon to the citizen who would be his own historian.

Stanford University

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE SENATE: A STUDY OF THE
CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENTS BY THE UNITED STATES
SENATE. By *Joseph P. Harris*. (Berkeley: University of California Press.
1953. Pp. xii, 457. \$5.00.)

THE American public has long since accepted the political connotations of the senatorial confirmation of the appointments of officers of the United States required by the Constitution. Curiously this important feature of our political life has rarely been made the subject of a comprehensive and scholarly study. This is precisely what Professor Harris has done. Wisely he has focused his attention on the top political officers who constitute only about one per cent of the total but who are concerned with making policy or with exercising general control over the government. Most of the positions requiring senatorial confirmation are considered by the Senate en bloc so that confirmation with rare exceptions is a mere formality. In the case of postmasters, district judges, and many local officers nomination by the President is also a formality as it is the congressmen or senators or local party organization who really nominate.

After an introductory chapter and one on the Constitutional Convention, Professor Harris presents in five chapters of seventy-eight pages an account of the difficulties over appointments of all the Presidents from Washington to Wilson. Clearly the treatment of so long a period in so short a space must be cursory. The following five chapters of one hundred pages continue the chronological account at a slower pace through Truman's administration. Then about midway in the book Professor Harris abandons chronology and turns to a topical analysis. There are chapters on the "courtesy of the Senate," on the Senate's procedure, on the Senate's action in the cases of cabinet officers and the heads of independent agencies, of diplomatic officers, of judges, and of administrative and military officers. After another chapter telling of the Senate's attempts to extend its participation in the appointing power to additional categories of employees, there is a final chapter giving Professor Harris' judgment of the American experience with the senatorial confirmation of Presidential appointments. He takes a dim view of it.

Most intelligent Americans already share that view and I am confident that all of them would after reading this book. I am also confident that they would find reading the book a dreary rather than an exhilarating task. The strange shift in organization from chronological to topical treatment has resulted in much repetition in spite of many cross references. A more difficult obstacle in the path of the plodding reader is the literary quality of the book. The writing, accurately reflecting the thought, is clear enough but is always obvious and on the surface. It never displays penetrating insights or wit or an awareness that the characters in the action, yes, even the senators, are human beings and as such offer man his most fascinating subject of contemplation, next to himself of course. Probably it was a book like this which caused that ancient reader to complain that "much study is a weariness of the flesh." Those of us who inhabit history departments will feel a special annoyance because the sources used are so limited. Even in the most intensive chapters the evidence is drawn chiefly from the hearings before a Senate committee. Certainly the hearings are the first and most obvious source to

use and they may well suffice to tell the story correctly in all essentials. Nevertheless, to inspire confidence among historical scholars an author must buttress his account with data drawn from many other sources. Is this an example of scholarly snobbishness with which we in history resent the invasion of "our" field by practitioners of another branch of learning? I think and hope not.

In any event I can end honestly with the usual reviewer's bromide: "In spite of these limitations the book is a valuable one which no person interested in this important subject can afford to ignore."

University of Washington

W. STULL HOLT

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XX, 1951, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the Assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. xxiv, 387.) This twentieth volume of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* "covers the historical literature appearing in 1951" and also includes "some publications of previous years." Thirty-three countries and three international organizations, the preface informs us, contributed to the work. The preface further indicates that, in the face of specific instructions to hold the number of entries to ten thousand, fully twelve thousand were actually submitted. To maintain the bibliography's "high scientific character" and to keep the book within feasible limits, the Paris editors found it necessary to make rigorous selections until they brought the total down to a more manageable 7,116. The bibliography is divided into twenty sections that range from "General Historical Bibliographies" to "Oceania." Each section is, in turn, subdivided into narrower classifications. How adequate are the selections for many of the sections this reviewer is completely incompetent to judge. On familiar ground however she could not but be struck by the capricious nature of the entries for works on American history. About 150 items, many of them articles, ranging from Mizener's biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald to Aptheker's *Documentary History of the Negro* to Roe's *The North American Buffalo* presume to cover the year's output. There are significant omissions, even given the selective nature of the listing. Furthermore, patient thumbing through the volume reveals that Perry Miller's *Jonathan Edwards* appears under "Philosophy and Conceptions of the World," and that Quinn's *Literature of the American People* is sandwiched in, under "Literature, General," between an entry on Shakespeare in Russia and one on "Le 'Bon prêtre' dans la littérature française." Indeed the groupings often leave the impression that entries were tossed together because their titles alone suggested a ready classification. The intention of the bibliography is, of course, to cut across national lines and to make readily available all contributions in a specific field. It is certainly desirable to emphasize that culture often transcends national lines. But what uses are served or insights developed by putting together in one section Brinton's *Ideas and Men* (4818) and a title on sixteenth-century Mexican culture (4839); or Whittaker's *History of the Theories of Aether* (1074) and an article, "Why Engineers Should Study History" (1047)? Such associations seem more haphazard than planned. Two indexes—one of authors and persons and one geographical—compensate somewhat for the deficiencies of organization. But the indexes are not complete unfortunately. (See, for instance the failure to index Salvemini's article, item 5662 under Italy.) Since there is no subject index, many references which do not have geographical names in their titles are lost altogether unless the historian has the patience to thumb through the whole book for bibliographical clues which he could probably locate more easily through other sources. The idea of co-operation among historical organizations is impressive as is the objective of an international bibliography. Perhaps in time, with improved compilation and classification, the bibliography will be impressive too.

MARY FLUG HANDLIN, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

LA DIPLOMATIE: SES ORIGINES ET SON ORGANISATION JUSQU'A LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By *Léon van der Essen*, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. (Brussels, Les Presses de la Diffusion du Livre, 1953, pp. 205.) Korteweg has defined diplomacy as the "ensemble des règles objectives et de coutumes juridiques qu'on observe en temps de paix pour ordonner les rapports entre des Etats souverains" and, in its second function, as "un art, notamment l'art de conduire des négociations internationales." Accepting this definition, Professor van der Essen has undertaken to discuss the evolution of the organization, protocol, and conventions of diplomacy from the fifteenth century to the end of the *ancien régime*. For the student of diplomacy, this is the kind of useful volume which will take its place beside Harold Nicolson's essay on diplomacy in the modern period. The author has divided his work into three sections: the first dealing with the origins and development of "permanent" diplomacy—the practice of one state having permanent missions in the capitals of all the states with which it had relations rather than relying on occasional special missions of limited duration and purpose; the second dealing with the ways in which the missions of the secular states of Europe conducted their business—the tasks of the ambassador, the protocol guiding his activity, and the sources of information used by envoys on mission in reporting to their sovereigns; and the third providing a careful analysis of the diplomacy of the Roman Church—the nuncios and legates and their sphere of action and responsibility. An outstanding feature of this volume is its thoughtful treatment of what might be called diplomatic style—that is, the written and unwritten rules guiding the diplomat in his tasks of negotiation, representation, and reporting. This analysis, based on the numerous handbooks written by diplomats from Dole and Hotman in the sixteenth century to Callières and Bynkershoek in the eighteenth, is filled with amusing and instructive sidelights on the practice of the art of diplomacy in its formative period.

GORDON A. CRAIG, *Princeton University*

BRITAIN AND INDUSTRIAL EUROPE, 1750-1870: STUDIES IN BRITISH INFLUENCE ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN WESTERN EUROPE. By *W. O. Henderson*. (Liverpool, University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 255, 25s.) From a vast polyglot variety of sources Mr. Henderson has collected evidence on the migration of British skilled workers, equipment, managers, entrepreneurs, and capital to continental Europe during the period when Britain was schoolmaster, as well as workshop, of the world. In country after country, industry after industry, he tracks down the men who introduced new textile machines, machine-making, coke blast furnaces, puddling and steel processes, railroads, steamboats, factory organization, and the rest of the British technical innovations. Of this large army many are little more than named, placed, and dated in what becomes a dreary catalogue; but the important figures get such detailed treatment that they come to life. In France there is John Holker, Lancashire Catholic Jacobite refugee, who was inspector general of factories for thirty years before the Revolution; the Manbys, who dominated the iron, engineering, and steam transportation fields during the 1820's; Brassey's railroad construction gangs in the fifties; and the Yorkshire partners, Lister and Holden, who revolutionized wool-combing during the Second Empire. The Belgian story is largely that of William Cockerill and his more famous son John, who built up the largest integrated enterprise, ranging from coal and iron mines through machine-making to machine-using, in Europe. In Germany the immigrants were fewer but their influence was great and in two instances unusual: Prince Smith, who emerged as the free trade counterpart of List, and the Irishman Mulvany, who passed on from a distinguished career as civil servant and engineer at home to become a leader in developing

the Ruhr coal field. The main defect of this very useful book is that it is a series of "studies" rather than a study. It reads like a collection of articles—some sections have already been published as such. Hence there is repetition of introductory generalizations, for example about the British ban on machinery exports and on emigration of skilled workers in sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6; the same factual details appear on pages 28, 63, and 77; while Mulvany gets a two-page sketch on pages 156-58, then a whole chapter on pages 179-93. This is not very good book-making—or editing. The maps are not very informative.

HERBERT HEATON, *University of Minnesota*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume II, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 5412.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. xcv, 853, \$4.25.) This volume, one of five on the external relations of the United States during the year 1936, contains the major portion of the European record for that dispiriting twelvemonth. Materials having to do with Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and such general topics as the second phase of the London Naval Conference of 1935 and the later meetings of the Geneva Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments have been assigned to other volumes, but with these exceptions the 887 documents published here offer what appears to be a most adequate sampling of Washington's diplomatic exchanges with the governments of Europe. The papers bearing upon relations with the lesser states, France, and Italy run heavily to commercial negotiation, and accurately reflect the Roosevelt administration's concern for the reciprocal trade program. By contrast, the import of the papers which relate to Spain and Germany is more strictly political. The section on Spain contains nearly 500 documents arising from the issues and circumstances of the Spanish civil war; no less than 264 of these are concerned with the protection of American nationals. Appropriately enough, the dispatches of Ambassador William E. Dodd, in Berlin, are prodigal with speculations on Hitler's larger policies and the quality of his support among the German people, as well as extended analyses of Nazi persecution of the Jews, Nazi treatment of the churches, and Nazi educational innovations. An especially interesting feature of this section is a series of 23 documents recording the efforts of the United States government to secure the release of one Lawrence Simpson, an American seaman arrested in Germany for distributing communist literature. The volume gives nothing on Lithuania, Bulgaria, Sweden, and Denmark—a fact which is doubtless to be taken as an indication that those countries had no serious business with the United States during the year under review.

DONALD F. DRUMMOND, *University of Michigan*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM ARAMAIC PAPYRI: NEW DOCUMENTS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. FROM THE JEWISH COLONY AT ELEPHANTINE. Edited with a Historical Introduction by *Emil G. Kraeling*. [Publications of the Department of Egyptian Art, Brooklyn Museum.] (New Haven, Yale University Press for Brooklyn Museum, 1933, pp. xv, 319, 23 plates, \$10.00.) Many scholars have had occasion to use the translation of some Aramaic papyri from Assuan which Sayce and Cowley published in 1906. It has long been considered a most interesting as well as a most important bit of knowledge that there was a Jewish colony in the fortress town of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. The picture given by these documents, however, was a partial and fragmentary one. In 1911 Edward Sachau published additional ones found by Rubensohn at Elephantine. It was clear that the Jews had built a temple here and also that it had been destroyed by jealous devotees of Egyptian gods. One important chapter in the story was to remain hidden for half a century. The present collection, called the Brooklyn Papyri, was purchased by Charles Edwin Wilbour early in 1893. These nine complete rolls, eight with original cords and sealings, together with numerous fragments were packed in tin biscuit boxes. There they remained, in the bottom of a trunk, until 1947 when a daughter bequeathed them to the Brooklyn Museum. The fascinating story of this Jewish colony is too long to be summarized here. But we must note, in the publication under review, a landmark in the history of American scholarship. The making of this book is a tribute to the skill of American publishers. The editing, translating, commentary, and the historical chapters all proclaim Emil Kraeling as one of our finest living scholars. The work is thorough in every respect. The scholarship is deep, sound, and painstaking. The technical museum skill used in relaxing, reading, and preserving the documents was of a high order, and the photography which made the excellent plates left nothing to be desired. In addition to the magnificent bibliographical lists, there is an index of proper names, and an index of words. There are twelve documents, all in good shape and some quite long, as well as five additional fragmentary papyri.

THOMAS A. BRADY, *University of Missouri*

ROMAN POLICY IN EPIRUS AND ACARNANIA IN THE AGE OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF GREECE. By *Stewart Irvin Oost*. [Arnold Foundation Studies, Volume IV, New Series. (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 138, \$4.00.) This thorough University of Chicago dissertation advances and elaborates the very probable thesis that, owing to considerations of logistics, the policy of Rome in Epirus and Acarnania differed from her policy in other Greek states. Before the First Macedonian War, although they maintained a protectorate in Illyria, the Romans ignored the Epirotes and the Acarnanians. But when Rome determined upon active intervention in Greece and Macedonia, considerations of logistics came into play. After the Peace of Phocice, in 205 B.C., the Epirotes and the Acarnanians became *amici* of Rome. During the Second Macedonian and Syrian wars Rome deliberately conciliated them and continued the relationship of *amicitia*. At the end of the Second Macedonian War came Fabianus' famous declaration of the "freedom" of the Greek states. Although the Epirotes and the Acarnanians were still treated as *amici*, members, like Athens and a few other cities, of the most favored class of Greek state, it was obedience that was then required of them, as they learned quite clearly during

¹ Responsible only for the text of articles.

the Third Macedonian War. The central thesis of the dissertation and the elaboration of one of the subsections were suggested by the writings of Professor J. A. O. Larsen, who directed the work and to whom the author makes due acknowledgment, along with acknowledgment of his great debt to Holleaux (to whom all workers in the field are indebted), Walbank, De Sanctis, and others. Inasmuch as the primary sources are limited, in the main, to the accounts of Livy and Polybius, the discussion, of necessity, had to proceed over hazardous bridges of conjecture and *a priori* reasoning. The field of conjecture was extended further still, owing to the desirability of placing the development of Acarnanian and Epirote affairs in the context of the history of Greece in general in the early period of Roman intervention. Two additional observations may be made, one concerning the editing of the book, the other concerning book production. The reader's task has been made difficult by the use of short titles without the indispensable adjunct of either a bibliography or a "list of works cited" in the notes. Moreover, there is no index. As regards book production, while he appreciates the very great contributions of university presses to scholarship and their equally great financial problems, this reviewer feels very strongly that if volumes like this one cannot be distributed at a lower price, either the sale of such volumes will be limited to the most specialized research libraries, or some other medium of distribution will appear.

JOHN DAY, *Barnard College*

THE ROMAN FRONTIER IN WALES. By V. E. Nash-Williams. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 161, 42 plates, 30s.) This volume serves as a good example of the importance of archaeological studies to the field of historical research. The record of Roman Wales found in the literary sources of Roman history are at best very sketchy and often uncertain. Our information concerning this remote frontier is thus derived largely from the discoveries of the archaeologist, supplemented by and interpreted in the light of literary and epigraphic evidence. Much, of course, has been done on the archaeology of Roman Wales, but this particular work brings together the results of many years of labor into the convenient form of a single volume. A brief account of the Roman conquest of Wales is followed by an extensive and detailed descriptive survey of each of the base-fortresses, the coastal stations, and the inland stations which made up the Roman frontier system established there. This constitutes a considerable portion of the text. The material which follows, after a brief account of the garrisons stationed in Wales, is largely dependent on the information brought together in the chapter concerned with this descriptive survey. The general scheme of the Welsh frontier system as suggested by the plan of the Roman road lines found in the Antonine Itinerary, the Ravenna Cosmography, and existing milestones is fully confirmed by the work of the archaeologist. The corners of the Welsh quadrilateral defense system were anchored down by four great base-fortresses to which all of the auxiliary forts and outposts were related. Once having explored the remains of each fort and outpost, and having determined their nature as well as the place of each in the entire scheme of fortifications, it was possible to arrive at some conclusions regarding the methods adapted by the Romans in the distribution, siting, and planning of the Welsh frontier stations. On the basis of the accumulated data found in the descriptive survey, the author makes a comparison of the sizes, shapes, and plans found among the various groups of stations according to their rank and use. This study is followed by a good discussion, accompanied by appropriate diagrams, of the comparative plans of defenses and gates, administrative and barrack buildings, together with the granaries, commandants' houses, and headquarters buildings. Some insight into the private life of these communities can be found in the discussion of the findings made among the ruins of the extramural settlements which

included private dwellings and bath houses. The author concludes this work with a brief chapter summarizing the history of the Roman occupation of this frontier from the end of the first century to the close of the fourth century. It is not possible to carry this history further since no final word can be given as to the end of Roman dominion in this area until more extensive work has been done on the sites of the outlying stations and the late coastal stations. The appendixes are useful and supplemented with a series of splendid plates illustrating different aspects of the various excavations. This volume is indispensable to any consideration of Roman Wales and is certainly a fine contribution to the whole subject of Roman fortifications and frontier defenses.

RICHARD H. CHOWEN, *University of South Carolina*

THE NORTH AFRICAN PROVINCES FROM DIOCLETIAN TO THE VANDAL CONQUEST. By B. H. Warmington, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of Bristol. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 124, \$2.50.) This book will be useful for those who have a general interest in the later Roman Empire as well as for those who are especially interested in Roman Africa. It seems to reflect a growing interest in the later empire which has manifested itself in a number of studies reviewing evidence which has long been known but which has not had a thorough reworking since the last century. The experience that has accrued since then may well give us a better point of view. For example, the author has taken a step forward in his description of the *curiales* of the towns. There is no new evidence, but this description is much more practical and sensible than earlier ones. Again, he is careful about using the phenomena as evidence of the so-called decline. He does point out some real weaknesses in the life of the African provinces, but he does not tell us, about anything and everything, that "this is another evidence of the decline." There are chapters on provincial administration, military history, the frontier and its defenders, the cities, the country, the Moors and the Romans, Donatism, and the intellectual life. Like most English scholars, the author is competent in describing matters of organization and administration. Furthermore, he has taken more care than is usual to distinguish the policies of different imperial administrations toward Africa. The chapter on the Donatists gives an unusually clear and interesting explanation of the history and activities of the movement; the author is not on the side of those who would make it a revolutionary movement. Apparently the author did not assume the arduous duties of combing through all the African Fathers for evidence, of reading the reports of excavations in the many journals, nor of trying to achieve something like bibliographical competence.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD, *New York University*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

MEDIEVAL ESSAYS. By *Christopher Dawson*. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1954, pp. vii, 271, \$3.50.) Of the twelve essays in this book only four are new; the others were published some years ago, chiefly in a book entitled *Medieval Religions* (1934). The new essays are, "A Study of Christian Culture," "The Christian West and the Fall of the Empire," "The Moslem West and the Oriental Background of Later Medieval Culture," and "The Feudal Society and the Christian Epic." A Roman Catholic since 1914, Dawson was educated at Winchester and at Trinity College, Oxford. He has held lectureships at Exeter and Liverpool universities and is the author of several books dealing with religion and culture. He believes that "religion is the key of history," that Christianity inspired "a new movement of cultural activity," and that "the new vernacular literatures . . . are its living voice" (pp. 1-3). Appropriately for his theme the concluding essay is on "The Vision of Piers Plowman." Having thus linked medieval Christianity with medieval culture, the author warns us later on (p. 135) that "the ultimate criterion by which we must judge the value of a religion is not its cultural fruits but its spiritual truth." Dawson writes persuasively. His broad generalizations are based upon wide reading and deep reflection. These essays prod the reader into thought. To be sure, there is a lack of supporting data which is always a disappointment and sometimes an aggravation. Perhaps Dawson's essays are better to listen to than to read. His view of the English Reformation—"The English way diverged from the Catholic way and ran astray into the waste lands of sectarianism" (p. 270)—will not go unchallenged. Medievalists will find much in these essays that they cannot accept, but reading them is nonetheless a rewarding experience.

W. O. AULT, *Boston University*

FALCON OF SPAIN: A STUDY OF EIGHTH-CENTURY SPAIN, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON THE LIFE OF THE Umayyad ruler 'ABDUR-RAHMAN I (756-788). By *Thomas Ballantine Irving*, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. (Lahore, Pakistan, Orientalia, 1954, pp. vi, 158, Rs.6.) This essentially popular biography of the founder of the Umayyad emirate of Córdoba is based largely upon the published Arabic materials, and its author, who teaches Hispanic literature at the University of Minnesota, has "tried to take the Arab point of view, because the European, especially in the attitude toward Charlemagne, is overabundant." Against the general background of Visigothic and early Muslim Spain the book describes 'Abd al-Rahman's fabulous escape from the murderous 'Abbasids in Syria; his rise to supreme power in faction-torn Andalusia; his campaigns against Muslim and Hispano-Carolingian foes; and the material and cultural revival connected with his long reign. The work displays obvious weaknesses in its overemphasis upon narrative and anecdote at the expense of institutional factors; factual errors occur, although much less frequently than the typographical ones due to a foreign press; and the bibliography,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

although extensive, strangely omits certain indispensable titles of Lévi-Provençal, Cagigas, Sánchez-Albornoz and other authorities. On the whole, the treatment is more objective as between Arab and European viewpoints than its author allows, although with his judgment it that it falls between "the two stools of pedantry and vulgarity" [i.e., scholarship and popularization] there is no good reason to quarrel. The acceptable literature in English on Muslim Spain is however so sparse that this life has value as providing a relatively detailed introduction to one of the greatest and most interesting of the Spanish Umayyads. C. J. BISHKO, *University of Virginia*

THE HISTORY OF BUKHARA. Translated from a Persian Abridgment of the Arabic Original by Narshakhi. By Richard N. Frye. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication Number 61.] Cambridge, Mass., the Academy, 1954, pp. xx, 178, \$5.00.) Narshakhi's book was written in Arabic in A.D. 943, under the Samanid dynasty. This has not survived; what we have is substantially an abridged Persian translation made in 1128, then subjected to further omissions and additions in 1178-79 and even later. In spite of these changes the surviving work presents a most interesting account of Bukhara between approximately the early seventh and the late tenth centuries. The order of treatment is unsystematic: in general the first half is a description of the architecture and institutions of the city and the surrounding region, while the second half gives a chronological narrative of the Arab conquest and rule and the rise and rule of the Samanids. Narshakhi's chronology is careless and there are elements of exaggeration and legend; nonetheless the material he presents is of great importance because he preserves a local tradition hardly represented in the classical Arabic historians. This work has been used by Barthold and others, but Professor Frye has made the first translation into a western European language. The notes are a monument of learning and industry; the translator's knowledge of Russian has given him access to recent archaeological and historical publications on Bukhara. There is an extensive bibliography. Some criticisms of detail can be made, but not such as to impair seriously the value of the work. It is only to be regretted that the volume does not contain a plan of the medieval city and a map of the region, and that Professor Frye has been unable to publish his Persian text of the *History*.

GEORGE F. HOURANI, *University of Michigan*

PAPST INNOCENZ III. By Helene Tillmann. [Bonner historische Forschungen, Band 3.] (Bonn, Ludwig Föhrschheid, 1954, pp. xv, 315.) As was to be expected from a diligent and appreciative student of the late Wilhelm Levison, Helene Tillmann's work on Pope Innocent III is an excellent monograph. It is very heavily documented, and the treatment evidences complete familiarity with the sources, great learning, and a maturity of judgment. While the author admires the subject of her study, she does not do so blindly. Historical objectivity is happily linked with her sympathy: she defends the pontiff's actions against misunderstandings and false interpretations, but she also censures them when she deems it necessary. The structure of the monograph is logically dictated by the various phases of the pontiff's life. Thus, the first chapter sketches the earlier life of Innocent III and the historical background at the time of his election; it also briefly describes the pontiff's writings prior to his election, which reveal his scholarly aptitude. Chapter two shows convincingly that Innocent did not entertain any extravagant ideas about his own power and that he did not aspire to a world government. In principle he advocated separation and independence of the spiritual and temporal powers, claiming repeatedly that to Caesar (the emperor) belong the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. The *plenitudo potestatis* of the papal office signifies simply the *plenitudo ecclesiasticae potes-*

tatis. Chapters three and four respectively portray Innocent as the dispenser of justice and the champion of the Church's liberty; Innocent is very just and legalistic in his actions. Chapter five is devoted to the political aims and achievements of Innocent III, mainly with regard to Germany, or the Empire, and Italy, especially the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Innocent, the pastor of souls and true reformer of the clergy and laity (IV Lateran Council), the defender of the faith (crusade against the Albigenses; Inquisition), the promoter of Church unity (efforts to regain the various Orthodox groups), and the sponsor of two crusades against the Mohammedans for the liberation of the Holy Land form the topics of the next four chapters. After another chapter on Innocent the man, there follows a sort of epilogue which gives history's verdict on Innocent. This appraisal is well done and well formulated. The study concludes with four appendixes and twelve extended notes in the form of addenda. Innocent III has always been regarded as a great pontiff, and this work confirms that judgment, even though the world and history have denied him the formal title of Great.

GEORGE J. UNDREINER, *Pontifical College Josephinum*

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF HOLLAND AND ZEELAND WITH ENGLAND FROM THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Nelly Johanna Martina Kerling*. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1954, pp. xviii, 252.) Still another doctoral dissertation which should not have been published without thorough revision and drastic condensation. I do not know who is to blame: the author or her advisers. Fifty-seven pages, or nearly one fourth of the whole book, are devoted to a lengthy introduction on "the political and geographical background." In reality this introduction attempts to deal with the tangled diplomacy of the local dynasties in the Netherlands, but it fails to contribute much that is either relevant or new. The story is much better told by Pirenne, Blok, or Lucas. The remainder of the book is more to the point, but the approach is traditional and places undue emphasis on the commodities of trade. Thus we learn, if we did not know it already, that the Hollanders and Zeelanders bought mainly wool and cloth from the English and sold them salt, fish, beer, and sundry other products of local or foreign origin. On the whole, the figures quoted here and there by the author leave the impression that, in the Middle Ages, the trade between England and the counties of Holland and Zeeland was unimportant if not insignificant. Forms of business organization were still primitive as compared with the level reached by the Italians. From time to time we catch a glimpse of the growing development of the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, but the author fails to emphasize the important role of the harbors of Walcheren, especially Arnemuiden, which served as the seaports of Bruges and Antwerp. One question on a small detail: since when is Lüttich the English for Liège? The bibliography shows that the author has diligently consulted the available sources directly related to her topic, but she could have profited by reading more extensively on the periphery of her subject. If so, she would have known that Tommaso Portinari was the Bruges representative of the powerful Medici bank.

RAYMOND DE ROOVER, *Boston College*

CALENDAR OF PLEA AND MEMORANDA ROLLS PRESERVED AMONG THE ARCHIVES OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL, A.D. 1437-1457. Edited by *Philip E. Jones*, Deputy-Keeper of the City Records. [Printed by Order of the Corporation under the Direction of the Library Committee.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. xxviii, 229, \$4.50.) In contrast to former volumes, subjects of political and administrative interest have ceased to be recorded in these seventeen rolls surviving for this period. Entries are

now largely confined to particular types of cases and to registration of certain classes of documents. The economic historian will be especially interested in the numerous pleas on actions of debt, giving rise to foreign attachments and valuations of goods (e.g., wines, textiles, jewelry, and the stock-in-trade of an armorer or wheelwright). Among other enrollments we note reports made by the masters of the masons and carpenters on disputed boundaries, nuisances, and property rights; the parties sometimes voluntarily submitted to arbitration by these sworn viewers. The editor discusses in detail the development of the corporation's title to the common soil of streets, watercourses, and land adjacent to London Wall. The rolls served also to register such documents as writs and returns (many throw light on city customs), bonds, leases, and gifts of goods and chattels. Mr. Jones here makes a valuable addition to the discussion of gifts of goods and chattels by Dr. A. H. Thomas in Volume IV. Such gifts played an important part in the supply of credit and were also applied by lawyers as a basis for a trust. Enrollment of 2000 in this twenty-year period (327 in this volume, the remainder on the Close Rolls) shows their increasing popularity and wider scope. The use of English, frequent in Volume IV, increases. Especially early uses of English words are noted. Excellent indexes and a list of less usual words in the text complete the volume.

ELIZABETH CHAPIN FURBER, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

HUGH LATIMER: APOSTLE TO THE ENGLISH. By Allan G. Chester. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954, pp. x, 261, \$6.00.) Professor Chester has written a detailed and careful account of what is known about the outward life of one of the most famous of the martyrs of English Protestantism, Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, who died at the stake on October 16, 1555, condemned by the judgment of Oxford and Cambridge universities for a heretical denial of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. Chester traces the career of Latimer through its early beginning at Cambridge to its glorious and bitter end. Even in its externals Latimer's life has its ambiguities. Beginning with opinions no more radical than those of Erasmus, he moved in thirty years to the position, not merely anti-Roman but clearly Protestant, for which he died. But the line of his development is wavering. Although that development was surely not merely the result of political pressures, there certainly seem to have been times when the rate of growth of Latimer's religious convictions was in some measure affected by the variable climate of Henry VIII's religious policy. Professor Chester makes clear how royal pressure, awareness of the avenues of preferment, very human fears and very human hopes impinged on

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Latimer in the hectic days of Henry's breach with Rome. He also makes it clear that, despite a certain amount of backing and filling, the line of faith from which Latimer refused to retreat was itself erratically but gradually moving toward Protestantism. It is not Professor Chester's fault but his misfortune that most of Latimer's external life is either thinly documented or uninteresting, and that almost all the words wherewith the greatest of the early preachers of the English Reformation stirred men's souls before he was silenced by the Henrician reaction have been forever lost. It was not, perhaps, a wise choice on the part of the author to treat the surviving sermons so slightly and flatly that the reader gets but a faint impression of the impassioned power of Latimer's preaching or of the intensity of his religious feeling and faith. Latimer after all was one of many Englishmen who had to struggle to give theological expression to a profound and developing change in religious outlook in the midst of a difficult, dangerous, and complex political situation. He is also one of a smaller number of Englishmen who felt deeply that the religious revival should alter men's inner life sufficiently to purify and ennoble without fundamentally transforming their social relationships. It is these two aspects of Latimer's own inward life, to which he gave eloquent expression, that cause his life to make sense. It is unfortunate that Professor Chester had not the desire or the art to make these essentials emerge from and stand clear of a stultifying mass of detail.

J. H. HEXTER, *Queens College*

WILLIAM III AND THE RESPECTABLE REVOLUTION: THE PART PLAYED BY WILLIAM OF ORANGE IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1688. By *Lucile Pinkham*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 272, \$4.50.) The first marquis of Halifax once observed that the Prince of Orange "took England on his way to France." Lord Macaulay, George Trevelyan, and Sir Winston Churchill have agreed with the marquis that William invaded England rather to save Europe than win a crown. Professor Lucile Pinkham disagrees. She believes that historians have persistently misunderstood his role in the Revolution. Even more, she believes that they have made "a political myth" of the Glorious Revolution. William, she argues, invaded England to satisfy personal ambition, not to bring a rich and populous kingdom into the European coalition against France. He was not a statesman, but "a usurper" who conspired to seize the crown. To effect this he forced his leadership on the English opposition, deceived them as to his true design, obstructed conciliation between James and his subjects, and invaded England upon a "so-called invitation." Historians have also misunderstood James. Perhaps he was a tyrant, but he was a tyrant who seldom practiced duplicity, believed in liberty of conscience and advocated careers open to talent. His Tory opponents fought him chiefly to preserve "their strangle hold upon the lucrative offices of government." In describing the harsher lineaments of William's character and in underlining his eagerness to succeed to the English throne Professor Pinkham does a service to the history of the Revolution of 1688, but the value of this service is lessened by her quixotic attack upon a supposed myth. To sustain this attack she must argue that James (who kept 2000 Dissenters in prison for two years) was a sincere adherent of the doctrines of Milton and Locke; that William worked against a general peace in Europe and drove James into the French camp in order to have a pretext for seizing the throne; and that all the talk in William's camp about maintaining the laws, liberties, and religion of England was "propaganda." Yet none of these judgments is as striking as her final conclusion that the Revolution failed "to accomplish anything of lasting benefit."

CLAYTON ROBERTS, *Ohio State University*

FABIANISM IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF BRITAIN, 1919-1931. By *Sister M. Margaret Patricia McCarran* of the Sisters of the Holy Names. (2d ed.; Chicago, Heritage

Foundation, 1954, pp. xii, 12, \$5.00.) This is a reprint of Sister Margaret Patricia's doctoral dissertation. Based on extensive reading, it covers a wide range of topics with the theme that between 1819 and 1931 Fabian Socialism advocated statism and intended to "capture and to bring under its aegis labor, socialist thought, and international socialism." Sister Margaret Patricia concludes that "fun and games in politics supply the key to Fabianism in British political life."

THE WALKER EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC, 1711. Edited with an Introduction by *Gerald S. Graham*. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1953, pp. xx, 411.) Professor Graham has put historians of the naval and colonial aspects of the War of the Spanish Succession in his debt by this thoroughly professional edition of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker's journal of the Canada expedition of 1711. The Naval Records Society has published this work simultaneously as Volume XCIV of the *Publications* of the Society, and earlier (1950) Professor Graham placed the Walker expedition against the broader background of the maritime struggle for North America in his *Empire of the North Atlantic*. In a sense the reader of this volume will be conscious of a certain sense of frustration in view of the unmitigated failure of the naval enterprise it chronicles. In bare summary the Walker expedition amounted to this: the fleet sailed from Plymouth in early May, 1711; it arrived at Boston in late June; it sailed from Boston July 30; it suffered the loss of seven transports and 884 lives near Ile aux Oeufs in the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the night of August 23-24; at a council of war off Newfoundland on September 8, the decision was made to return to Great Britain, where, at Plymouth, Admiral Walker struck his flag "in the Night" and went ashore. For this dispiriting lack of achievement the editor can, of course, bear no responsibility, and indeed, as Professor Graham points out in the *Empire of the North Atlantic* (pp. 101-102) the expedition had real significance in the sense that it is a transitional point in a British policy which had hitherto been almost wholly European to one which emphasized colonial and New World interests. The Walker journal has real flavor. The prose is rough and straightforward, but it carries the authentic ring of the sea, and the account of the navigation of Sable Island, "the Land of Accadia" and the mighty River of Canada recreate in a singularly stirring fashion the perils and uncertainties of naval operations in the North Atlantic in the early years of the eighteenth century.

GERALD S. BROWN, *University of Michigan*

THE WELLAND CANAL COMPANY: A STUDY IN CANADIAN ENTERPRISE. By *Hugh G. J. Aitken*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xii, 178, \$3.50.) Mr. Aitken, a member of the staff of the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University and editor of the center's journal, modestly professes to be only a journeyman historian. He is that no longer, for he has now produced a *Meisterstück* on the private company that promoted and constructed the Welland Canal. His scholarship is impressive but not in the least oppressive, and his literary style is impeccable. The opening chapter, "Upper Canada: The Inland Province," presents a penetrating analysis of the circumstances in which the project of a canal across the Niagara peninsula was conceived. The most serious flaw I can find in it is an inconsequential misstatement of fact, which places the principal settlement of the Upper Canadian Loyalists along the north shore of Lake Ontario and in the Niagara district instead of where it usually was, along the upper St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinte. Though the Welland Canal was a Canadian answer to the Erie Canal, and the Upper Canadian charter of the company confined membership in the board of directors to residents of that province, the company sold more stock to individuals in the state of New York than in the two Canadas and England combined, which should

cause some revision of the traditional Canadian estimate of the prime promoter, William Hamilton Merritt. From almost the beginning the company had to lean heavily upon the financial support of the provincial government, which could not afford to let such an important public project fail; and the public control of the "private" enterprise grew until the company, twenty years after its organization, had to sell out to the government. The final chapter, in which the author passes judgment on the whole business, is most illuminating.

A. L. BURR, *University of Minnesota*

SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVAL RECORDS. Published under the supervision of the Archives Commission by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. TRANSVAAL, No. 5. (Cape Town, Government Printer, [1954], pp. xxxi, 472.) This most recent of the published Transvaal archives covers the troubled years 1864-1866, when the new South African Republic labored under the difficulties of an empty treasury, native wars, indifference to its authority, and the vaulting ambitions of President M. W. Pretorius. The arrangement of the material lends itself to easy utilization. The Volksraad journals are followed by a section of pertinent papers arranged by years and with a further subdivision into incoming-outgoing correspondence, ordinances and laws, and miscellaneous items. The editorial work has been meticulous in providing cross-footnotes wherever possible and has given easy entrance into the documents by three indexes of persons, places, and subjects. The material reveals the Volksraad as the ultimate power in government, whose lack of civil servants often required the legislature to perform administrative duties. The devotion of the Volksraad secretaries and particularly of the state secretary was extraordinary. Without much salary, usually in arrears, these officials were men of all work. Their concern was great about the war between the Basuto of Moshesh and the Orange Free State, with whom relations were delicate following the abortive unification effort of Pretorius. Their lack of official power is revealed in a frantic order in 1866 to the attorney-general to enforce the republic's law against slavery after a particularly flagrant violation had caused an irate citizen to complain to the British high commissioner in Cape Town (pp. 449-51). The provision in the 1866 education law for the teaching of Hollands and English stands mutely against the evidence contained in letters from field cornets and frontier magistrates of the infiltration of the Taal into the written language. Above all, the material at numerous points shows the rising power of Paul Kruger, who was the only real reason why Pretorius remained in office. Quite properly the current volume closes with a letter from Kruger, now commandant general, to the president as a portent for the future.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

THE HENTYS: AN AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL TAPESTRY. By Marnie Bassett. (London, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 578, £3.3s.) Family history! A venture often resulting in ruin for an admirable family by the hand of its biographer. Skillful research has resulted in a thoroughly documented, scholarly account, emphasizing high adventure, the fortitude and cultural attainments of the Henty family, well known in Australian history as pioneers in western Australia, Tasmania, and Victoria. Mrs. Bassett's volume does not belong in that dreary procession of family catalogues preserving preposterous or wearisome trivia. The opening chapters reveal how early nineteenth-century British interest in Australia was related to the Merino breeders of Sussex, the Napoleonic wars, the royal family, and maritime enterprises. The migration of Thomas Henty, his wife, daughter, and seven sons to Swan River ended in disillusionment, a move to Launceston, and eventually to Portland Bay. The

three brothers remaining in Tasmania achieved leadership in merchandising, banking, and politics. In the Port Phillip district, the others prospered in whaling, grazing, and woolgrowing (the original aim of the family when emigrating). Mrs. Bassett presents a clearly documented account of the decade of struggle between the Hentys and the governor over the establishment of land rights, culminating in an unhappy compromise. The volume is enriched by extracts from letters, diaries, official papers, as well as helpful explanatory footnotes. The bibliography is excellent, with archives listed for more important manuscripts. Reproductions of contemporary paintings and prints are featured in the wide range of illustrations. A genealogical chart and three maps are included. The historian of nineteenth-century United States will be interested in this study with its familiar tale of the educated settler in a new land, often at cross-purposes with the authorities—his steady toil—his love, family, the new home in the wilderness—his neighbors, people of all walks of life: convicts, governors, explorers, settlers in town or in the bush—his failures and his triumphs.

J. A. GREENLEE, *Iowa State College*

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FRANCE

*Beatrice F. Hyslop*¹

AN INTRODUCTION TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE. By *John Lough*, Professor of French in the Durham Colleges, University of Durham. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. xxiii, 291, \$3.75.) This book is designed for students of French who are just beginning to study the literature of the seventeenth century. Its aim is "to depict the main social and political developments of the age and the setting in which so many varied masterpieces were produced." The first four chapters are devoted to a description of the social and economic conditions of the peasants, the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

inhabitants of the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, and three more deal with internal political and constitutional history. The author makes no pretense that these seven chapters are based on original research but rather presents them as a synthesis of the best recent historical scholarship. Professor Lough makes several significant contributions in the two remaining chapters, which deal with such subjects as the financial status of the writers, the social position of their public, the development of language. Here he argues convincingly that the bourgeoisie and even the robe, who are so often depicted as the intellectual superiors of the nobility, took little interest in the literature of their day. It was to the aristocracy, especially that at the court, that the writers had to cater. For this reason middle-class authors, though often treated contemptuously by the aristocracy, were in their works only too willing to ignore or make fun of the aspirations of their class. We should not, however, fall into the error of overestimating the cultivation of the upper nobility, for literary interest was lacking on their part also at the beginning of the century and developed only with the establishment of the court at Versailles and the growing popularity of the salons. This well-written book should prove invaluable for students of seventeenth-century French literature. The seven chapters on the social and political background of the period are the best synthesis to be found in English and the remaining sections contain useful information not readily available elsewhere. The specialized interests of the author does place some limitations on the desirability to use the book as a text for history students. The writings of the jurists, theologians, scientists, and historians of the period are ignored. The excellently chosen quotations that abound in the book are left in French which, though quite justifiable for the language student, is apt to prove disconcerting to the average American history major. Fifty-four carefully selected illustrations and five maps and diagrams add further to an already excellent book.

J. RUSSELL MAJOR, *Emory University*

ESPRIT DE SAINT-SIMON: LA MORT DE VATEL. By *Corrado Fatta*. (Paris, Corrêa, 1954, pp. 243, 660 fr.) Saint-Beuve in an essay on the duc de Saint-Simon distinguished two types of historiography, that based on "diplomatic papers, the correspondence of ambassadors, military reports, and original documents," and another, represented by the *Mémoires*, less concerned with factual accuracy than with the restoration of the spirit of an age. It is the latter which for Fatta signifies valid historiography; history is constituted not by events and personalities but by the creative intuition of historians, which differs in every epoch (pp. 9 f.). Therefore, this book is a study of the spirit of Saint-Simon as a representative of an age, rather than a biography and is concerned only secondarily with the traditional methods of scholarship (p. 18). For the technical historian the book has limited value; there is little new in its discussion of the political structure of France under Louis XIV or in the appraisal of Saint-Simon as a man and artist. What is to be found to a greater extent than in other studies (Saint-Beuve, Doumau) is a more extensive, but unfortunately virtually undocumented, analysis of the duke's political philosophy. There emerges the familiar image of Saint-Simon the traditionalist, the defender of the ideal of an aristocratic constitution against the absolutist centralism of Louis XIV, and the author, as member of the Regency Council, of proposals for administrative reform which he hoped would restore everyone to his "natural situation" (p. 113). From this Fatta draws interesting, but not entirely convincing, conclusions, that Saint-Simon was not a "reactionary" (pp. 116 f.), nor even basically an aristocratic conservative, but with his critique of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, his defense of inviolability of the mails, his demand for greater economic freedom, his constitutionalism, and his cosmopolitanism, was in a sense the forerunner of later moderate "liberals," such as

Montesquieu and Mirabeau (p. 117), and at the end of Louis XIV's reign "represented an advanced spirit, pointing toward a future of reforms, the spokesman of a great liberal hope . . ." (p. 166).

GEORG G. IGGERS, *Philander Smith College*

THE QUESTION OF JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU. By *Ernst Cassirer*. Translated and Edited with an Introduction and Additional Notes by *Peter Gay*, Assistant Professor of Government, Columbia University. [Columbia Bicentennial Editions and Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 129, \$2.75.) Rousseau figured prominently in Cassirer's *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1951, German edition, 1932), and of course in his *Rousseau, Kant, Goethe* (Princeton, 1945). His conclusions concerning Rousseau, however, were presented in systematic and complete form only in a lengthy essay published in 1932 in Germany. It is this essay which is now presented in translation. The "question" of Jean-Jacques Rousseau is the perennial problem of reconciling—admitted paradoxes aside—the seeming inconsistencies of his diverse works, notably the individualism of the *Discourses* as against the authoritarianism of the *Social Contract*. Cassirer's answer to the question is similar to the answers of Gustave Lanson and E. H. Wright. He finds a basic unity in Rousseau's conception of man as a creature born with a potentiality for good, who has been made bad by a bad society, but for whom there is the possibility of the good life in the "freedom" (Cassirer admits problems here) offered in an ethically justified society based on the general will. Thus Rousseau criticized existing society, described an ideal method of educating a child outside that society, and outlined the political system of a new kind of social order in which the individual would freely submit to the necessity of nonarbitrary law. As elsewhere, Cassirer in this essay emphasizes the Kantian elements in Rousseau's thought. This little study is a stimulating contribution to the literature on Rousseau, and to the history of ideas. It is also a useful example of the way in which history and philosophy, biography and ideas, may be fruitfully combined in this field. The introduction by Professor Gay is an essay in itself, in part a bibliographical study of prior interpretations, in part a welcome exegesis of Cassirer's more subtle concepts, in part a shrewd rethinking of some of the practical implications of Rousseau's theory.

GORDON H. MCNEIL, *University of Arkansas*

LE FONCTIONNEMENT DU CONSEIL D'ETAT NAPOLEONIEN. By *Charles Durand*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit d'Aix. [Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille, Série 1, Droit-Lettres 7.] (Gap, Hautes-Alpes, Imprimerie Louis-Jean, 1954, pp. 302.) This volume is the second in a series of three which, when completed, will be an exhaustive study of Napoleon's Council of State. The membership, organization, and powers of the council were discussed in the first volume, *Etudes sur le Conseil d'Etat napoléonien*, published in 1949. The present volume describes the functioning of the council—the conduct of meetings, steps in initiating legislation, the procedure followed in hearing administrative appeals, the methods used in supervising the ministers, and, most important of all, the relationship between the council and Napoleon. The account is carried to the first abdication. The council during the Hundred Days will be the subject of the final volume. So detailed and sound a study is a real achievement in view of the fact that the conciliar archives were burned during the uprising of 1871. Despite this lack, Durand has produced a work that is valuable not only for the specialist but for everyone interested in the subtle methods of dictatorship. For the chief interest of the work lies in the relation of Napoleon to the council, which, as his consultative body, was to furnish him with different points of view. How much independence of thought he allowed the councillors, how he handled adverse criticism are

the subjects of such provocative chapters as those on freedom of speech and differences of opinion. The council itself is treated with profound understanding and sympathy. Its truly impressive achievements are emphasized as are its less known services to France, the quashing of unwise measures. The councillors failed to gain the immortality and glory Napoleon promised them, but here they are accorded an appreciation for Herculean labor performed in the oppressive atmosphere of tyranny.

RUTH FRIEDRICH, *Washburn University*

UN JOURNAL D'OUVRIERS: "L'ATELIER" (1840-1850). By *Armand Cuvillier*. Preface by C. Bouglé. [Collection "Masses et Militants."] (Paris, Editions Ouvrières, 1954, pp. 221, 550 fr.) Six years ago Armand Cuvillier published a study of the almost forgotten figure who was chiefly responsible for the monumental *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* and who, as "a great intermediary," strove to reconcile the tradition of Jacobin democracy with the social doctrines of the Saint-Simonians and the moral and religious teachings of Catholicism: *P.J.-B. Buchez et les origines du Socialisme Chrétien*. This study has now been complemented by a new edition of the lucid and scholarly monograph which M. Cuvillier devoted, forty years ago, to the *Atelier* the newspaper founded in "the year of strikes," 1840, by workingmen who had absorbed Buchez' teachings. The heart of this work is an analysis of the point of view to which the pages of the *Atelier* gave expression; its frame, a history of the *Atelier* considered both as an enterprise in purely working-class journalism and as an agent of political and social action. The workingmen-writers of the *Atelier* were reformers rather than revolutionaries; republicans who considered patriotism "the first of the revolutionary virtues"; democrats who ascribed precedence to the achievement of political democracy, yet in the faith that social democracy would follow Catholics who were theocratic in their assertion of the religious basis of civil society but reformist in their demand that Catholicism realize its democratic essence; moralists who offered the workers the primacy of moral reform over material advantage and demanded of them self-sacrifice, abstinence, and devotion; and, though in teasingly distrustful of the state, socialists in their critique of capitalism and in their advocacy of producers' co-operatives "as the great means of freeing the workers from the domination of management, as the equivalent in the economic order of democracy in the political." Given this position, it is not surprising that the *Atelier* and its most prominent figure, Anthime Corbon, moved rapidly toward the center of the political stage late in February, 1848, only to be outdistanced shortly by events. Supported by conservatives who saw in their opposition to violence and in their respect for family, religion, and private property a barrier against the greater evil which they feared in Louis Blanc, they lost their working-class support; and when, in June they mourned the bloody triumph of the reactionaries whose cause they had endorsed, they in turn were jettisoned by their middle-class allies. But for his sympathy for the men of the *Atelier*, M. Cuvillier might have inferred that the failure of social democracy in 1848 was at least in part the responsibility of democratic idealists among the workers themselves.

SCOTT H. LYTLE, *University of Washington*

LA DROITE EN FRANCE DE 1815 A NOS JOURS: CONTINUITÉ ET DIVERSITÉ D'UNE TRADITION POLITIQUE. By *René Rémond*, Maître de Conférences à l'Institut d'Etudes politiques. [Collection historique, sous la direction de Paul Lemerle.] (Paris, Aubier, 1954, pp. 323, 690 fr.) M. Rémond's lucid and stimulating essay is a notable addition to the literature on modern France. It is especially welcome because right-wing doctrines and political movements have had rather cursory

treatment from historians. Since the 1870's, a fundamental axiom of French politics has been that the future lies to the Left. Now it begins to seem that the axiom may no longer hold. As M. Rémond points out, the Right is stronger today than at any time since the first years of the Third Republic. It is therefore high time for a fresh analysis of the character and aims of the right wing, in an effort to determine the content and the significance of this political tradition. M. Rémond rejects the rather common thesis that Right and Left have become outmoded and meaningless terms. He is aware that the line of division resembles quicksilver more than steel; but he insists that a recognizable line does exist. He argues, however, that François Goguel's concept of the Right as the "party of the established order" does not adequately explain the complex nature of the Rightist tradition. The Right has never been monolithic; it is characterized by diversity as much as by continuity. At almost every stage of French history since 1815, Rémond isolates three distinct right-wing traditions: the traditionalist, the liberal, and the authoritarian. Labels change, doctrines evolve, and from time to time the three currents seem about to converge into one. Yet the differences go so deep that real fusion never succeeds. In each generation the three strands reappear, altered in some important respects, but each one still possessed of a clearly distinguishable heritage. No brief review can do justice to a book so rich in provocative insights and suggestions. Of special interest to this reviewer were M. Rémond's analyses of the social structure and doctrine of Orleanism; of the novel character of Bonapartism, with its appeal to the more dynamic segments of French society and to the egalitarian spirit of the peasantry; of the emergence after 1880 of a nationalistic Right—urban, emotional, and violent; of Maurras' curious attempt to merge the three Rights; of fascism's failure to take root in France; of the reasons—sociological and otherwise—for the recent revival of right-wing strength. Clear, judicious, and accurate, M. Rémond's book is in the best tradition of French historical scholarship. And unlike so many books in that tradition, it has an index.

GORDON WRIGHT, *University of Oregon*

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C. J. Bishko

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke¹

AMBASSADORS AND SECRET AGENTS: THE DIPLOMACY OF THE FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY AT THE HAGUE. By *Alfred Cobban*. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1954, pp. 255, 21s.) Alfred Cobban, newly appointed professor of French history at the University of London, warns against the "danger of writing diplomatic history exclusively from the records of a single Foreign Office" (p. 15), and by an extensive use of official and unofficial papers, printed memoirs and correspondence, has brought forth a most penetrating study of British foreign policy at the Hague from 1784 to 1788. Some American diplomatic historians would do well to heed his warning. Professor Cobban lays great stress on personal dispatches and correspondence, for, "The nearer we get to the actual events the more decisive does the action of the individual appear. The great impersonal forces which seem to determine the course of history when it is treated on the scale of text-book generalizations, somehow becomes more nebulous the closer one approaches the facts, and the role of the actual individuals or groups influencing or determining policy becomes more decisive" (p. 208). An attempt to discover what happened to the secret service money expended by the Younger Pitt "plunged" the author "straight into the whirlpool of international politics . . . between 1784 and 1788" (p. 15), as England and France struggled for the diplomatic control of the United Provinces. Step by step the efforts of Sir James Harris, British minister to the Hague, are followed as he labors to detach the United Provinces from a French alliance. His efforts are identified with the party backing the Stadtholder, William IV, in his struggle against the burgher oligarchy, the Patriots. Cleverly the Patriot movement is placed by the author in its proper European perspective as England and France battle to control the Dutch factions. In tracing Harris' diplomacy, which eventually made him the first earl of Malmesbury, Professor Cobban is often amusing and always highly informative. His analysis of the French foreign ministry is excellent, and in it he puts to bed many glib generalizations about Vergennes and the administration of French diplomacy. Backed by Prussian troops and aided by English money, Harris was able to restore the House of Orange, but the restoration was short-lived and destined to be swept away by the French Revolution. Yet as Professor Cobban so aptly points out: "Because it survived the crises of 1782 the house of Orange could be brought back in 1813, to provide a bridge between the constitutional traditions of the United Provinces and the new constitutional monarchy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands" (p. 214). In view of the highly controversial nature of the *Patriottentijd*, Professor Cobban would have done well to have consulted Dutch archival materials. It is very unlikely that the dispatches of the Dutch ministers at London, Paris, or Berlin would have appreciably changed any of Professor Cobban's conclusions, yet use of them would have spared him from the charge of writing history from the viewpoint of two nations where three and four are involved, a charge which Professor Cobban in his introduction anticipates. Such criticisms are in no way intended to belittle what is a superb study of diplomacy. Professor Cobban has made a contribution to our knowledge of diplomatic history.

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J. SAKS, LITERATOR EN MARXIST: EEN POLITIEKE BIOGRAFIE. By *Fr. de Jong Edz.* (Amsterdam, De Arbeiderspers, 1954, pp. xiv, 298, F. 14.50.) Though the author apparently meant this dissertation to fulfill in part the need for more satisfy-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ing biographies of leading figures of the early Dutch socialist movement, he failed to do so on two accounts. First, Dr. de Jong, who asserts that both communism and socialism owe a great debt to Saks, has grossly exaggerated the latter's historical importance. J. Saks (pseudonym of Pieter Wiedijk, 1867-1938), far from being a leading figure, was an eccentric intellectual not in touch with the realities of political life. Because of his shy personality and his faithful following of foreign Marxists, he lacked the qualities required for playing a prominent role in politics or leaving a mark on the intellectual development of Dutch socialism. Secondly, and this is most unfortunate, the author has, by resorting to the doctrine of dialectical materialism in interpreting Saks's private and public life, fallen short of the necessary clarity and objectivity. A reader not in sympathy with Marxian philosophy will look in vain for satisfying answers to such basic questions as why an intellectual like Saks became a Marxist, to what extent his Marxism limited his insight in political or social forces, or what role he played in the society of his time. On the positive side, it should be noted that Dr. de Jong has been the first one to study Saks's personal papers kept at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, and, in addition, has taken pains to obtain information from the surviving participants in the feuds between the socialist splinter-groups in the beginning of the twentieth century; using these carefully collected data he has succeeded in giving us a vivid image of Saks's complex character. The author also deserves credit for his efforts to rehabilitate Saks's remarkable talents as polemicist and historian; the most lasting expression of this unconventional personality is, so it seems, to be found in his literary work rather than in his political activity.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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FREDEN I KIEL 1814. By *Georg Nørregård*. (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1954, pp. 279, Dan. kr. 22.50.) When Bernadotte detached Norway from Denmark and united it with Sweden the process was painfully involved. The new Swedish crown prince got Tsar Alexander to pledge Norway as compensation for Swedish participation in the final coalition against Napoleon, and Britain and Prussia made similar guarantees. Austria held aloof, and maneuvered to the last to avert or diminish the northern territorial transfer. Alexander remained loyal to his word, but Carl Johan (Bernadotte) had ample grounds for suspicion of his allies, to whom the cession became increasingly unpalatable. The rising national spirit and the opposition to Napoleonic ruthlessness helped to create a new conscience toward the transfer of peoples and territories. Antagonism toward Carl Johan increased as he played his ultra-cautious game and displayed a blend of the morality of the Old Regime and the unfettered opportunism of the Revolution. Those who enjoyed the security of legiti-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

macy had little sympathy for the insecurity of the parvenu prince. The obstinacy of the Danish court, the machinations of Metternich, the stubborn shrewdness of Carl Johan, all interwoven with the delicate interrelations of the Great Powers, deserve this careful narrative covering the period from the summer of 1813 to the summer of 1814 and based largely on archival research. Dr. Nørrgård adds nothing startlingly new, though he has gone a little further than precursors in the same field. Now the details of diplomacy are sufficiently clear; the next step requires interpretation—for instance, how conscious were the Austrians that in supporting Denmark they might help to contain Prussia? The concluding chapter is a good but very brief summary on personalities and the national effects of the treaty of Kiel. It was a turning point in the history of the North marked by the weakening of Denmark, the stimulus to a fruitful national resurgence in Norway, and the Swedish renunciation of Finland and withdrawal from Continental embroilments. Whether these developments and the later independence of Norway produced the feebleness and tragedy of Scandinavia in 1940, however, may be too long a leap for logic. In any case the story centering in the treaty of Kiel is a "saga of desire and doubt, of cunning and mistrust, of fear and daring, but above all of human insecurity" (p. 254).

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THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL MANNERHEIM. Translated by Count *Eric Lewenhaupt*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1954, pp. 540, \$6.75.) This American edition of Mannerheim's memoirs represents a considerable and no doubt inevitable, if not always judicious, abridgment of the original work published in 1951. Only a frontispiece photograph and 5 maps, for example, remain of the 260 illustrations and 31 maps that appeared in the two-volume, 1007-page Finnish edition. More serious is the too-frequent condensation and outright omission (without proper indication) of important documents, letters, and public statements. In literary style the translation is beyond reproach. The self-perceived military and political record of Finland's national hero has, of course, inestimable value, especially to historians. On the debit side, the account reveals not only an occasional lapse of memory but a disposition to rewrite the record to the marshal's advantage. Indeed, a leading Swedish critic was prompted to comment, "Just like another war leader and writer of memoirs, Julius Caesar, Mannerheim has revised his materials. . . . Like Caesar he proceeded on the assumption that he committed no mistakes." There is, fortunately, a sizable and swelling body of published materials for checking the more debatable of Mannerheim's allegations. In the military field are the studies of Y. A. Järvinen, Harald Öhquist, Walde-mar Erfurth, Eero Kuussaari and Vilho Niitemaa, and especially the "Suomen sota 1941-1944" series being published by the Finnish Military History Research Institute. In the more controversial area of political decisions the historian has available the contributions of Väinö Tanner, Juho Niukkanen, Toivo Kaila, C. O. Frietsch, Wipert v. Blücher, and others. The manner in which the marshal's memoirs were composed, it might be added, is the subject of an interesting article by Emerik Olsoni to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Svensk Tidskrift*. Mannerheim clearly intended his memoirs to serve as a political testament to the Finnish people. As a consequence they shed virtually no light on his personality, his family life, his immediate surroundings. Future biographers (the most popular of present biographies is Anni Voipio's worshipful *Suomen marsalkka*, first published in 1943; as far as this reviewer knows, no new studies are in progress) face the difficult and painful, yet inescapable job of discovering amidst the extensive mythology the human dimensions of Mannerheim. The Mannerheim museum at Helsinki. They are open to qualified scholars,

but according to reports are not as rich and comprehensive as might have been anticipated.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

DIE DEUTSCHKONSERVATIVE PARTEI: PREUSSISCHER CHARAKTER, REICHAUFFASSUNG, NATIONALBEGRIFF. By Hans Booms. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 3.] (Düsseldorf, Droste, 1954, pp. 136, DM 11.80.) It is the purpose of this monograph to establish the overwhelmingly Prussian character of the supposedly national German Conservative party. This the author does thoroughly and convincingly in a series of variations on the theme of the Prussian-agrarian outlook of the DKP from the time of its founding in 1876 through the last struggles in 1918. In all this, however, there is nothing new. The Prussian and agrarian character of the DKP has long been an axiom of German political history. No one now is inclined to doubt that the limited outlook and following of the DKP, that its close dependence on the spirit and institutions of Hohenzollern-Prussia brought its downfall in 1918 when the monarchy came to an end, or to doubt that this also effectively prevented its independent re-emergence on the postwar republican political scene. No unpublished and no otherwise unavailable material has been used in this work. But by consulting the literature, and particularly by poring through the parliamentary debates of the Reichstag and Prussian house, the author is

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

able to provide a summary of the principal positions of the DKP on important questions of public policy. There is no attempt to fathom the inner struggles of the party, or to distinguish the interests of individuals, groups, and factions. Still for what it is the study is useful, if only for the extensive quotations on almost every page. The interpretation and analysis of the author are usually sound, although not particularly imaginative nor daring in application. One may question an approach, however, that chooses to measure the soundness of the national feeling of the conservatives against the yardstick of their attitude toward pan-German nationalism. Yet that is what Dr. Booms at one point attempts to do in proceeding to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the Conservative party's concern for the Reich in the light of its general coolness toward the Pan-German League. It seems extraordinary for a scholar to use precisely that ultranationalistic group to test the patriotism of the Prussian conservatives without supplying some special justification for his selection. Much of the lack of balance in this work is of course inherent in the monograph form. The history of the German Conservative party in the empire remains to be written. For a quick sketch one can still best turn to Ludwig Bergsträsser's *Geschichte der politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (7th ed., Munich, 1952), and for details to Count Westarp's partial but reliable two volumes, *Konservative Politik im letzten Jahrzehnt des Kaiserreiches* (Berlin, 1935). The present work is without index. LEWIS HERTZMAN, *Harvard University*

KRONPRINZ WILHELM: SEINE ROLLE IN DER DEUTSCHEN POLITIK. By Paul Herre. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1954. pp. xii, 280, DM 15.) There is a deplorable dearth of authoritative studies on many of the men who directed Germany's course during the past fifty years. It is an important event, therefore, when a notable German historian devotes a book to one of the more controversial, even though less significant, figures of that period. As the subtitle suggests, its emphasis is on the crown prince's political role, with only brief references to his military activities. Since the book is not intended as a biography, it gives a minimum of personal detail and makes only the briefest mention of the crown prince's "privates Sichauleben," as Professor Herre tactfully calls it. The first and shortest part covers the years before 1914. It shows young William growing up in the shadow of his father, where he remained through most of his life. Yet at the same time, his essentially modern outlook, his level-headedness, tolerance, modesty, and unconventionality, made him one of the most persistent critics of the Wilhelminian system. Its chief weakness he saw in the official barriers, notably the "cabinet system," with which the kaiser surrounded himself. It was not until the World War that the crown prince was able to make some of his contrary views prevail. The second and major portion of the book deals with these most influential years of his career. It traces in detail his part in the "resignation" of Bethmann-Hollweg, the July crisis of 1917, and the dismissal of Valentini. In addition, it shows how the crown prince's superficiality sometimes made him subject to outside suggestions, resulting in many sudden changes of front (notably on the issue of a moderate negotiated peace). His character, in other words, was more complex and contradictory than has usually been assumed. The third and last section of the book describes the years of exile in Holland, his return and life as a private citizen under the Weimar Republic, his growing infatuation and subsequent disillusionment with Hitler, and the concluding years of relative impoverishment after the Second World War. The book is carefully documented, mainly from published sources, except for the World War years, for which the author had access to the crown prince's private papers. It is written with restraint and objectivity; and while one might disagree with some minor points, the picture it presents of the crown prince appears true and convincing. HANS W. GATZKE, *Johns Hopkins University*

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Sergius Yakobson

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE CHANGE OF DYNASTY IN GREECE, 1862-1863. By *Eleutherios Prevelakis*. (Athens, Greece, the Author, 48B Mitropoleos St., 1953, pp. 194, \$1.75.) This monograph is the definitive study of British policy concerning the accession of the Danish Glücksburg dynasty of Greece in 1863. The author prepared the study at Oxford under the direction of the late Professor Benedict Humphrey Sumner. He has utilized competently all available archival and published materials in both Britain and Greece. After analyzing the factors and events leading to the revolution of October 16, 1862, which unseated the preceding Bavarian dynasty the author devotes most of his study to describing in detail the frantic search for a new ruler acceptable to the various Great Powers. This proved to be an almost impossible task, and Palmerston was at his wit's end when he recalled "Prince (whatever his name is) of Denmark." Queen Victoria thought poorly of the proposal—"poor foolish boy Willy"—"a good but not overbright and very plain youth" (pp. 133-34). But the fact remained that he was the last resort. So "Willy" arrived in Athens on

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

October 30, 1863, as George I, king of the Hellenes. Today his dynasty is the only royal house reigning in the Balkans. L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

WESTERN ENTERPRISE IN FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: CHINA AND JAPAN. By G. C. Allen, Professor of Political Economy in the University of London, and Audrey G. Donnithorne, Lecturer in Political Economy, University College, London. [Published in Co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1954, pp. 292, \$4.50.) This excellent exploratory study could almost have been called, for China at least, the rise and decline of Western economic enterprise. Covering the period from the mid-nineteenth-century opening of China and Japan until 1952, it aims to describe: the beginning of Western economic enterprise in China and Japan, the local conditions which determined the character of that enterprise, the relationship of Western activities to the changing Chinese and Japanese economies, and finally, the effect of Western impact upon the industrial, financial, and commercial life of the two countries. The authors point out that westerners were primarily traders at the beginning, but they were forced to become engaged in other forms of economic enterprise, such as banking, insurance, shipping, and manufacturing, because there were so few Chinese who had the interest, the training, or even their government's approval and aid. This was less true in Japan, where government and individuals showed more initiative in acquiring the economic techniques of the West. In both countries, when the nationals did learn to take over varied enterprises, foreigners would pioneer in new ventures. It was not until the second quarter of the present century in China that there was a pronounced tendency (even before Communist rule) for government to play a more active role, even to the extent of establishing monopolies over some enterprises. Since 1950 there has been a consequent edging out of the foreigner in China, whereas in Japan he has had increased opportunities since the end of the war. The authors limit their subject and admit that their study is incomplete, for it is not based on Chinese or Japanese language sources nor has it made complete use of materials in Western languages. However, it breaks fresh ground and scholars will look forward to a promised monograph on the same subject covering Malaya and Indonesia.

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JAPAN AND AMERICA: FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By Lawrence H. Battistini. (New York, John Day, 1954, pp. x, 198, \$3.00.) This work is essentially a survey of diplomatic relations between America and Japan by one who seems honestly anxious for their betterment. The author, a former official of the Allied occupation government in Japan, has had an opportunity to view at close range the most recent episodes in this history. Unfortunately, this firsthand experience is cut to the minimum by the effort to cover at a constant depth the entire hundred-odd years of United States-Japanese relations. The story, written exclusively from English language sources, has been told carefully and with a certain admirable fairness especially in its treatment of such controversial subjects as the Yalta Agreement, General MacArthur, and the occupation-inspired reforms in Japan. On the whole, however, the work does scanty justice to the subject embraced by its weighty title. Japanese-American relations have too often been plotted only on the chart of diplomatic affairs. And while Americans may be resigned to having their foreign affairs depicted in terms of notes,

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conferences, and treaties, it must be argued that the screen of diplomatic paraphernalia has had much to do with their failure to understand the real forces operating in the world beyond their shores. In this day when we have had the unprecedented opportunity of intimate association with Japan, her people, and her problems, may we not expect to find a greater penetration beneath the impersonal and almost unreal world of diplomacy? The story of Japan and America is one of wide dimensions. Fundamentally it involves the process of the clash and fusion of cultures, the conflicting aspirations of new and growing nations, and the struggle of potent political isms. Such subjects are hardly touched on in this treatment, which devotes nine pages to the Perry diplomacy, a brief page to the Meiji Restoration, and a single paragraph to inform the reader that Japan in 1931 was coming under militarist control. This is a work which the specialist will find too general for his use. The general reader may find it a helpful guide to diplomatic events but he will remain unenlightened as to the deep political, cultural, and intellectual forces operating behind such events.

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs

SOUTHEAST ASIA

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

THE WRITING OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Michael Kraus*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pp. x, 387, \$5.50.) This volume is a revision of Professor Kraus's *History of American History*, first published in 1937. The original work was useful. It was the first full-length study of the development of American history and supplied a helpful factual framework at a time when historians in the United States were beginning to be aware of the problems of their historiography. It is more difficult to perceive the utility of the revision. The new edition has incorporated into its narrative some of the results of more recent research and has brought some trends up to date. But the point of view and approach are essentially unchanged, and today's student will learn little from the book. The first ten chapters, dealing with the period to about 1880 are basically chronological, although the chapter titles lend them an appearance of thematic unity they do not really possess. The last five chapters are devoted to the years since 1880, and the treatment is topical. But the choice of subjects and their categorization is essentially capricious. It is often difficult to see why the figures treated should find their way into one chapter rather than another, why Samuel E. Morison, for instance, should be discussed with the frontier and sectional historians. The method of Professor Kraus's work is simple. The book contains a series of factual accounts of the lives of successive historians. These are carefully done and generally accurate, but they fail to deal at any depth with the writings of the men in question. The result is a volume free from important errors of detail, but one which fails to recognize the significant questions of interpretation, much less answer them. Two important problems illustrate the perplexities of a modern reader who wishes to use the book. Professor Kraus is altogether noncritical; every historian of the past was good for his times. Such eclecticism enables Professor Kraus to write as if he were uncommitted and a partisan of no school. But it leaves him in an ambiguous

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

position when he confronts opposing inclinations in a single period, and it deprives him of any standard of intrinsic judgment. More important, the author does not treat the history of history as if it were related to the history of ideas. There is no effort to examine the preconceptions and assumptions of the historians or to analyze the basic ideas embodied in their writings. Instead American history is described entirely as if it consisted of a series of incidents in the lives of the men who wrote about it. Not many now will find such a summary useful.

OSCAR HANDLIN, *Harvard University*

THE WORLD'S RIM: GREAT MYSTERIES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. By *Hartley Burr Alexander*. With a Foreword by Clyde Kluckhohn. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1953, pp. xx, 259, \$4.75.) This book deals with the description and analysis of a number of religious rituals found among various American Indian tribes. The presentation is vivid and should attract readers who would not plod through the dull monographs on which the book is based. Although the treatment of the factual data is somewhat romanticized, no errata were uncovered of a factual nature. The reviewer was disturbed, however, by the impressionistic evaluations of ritual symbolism which occur throughout the book. Occasionally these evaluations are attributed to the individual who collected the raw data, or to one of the collector's informants. Often, however, Alexander alone seems to be responsible. Using the hypothesis of the psychic unity of mankind, he undertakes to set out universal values based on comparisons of his evaluations. Unfortunately he finds it necessary to make constant references to classical mythology and philosophy as being analogous to the Indian material under analysis so far as its metaphysical content is concerned. The unrealistic quality of his statements detracts from an otherwise very readable book, at least from the professional's point of view. Because of the methodological approach it is the reviewer's opinion that the interpretative statements made by Alexander are mainly not true. They are interesting speculations; they are couched in polished phrases; they demonstrate that Alexander was a warm person given to sensitive, introspective thought. But they are misleading insofar as they purport to be Indian attitudes and values.

J. A. JONES, *Indiana University*

INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIAL FRONTIER: THE EDMUND ATKIN REPORT AND PLAN OF 1755. Edited with an Introduction by *Wilbur R. Jacobs*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xxxviii, 108, \$5.00.) With the permission of the Huntington Library, Professor Jacobs has published Edmund Atkin's lengthy treatise on Indian affairs. The report, written on the eve of the Seven Years' War, represents the most detailed review of Indian management then available to the Board of Trade. It was not original in the sense of presenting new ideas, for Johnson, Pownall, Wraxall, and Kennedy held similar thoughts, but it brought together in a comprehensive, intelligent manner the prevailing ideas of the period. The plan suggested the erection of an independent jurisdiction, which would be split into two parts and which would be in charge of two superintendents. These men would regulate trade, establish defenses, and maintain diplomatic relations. They would work with the colonial governments and business interests, but they were to strive for independence and impartiality—in other words, to rise above the local political order. The Atkin report was but another example of the anxiety felt by Britons over the unsatisfactory state of imperial government. The royal and proprietary colonies had found their limits in meeting defense and intercolonial relations; something better was needed. The Albany plan focused the larger problem, but neither America nor England was ready for a compromise. The Atkin plan, whatever its

particular value, was clearly an attempt to meet part of this problem by putting western Indian management into British hands. It was doomed to failure because it denied the colonies control of lands and trade which were considered a birthright. Colonial historians will find the Atkin report of exceptional value for both research and classroom use. Professor Jacobs has done a concise, authoritative job of editing the manuscript and describing its importance. In keeping with its value, the University of South Carolina Press has produced an attractively illustrated book.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Whittier College*

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. Volume XI [1764-1765]. Prepared for Publication by *Milton W. Hamilton*, Senior Historian, the Division of Archives and History, and *Albert B. Corey*, Director and State Historian (New York). (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1953, pp. viii, 994, \$5.25.) Beginning with Volume IX, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* entered upon what is in effect a new, supplementary series, running parallel in a chronological sense to the contents of Volumes I to VIII. This procedure was dictated by the desirability of including documents which were unknown or unavailable when the earlier volumes were in preparation. Thus the contents of Volume XI cover the years 1764 and 1765 and should be used in connection with the documents for the same period appearing in Volume IV. Among the important new materials appearing in these pages are papers from the Indian Records in the Public Archives of Canada and the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor. Many previously published documents are also reprinted in order that the record may be as complete as possible. It is heartening to note that in the case of many documents destroyed or badly mutilated as a result of the fire in the New York state capitol in 1911, drafts or copies have been discovered elsewhere which help to make good what had been regarded as an irreparable loss. As in the earlier volumes the editors have selected their materials on a broad basis and the present collection includes letters both to and from Johnson, as well as voluminous records of conferences, memorials, etc. During the period covered by the present volume Johnson was superintendent of Indian affairs for the so-called Northern Department and his responsibilities involved a vast range of activities. Among the subjects dealt with in these papers are the suppression of the uprising under Pontiac and the pacification of the Indian country; the return of captives; provision for military defense including troop dispositions; the regulation and control of the fur trade; problems relating to western lands; missionary activities among the Indians; and compensation sought by traders who had suffered losses during the uprising. There is a tremendous amount of material relating to the administration of Indian affairs and one is deeply impressed by the complexity of these affairs and the amount of time and attention devoted to them. Probably the most interesting and valuable papers consist of the correspondence between Sir William and General Thomas Gage, dealing as it does with matters of broad policy. It is announced that Volume XII will complete this second chronological series, following which there will be a volume of appendixes and addenda with ultimately an index to the series as a whole. On the basis of the material which is being made available in this truly monumental collection it would seem that the time is ripe for a revaluation of Sir William Johnson's entire career, with special emphasis upon the critical period from 1763 to 1774.

WAYNE E. STEVENS, *Dartmouth College*

THE JOHN GRAY BLOUNT PAPERS. Volume I, 1764-1789. Edited by *Alice Barnwell Keith*. (Raleigh, N. C., State Department of Archives and History, 1952, pp. xlv, 572.) For many years North Carolina's State Department of Archives and His-

tory (formerly known as the North Carolina Historical Commission) has been engaged not only in acquiring and preserving archives and other manuscripts but also in making many of them readily available in published form. This publishing of historical documents is of great service to scholarship; and for it the department and the editors who participate in its program deserve high praise. The present volume contains 520 documents, chiefly letters, that have been selected for the most part from a manuscript group of some 10,000 items in the possession of the department that bears the same title as this volume. Only 34 of the documents antedate 1783, and one, on pages 459-61, should have been reserved for the next volume because it was written in 1790, not on January 26, 1789, as printed. Only two of the letters were written by John Gray Blount; most of the others were addressed to him. They provide a wealth of information about the agricultural, mercantile, shipping, land speculating, political, and other activities in which the three brothers, John Gray, Thomas, and William Blount, were closely associated, and about other persons with whom they dealt. These activities were centered in eastern North Carolina but they extended to the Indian country in the west and to Philadelphia and New York, London, the West Indies, and other parts of the world. The editorial work appears to have been carefully done, but the book deserves a much better index.

PHILIP M. HAMER, *Washington, D. C.*

THE PROMOTION OF BRITISH EMIGRATION BY AGENTS FOR AMERICAN LANDS, 1840-1860. By *Wilbur Stanley Shepperson*. (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1954, pp. 92.) When the history of unsuccessful American business enterprises comes to be compiled, this rather awkwardly written study may furnish one or two paragraphs. For of all the land agents and other promoters of British migration to midwestern, southern, and Texan farms whom Mr. Shepperson chronicles, hardly any managed to attract actual immigrants, and most of the British whom they did bring were speedily disabused of their expectations. There were plenty of British newcomers to America between 1840 and 1860, but they came because of factors—mainly economic and often industrial—more basic than land agents' propaganda. Mr. Shepperson is aware of such factors; his land agents merely sought to channel the flow of immigrants for their own profit. But when he implies that in this endeavor they enjoyed any significant success, his evidence gainsays his thesis. It is becoming apparent that research into immigration promotion has reached the point of vanishing returns. Is it not time to open up fresh avenues of inquiry into the conditions, in both the Old World and the New, which actually induced men and women to migrate in their millions?

ROWLAND T. BERTHOFF, *Princeton University*

MODERN SAGAS: THE STORY OF THE ICELANDERS IN NORTH AMERICA. By *Thorstina Walters*. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Fargo, North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota Agricultural College, 1953, pp. x, 229, \$3.75.) The Icelanders are said to have been the smallest group of European immigrants speaking their own language ever to come to America. When the migration was at its height, the population of Iceland probably numbered about 100,000; still, it is estimated that between 1870 and 1900 nearly 30,000 emigrants left the island. At present there are some 60,000 people of Icelandic origin or descent on this continent—about 20,000 in the United States, the remaining 40,000 in Canada, especially in the province of Manitoba. It is generally agreed that Icelanders were the first white men to come to America; their saga on this continent is therefore in some respects a long one. But the volume under review deals with *modern* sagas and touches on the adventures of Eric the Red and his son Leif only by way of introduction. Neither does

the author attempt to tell the whole modern saga. The main emphasis is on the founding of the Icelandic settlement in northeastern North Dakota in the 1870's and its development up to the present. This little community becomes, so to speak, a laboratory where we see at work the forces of pioneering, assimilation, Americanization, and the like. Mrs. Walters grew up in this community and knows whereof she speaks. But she has by no means depended solely on her own experiences and recollections. She has also drawn heavily on the reminiscences and correspondence of "old timers" who played a prominent part in the life of the settlement. This lends a very personal touch to the narrative. The reader is more aware of the individual than the group. We hear about the struggle of farmers with grasshoppers, salesmen, and bankers, but we do not learn how the Icelandic farmers of North Dakota reacted to such "agrarian revolts" as Populism and the Farmer-Labor movement. Mention is also made of individual discontent with the Danish government of Iceland, but no analysis is made of the forces which drove an appreciable part of the population to emigrate. However, these sour notes must not be overplayed. Out of her warm feeling for her people and her intimate knowledge of their history, Mrs. Walters has written a moving story of the modern Icelanders in the New World.

C. A. CLAUSEN, *St. Olaf College*

THE FREMANTLE DIARY: BEING THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES ARTHUR LYON FREMANTLE, COLDSTREAM GUARDS, ON HIS THREE MONTHS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. Editing and Commentary by *Walter Lord*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. xv, 304, \$4.00.) Arthur Fremantle, a 28-year-old officer on leave from the British Army, toured the Confederacy in the summer of 1863. Spending three months en route from Texas to Maryland, he entered every Southern state except Arkansas and Florida. No other foreign visitor traversed so much of the wartime South or studied so broad a cross section of the Confederacy's people. This youthful Briton proved an alert, inquisitive, and friendly observer. He mingled as readily with uncouth Texans as with the elite of Charleston, and he penned sophisticated but sympathetic notes on life behind the Confederate lines. Perhaps the salient virtue of the diary is its description of Southern manners and mores as contrasted with those of comparable Englishmen. Throughout his travels, Fremantle sought out military installations and personnel. He observed Mississippi River ports at Shreveport and Natchez; visited the powder factories at Augusta; and inspected fortifications at Mobile and Charleston. The climax of all this is his vivid eyewitness account of the battle of Gettysburg. Fremantle talked with the principal Southern generals and also interviewed Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin. His sketches of the Confederate chieftains are interesting but superficial. Fremantle entered the Confederacy at the time of its highest morale, and he failed to look behind the façade of Southern patriotism. He did not realistically appraise problems of transportation, resources, or manpower; neither did he evaluate political issues or notice dissensions among military or civilian leaders. Fremantle frankly admired the "courage, energy, and patriotism of the whole population and the skill of its leaders," and he felt certain that the Confederacy would win both the war and its independence. Fremantle's journal was first published in England late in 1863, and two American printings, one in New York and another in Mobile, promptly appeared in 1864. In the current edition, Walter Lord has provided an attractive map of Fremantle's itinerary as well as fifty-six pages of notes and commentary.

ROMAN J. ZORN, *University of Wisconsin*

GENERAL EDMUND KIRBY SMITH, C.S.A. By *Joseph Howard Parks*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 537, \$6.00.) In 1907 Arthur H. Noll published a volume entitled *General Kirby-Smith* that was hardly an adequate treatment of its subject. Professor Parks has now given us a full-scale biography of the controversial general. It is a detailed account, enriched with intimate information drawn from the Kirby Smith family papers, to which the author was granted unrestricted access. The major portion of the book is devoted to Kirby Smith's Civil War career, with emphasis naturally falling upon his trials and tribulations as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. In eight able chapters Professor Parks shows how the harassed general contended with false rumors of impending attack, disgruntled subordinates, constant shortages of money and materiel, and a public opinion that was often as hostile as it was uninformed. The author sympathizes with Kirby Smith but does not present him as a faultless hero. On the contrary, after a careful weighing of evidence he often assigns him a share of blame for military failure. He concludes that while Kirby Smith erred in the conduct of the Red River campaign, his vitriolic critic, General Richard Taylor, owed a lucky victory to "the timidity and fear" that beset the opposing Union commander, Nathaniel P. Banks. "Both Kirby Smith and Taylor should have offered thanks for the good fortune that brought Banks, rather than Sherman, to the Red River Valley." Of the book as a whole it might be said that the narrative at times is too condensed and severely chronological, especially in the opening chapters, and that more analysis of Kirby Smith's character and personality than the brief comments offered would help evoke the living man. Nevertheless the author has produced a clear, straightforward account of "an honest soldier of considerable ability who was forced to attempt too much with too little." No one will read it without gaining new insights into the war west of the Mississippi. HAL BRIDGES, *University of Colorado*

A MERCHANT PRINCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: WILLIAM E. DODGE. By *Richard Lowitt*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xii, 384, \$5.00.) The transition in American business in the mid-nineteenth century from mercantile to industrial capitalism is one of the more significant and rewarding areas for research and synthesis. Today, we possess some excellent studies of businessmen in the colonial and early national periods. More are forthcoming. Our knowledge of the nature and development of American business in the transitional years, before the several functions performed by the large merchants were taken over by specialists, still requires much study, for in this period mercantile operations were of major consequence. One of the most influential of these "Big Business" merchants of the mid-nineteenth century was William E. Dodge, a partner in the firm of Phelps Dodge & Co., the leading metal importers of their day and actively engaged in such diverse business activities as lumber, railroads, copper mines and mills, banking, coal and iron lands, cotton, real estate, sailing vessels, and others. Employing the Phelps Dodge manuscripts in the New York Public Library, other contemporaneous manuscript collections, newspapers, local histories, and other similar sources, Mr. Lowitt has written a thorough and interesting account of Dodge's business career and activities. Unfortunately, the evidence available was not always sufficient to permit the author to develop fully some of the administrative, financial, and other problems which faced Dodge's business operations. Mr. Lowitt, however, is always careful to indicate the limitations of his sources and the areas where the evidence does not permit definitive conclusions. In no respect is this a narrow business biography, for Mr. Lowitt is consciously aware of the larger New York mercantile community and its numerous interests and aspirations. As a result, this is a fine case study of a mercantile capitalist

operating during a challenging economic period. Although primarily the biography of a businessman, Dodge's political, social, religious, philanthropic, and other interests are not neglected. The chapters on Dodge's non-business activities are thorough, interestingly written, and well integrated. VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE AND AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC ART By *Oliver W. Larkin*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. viii, 215, \$3.00.) This book is a brief biography of the entire and varied career of Morse and not, as one might expect, solely an account of Morse as an artist. Although pleasantly written, only about half of the 200 pages of text are devoted to Morse as an artist. Further the purpose of "American Democratic Art" as described in the preface of the book by the editor of this series of biographies, Oscar Handlin, was "to teach men by dramatic precepts the virtues of citizenship, and justify itself by its educational role." Only one of Morse's paintings, "The Old House of Representatives," came at all close to such a purpose. By far the greater number of Morse's 300 or so paintings were portraits, some of which Mr. Larkin states are "among the finest portraits ever painted in the United States." However, Larkin himself implies (p. 198) that Morse's ambitious canvases "had little relevance for an America which had no tradition of the Grand Style and whose people preferred on the whole a national art. . . ." The title of the book is therefore a misnomer and on this ground the book is a disappointment. There is in print an abler and better documented biography of Morse (*The American Leonardo*, by Carleton Mabee, New York, 1941). Mr. Larkin's "A Note on the Sources" indicates that his have been primarily secondary. Four illustrations are included in the volume, but no portrait of Morse, although Mr. Larkin does attempt to describe the artist's appearance in at least three places. Surely the reader of a biography deserves something better than a word portrait of the subject, especially as Morse painted a most interesting self-portrait.

ROBERT TAFT, *University of Kansas*

FEDERAL DEBT-MANAGEMENT POLICIES, 1865-1879. By *Robert T. Patterson*. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1954, pp. xi, 244, \$4.50.) Dr. Patterson has put historians, economists, and the general public in his debt by illuminating the complex problems, factors, and currents of national governmental debt management in the "tragic era" of reconstruction, 1865-1879. His volume reveals industry in research, clarity in exposition, and awareness of significant problems. He has exploited with skill the published materials in governmental documents, controversial and scholarly treatises and periodical articles, memoirs, and biographies. He has not attempted to survey newspaper opinion, to delve into pressure politics, or to go into the rulings of the lower and higher federal courts on fiscal questions. These are fit subjects for other treatises, and have been covered in part by the reviewer's volume, *American Taxation* (1942), which Dr. Patterson cites on other problems. Yet the author should have explicated the U. S. Supreme Court's position in the *Legal Tender Cases*, to which he refers (p. 61), as well as the role of President Grant and Secretary Boutwell of the Treasury Department. (See the reviewer's "Was the Supreme Court Packed by President Grant?" *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1935.) An important contribution is the author's success in showing to what an extent each Secretary of the Treasury from 1865 to 1879 comprehended the problems of the depreciated currency and the low state of public credit as well as those of the size and burden of the debt. Each was limited in his power to resolve all the complexities by pressure groups or circumstances beyond his control or by limitations in his training and judgment. Sherman finally succeeded in restoring the value of the currency and

in re-establishing the public credit. Dr. Patterson concludes that one effect of debt reduction, in conjunction with a regressive tax system after 1872, was the distribution of "a part of the earnings of all the people to a comparatively few bondholders. This increased the rate of saving and investment and resulted in a higher national income. But it also helped to concentrate the ownership of wealth in the hands of a few" (p. 220). I wish the author had explored more deeply than he has in this volume the relations of fiscal policy to the business cycle and the level, as well as distribution, of the national income. The American business community was dominated for the most part by the economic views of bankers, but it is questionable whether the interests of industrial and business entrepreneurs (usually debtors) might not have been advanced by policies more in line with Keynesian economics than the orthodox balancing-the-budget policies of the Republican administrations in the post-Civil War era. The economic losses suffered in minor and major depressions during this and later periods caused so eminent and cautious an economist and economic historian as the late Wesley C. Mitchell to favor proposals that would prevent the violent fluctuations in the value of currency and in the level of national income that usually worked to the disadvantage of the debtor classes. See the conclusion to his rarely read masterly 1913 study, *Business Cycles*, which Dr. Patterson fails to cite in his otherwise exhaustive bibliography. Here are problems in economic statesmanship that Dr. Patterson's book invites its readers to investigate on their own. SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

LAW WRITERS AND THE COURTS: THE INFLUENCE OF THOMAS M. COOLEY, CHRISTOPHER G. TIEDEMAN, AND JOHN F. DILLON UPON AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By *Clyde E. Jacobs*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. x, 223, \$3.50.) "No truthful account of the development of American law in the nineteenth century," said Roscoe Pound, "can ignore the part played by the text writers." Mr. Jacobs proves how right Pound was by doggedly pursuing the influence of Cooley, Tiedeman, and Dillon. His purpose is "to show how laissez faire constitutional principles, formulated by the publicists and embodying enormous restrictions upon the police and taxing powers of government, were written into the fundamental law of the land through judicial application of the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments and of corresponding provisions in state constitutions." His book, supplementing Twiss's *Lawyers and the Constitution*, assiduously mines the state reports and utilizes some previously neglected briefs which illuminate the history of the liberty of contract and public purpose doctrines. He finds that these two doctrines, whose origins and uses he traces, were the means by which the text writers' opinions were incorporated into American constitutional law, giving it a pro-capitalist bias. The nexus between the commentators, the courts, constitutionalism, and capitalism does not need exaggeration, as Jacobs' review of the cases proves. But he tends to see capitalist hobgoblins under the judicial bed. It is questionable, for example, whether the public purpose doctrine, by which the taxing and spending powers were limited, served business interests as is here alleged. When the courts invalidate government aids to businesses, other than railroads, in all but one of forty cases between 1870 and 1910, on ground that the aids were not for public purposes, we have the phenomenon of a constitutional doctrine derived from laissez faire ideology being used to protect the taxpayers against corporate importunities. The liberty of contract cases prove Jacobs' thesis better. His footnotes, so annoyingly placed in the back of the book, are full of valuable comment: e.g., there is an Illinois case predating the Pennsylvania one traditionally thought to be the first in which liberty of contract constituted a ground for invalidating a statute. Regrettably, Jacobs' sketches of the careers and views of the text writers fail to go beyond Twiss. His

real contribution in this overbrief book is his analysis of the work of the state courts, which have been the wasteland of American legal scholarship and the breeding ground of American law.

LEONARD W. LEVY, *Brandeis University*

THE BROADENING CHURCH: A STUDY OF THEOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH SINCE 1869. By *Lefferts A. Loetscher*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954, pp. 195, \$4.75.) The current spate of good books on American religious history indicates that it has again become intellectually respectable to take religion seriously. Thoroughly secular scholars are waking up to the fact that religious data provide one of the best avenues into an understanding of those elusive but tremendously important aspects of culture with which the social and intellectual historian deals. At the same time, the old-fashioned clerics in whose hands religious history was formerly left to languish are being replaced by religiously oriented writers whose work is critical and scholarly. *The Broadening Church*, by Professor Lefferts A. Loetscher of the Princeton Theological Seminary, might well be a model for the many monographs needed in this long-neglected field. Written out of a sophisticated grasp of American intellectual history, this study describes the impact of the nineteenth-century scientific spirit, as manifested in evolutionary thought, the higher criticism, and immanentist theology, on that child of sixteenth-century Calvinism, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Professor Loetscher sees the struggles that grew out of these issues as merely an extension of the historic tension within American Presbyterianism between the more liberal tradition stemming from New England and New York and the more Calvinistic tradition stemming from Pennsylvania and Princeton Seminary. Final victory in the 1930's went to the "more moderate, mediating policies," which left room for both traditions, policies "which had always triumphed in the Church's crises, and which are to be regarded as manifesting the Church's truest theological character." Is this, however, really a theological position, or merely a pragmatic retreat from theology, for the sake of ecclesiastical unity and effectiveness? Professor Loetscher admits that "memories and scars of the old fundamentalist-modernist controversy still largely inhibit among Presbyterians the frank and realistic discussion of theological questions," but he also sees hopeful indications of renewed theological vigor.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, Jr., *Princeton University*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT UND DIE AUSSENPOLITIK DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA. By *Alex Weilenmann*. [Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat, Band IX.] (Zurich, Europa, 1953, pp. 138, Kt. Fr. 6.75.) Herr Weilenmann hoped, he explains, through this study of Roosevelt's concept of foreign policy to make a contribution to European understanding of American foreign policy in general. In a first long chapter he summarizes American foreign policy prior to 1898. In the second chapter he provides a biographical sketch of Roosevelt. In the third he analyzes Roosevelt's ideas on foreign policy and in the fourth offers his own conclusions. The author maintains that before 1898 American policy had been dominated by two complementary forces, isolationism and expansionism. By the time Roosevelt had become President the nineteenth-century dualism had been transformed into an antithesis between isolationism and internationalism. Weilenmann also warns his European readers that American foreign policy is a synthesis of realism and idealism. Besides the realism and idealism, he describes three main principles that explain Roosevelt's action: missionary zeal on behalf of Western civilization, national honor, and an understanding of the dynamics of politics. Panama, for instance, he describes as a product of this synthesis. Roosevelt had been impressed with American need for the canal but also

with the service a canal would render civilization. It would be false, Weilenmann feels, to look at the Panama episode solely from the point of view of idealism—civilization's need—but equally erroneous to consider it only from the selfish materialist angle. Both motives were intertwined. The narrative is clear; the story is accurately told. Yet somehow the interpretation offered of Theodore Roosevelt is much too simple. He was a more complex figure than here portrayed and his motives were more complicated. Besides, one wonders whether the ideas of nationalism and imperialism came full blown out of Europe to America. Weilenmann, too, strangely ignores the role of Britain in America's Caribbean policy in the nineteenth century. More serious, he uses none of the European sources so easily available to him. He does not even utilize, for example, the German foreign office papers published in *Die Grosse Politik* that could have thrown so much light on Roosevelt's foreign policy. Indeed, though he does use Burgess' works and Mahan's and quotes extensively from Roosevelt's own *Works*, he has depended to a surprising degree upon secondary items; he even cites textbooks for things easily available in sources. The only source material he uses besides the printed works of contemporaries are a few published collections of letters and Roosevelt's own published writings. The value of the book depends largely upon the person using it. For a German-speaking audience unable to read English it provides a good summary of the more obvious studies in English and of a few printed sources. Even for a German-speaking public, however, it does not present much evidence to establish one of its fundamental assumptions, namely, that Roosevelt was different from other statesmen in that he sincerely held the ideals he talked about in justifying his foreign policy and that the United States differs from many countries in that the American people sincerely believe ideals they express in discussing foreign affairs. In view of the indifference to and unawareness of American history that prevails among many British and Continental historians, Weilenmann is to be congratulated on his interest in this subject, and perhaps, in view of that indifference and unawareness, this is just the kind of book to make Europeans understand America better today.

HOWARD K. BEALE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE BATTLE HISTORY OF THE FIRST ARMORED DIVISION, "OLD IRON-SIDES." By *George F. Howe*. (Washington, Combat Forces Press, 1954, pp. 471, \$6.50.) This volume is a fine tribute to American fighting men and is worth more to the U. S. Army than a thousand field manuals for the study of armored tactics and the exercise of command. In World War II the Army committed eighty-eight divisions to combat. Many of these divisions have published accounts of their operations but most of them are either panegyrics or illustrated picture books. Howe's account of the 1st Armored Division is not only a refreshing exception; it is a stirring history of the contribution which pioneer armor made, despite the frustrations and limitations imposed by inferior equipment, high command failures in Tunisia, and unsuitable terrain in Italy. While the focus of this book is properly the division, it includes valuable accounts of small-unit operations and throws new light on the decisions and exercise of command at the higher levels in North Africa and Tunisia. In the first half of the book Dr. Howe exploits the fruits of many years of intensive research on the North African and Tunisian campaigns. His study results in a balanced judgment of these operations and an objective analysis of scores of battles. Howe lets the chips fall where they may. They hit most of the top commanders: Eisenhower, the Allied commander in chief, Alexander, the 18th Army group commander, Anderson, the British 1st Army commander, Fredendall, the American 2d Corps commander, as well as subordinate commanders. Through full use of Allied and Axis records Howe gives the reader an accurate picture of both sides of the hill which neither combatant

had at the time. His best description is the narrative of the critical defensive fighting around Faid and Kasserine Passes in February, 1943. The coverage of the later operations of the division in Italy is adequate but less dramatic because terrain limited its role more severely. The reasons for the use of the armor north of Rome and its misuse in the final breakthrough out of the North Apennines and the subsequent action in the Po Valley are not adequately explained. Howe avoids the myopic error—common to most division historians—of minimizing the achievements of other units and of exaggerating the contribution of the 1st Armored. Only once does he give greater credit to the division than it deserves: the counterattack on February 19, 1944, under the 1st Armored Division Command, though important, did not save the Anzio beachhead. Before that time the Germans had shot their bolt and the main reason for their failure was the effective, massed Allied artillery fire. The well-written narrative is heightened by several graphic eyewitness reports, 100 pages of excellent photographs, and numerous maps.

SIDNEY T. MATHEWS, *Johns Hopkins University*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL: ITS PLACE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND IN AMERICAN CULTURE. Edited by *George Huntston Williams*. (Boston, Beacon Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 366, \$5.00.) President Pusey's widely quoted address of last year, "A Religion for Now," has attracted considerable attention to the current effort to rejuvenate the Harvard Divinity School. It suggests that the nation's oldest university may be taking the lead in neo-orthodoxy as it earlier led the way from Calvinism into religious liberalism at the beginning of the nineteenth century and on into scientific secularism during the tenure of President Eliot. This volume of essays sets the present picture in its historical context. Conrad Wright describes the founding of the Divinity School in 1811 and its development to the time of Emerson's famous address of 1838. Sidney E. Ahlstrom takes the story from 1840 to 1880, a period of decline. Levering Reynolds, Jr., discusses the growth of the historical approach which made the school a center of "scientific theology" in the 1880's and thereafter, the union with and separation from Andover Seminary, and more recent events. Ralph Lazzaro, in a supplementary essay which overlaps the preceding chapters somewhat, writes on theological scholarship from 1880 to 1953. Contributions by the late Dean Willard L. Sperry include a chapter dealing with student life and an appendix treating of "preparation for the ministry in a nondenominational school." Acting Dean George H. Williams analyzes the recurrent issues relating to reason versus revelation, general versus professional education, and the interrelationships of church, state, and university as they have affected Harvard. He makes an impressive case for the claims of theology to a place in modern universities. A chapter on Harvard College as a ministerial training center in the colonial period might well have been included. Rewarding as are the nuggets of insight this volume affords for many areas of American social and intellectual history, one leaves it with the impression that here is the ore of history and not the refined product. Perhaps single rather than plural authorship would have produced a more coherent and more cogent presentation of the university's role in reflecting the changing currents of American religious thought.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

GEORGE MERCER PAPERS RELATING TO THE OHIO COMPANY OF VIRGINIA. Compiled and Edited by *Lois Mulkearn*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954, pp. xxxviii, 731, \$10.00.) This book embodies all the extant records pertaining to the Ohio Company of Virginia (1747-1777) found in the George Mercer Papers in the William Darlington Library of the University of Pittsburgh. They are not the originals, which have entirely disappeared. The provenance of the papers in question prior to 1876 (when they were acquired by Darlington), as described by Lois Mulkearn, is not the least interesting part of the book. The publication of these records is of outstanding importance. It is now possible, for the first time, for historians to bridge a significant hiatus in our knowledge of the history of the Ohio Company. Such documents as articles of agreement, resolutions, petitions, and letters of the company's officers and members in Virginia, Maryland, and England represent the central core of the book. There are three textual versions of each of Gist's journals of his two exploratory expeditions, and a facsimile reproduction of "The Case of the Ohio Company extracted from original papers," printed in 1769 and now in the New-York Historical Society. The roll of names of men, whether members of the company or not, who played conspicuous roles in its affairs is impressive. The arrangement of the documents, so many of which overlap, is correct. The annotations are full and illuminating, but I wish to enter a caveat against their relegation to the end pages of the book; it is a device which creates a serious impediment to the use of the work. No concrete results stemmed directly from the endeavors of the company. But it was the first of several such enterprises, all of which were immobilized by the French and Indian War, by an irresolute British government, and by the American Revolution. Yet the sum total of knowledge concerning the Ohio domain was increased through the exploratory expeditions initiated by the Ohio Company.

CLARENCE E. CARTER, *National Archives*

WAITMAN THOMAS WILLEY, ORATOR, CHURCHMAN, HUMANITARIAN:
TOGETHER WITH A HISTORY OF WESLEY METHODIST CHURCH, MOR-

GANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA. By *Charles H. Ambler*. (Huntington, W. Va., Standard Printing and Publishing Co., 1954, pp. 282.) The purpose of this short and readable biography of Willey is to reveal personal phases of the admission of West Virginia to statehood. It contains, in addition, a chapter on the Methodist Church of Morgantown. Based largely on the papers of Willey it contains also wide references to fundamental documents and studies in West Virginia history. A valuable chapter describes this near-abolitionist Virginia senator in Congress, 1861-1863.

ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WESTERN STATE: MISSOURI, 1820-1860. By *James Neal Primm*, Assistant Director, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri. [Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 174, \$3.75.) This is the third study of the role of state governments in ante-bellum economic development sponsored by the Committee on Research in Economic History. Each of the three on Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Missouri has revealed a concern by governments over economic problems and an inclination by officials to reject laissez faire and to use state power to encourage and direct economic development. The treatment of aids to transportation and state banking policies follows familiar routes but it brings together the motivation and rationalization for these and other state activities and places them in their proper setting. The states are shown as shaping and directing economic affairs by using their licensing and incorporation powers, inspection laws, the granting of franchises, mill privileges, monopolies, loans, bounties, and tax exemption. After reading any of these volumes one can no longer accept the notion that laissez faire is traditional to American growth and economic thought. James Primm follows the outline of the earlier Hartz and Handlin volumes but is not as successful in providing the setting for his account or in evaluating the success of the ventures he describes. Nor does he follow through to determine what local governments accomplished with internal improvement funds and lands the state turned over to them. His preoccupation with legislative and other political debates may be owing to the paucity of manuscript material of influential persons in comparison with the abundance available to the Handlins. The twisting and squirming of politicians in dealing with such knotty questions as banking is well displayed though it might have been related to prevailing economic needs. The treatment of the efforts to provide relief to hard pressed debtors after the panic of 1819 is useful but unfortunately the background in the territorial period is lacking. The "modified stay law" of 1821 is similar to a New York statute of 1820 that was designed to aid debtors to recover property sold on execution. Such relationships need attention.

PAUL W. GATES, *Cornell University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

COMMERCE OF THE PRAIRIES. By Josiah Gregg. Edited by Max L. Moorhead. [American Exploration and Travel.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. xxxviii, 469, \$7.50.) Readers of the *American Historical Review* need no description of the content and nature of this classic. All will recall the title, and most will remember the sense of reality which Gregg brought to them when they first turned the pages of his book. Its fame is likely to increase with the years. Flora, fauna, human activity, and even the face of nature have changed markedly from what they were when Gregg recorded them. Descriptions of the Santa Fe trade, prairie-dog towns, hand-rolled cigarettes, and Mexican methods of loading pack mules have all passed beyond the range of practical information but will continue to fascinate the reader of Gregg's account. The book has gone through various editions and reprints since its first publication in 1844. This edition is based on the first edition of 1844, and in addition to the complete text, notes, and maps it also contains a biographical introduction, critical notes, and a list of the author's sources. The biographical introduction and the editor's notes draw heavily on Maurice G. Fulton's (ed.) *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg* and on Paul Horgan's account of Gregg's life contained in that work. Professor Moorhead has succeeded in bringing together in one handsomely printed volume the answers to virtually all questions that may arise in regard to Gregg and his work. The biographical sketch deals adequately with Gregg's life and personality, and also gives the essential facts relating to the disputed editorship of his book. The editor identifies names, places, and incidents not clarified by Gregg's own text or

notes and also calls attention to errors of fact and interpretation by referring to other contemporary accounts or the results of more recent research. Maps and illustrations, careful editing, and fine printing make this an expensive volume, but Gregg's work deserves no less.

LEWIS E. ATHERTON, *University of Missouri*

A HISTORY OF OHIO. By *Eugene H. Roseboom* and *Francis P. Weisenburger*. Edited and Illustrated by *James H. Rodabaugh*. (Columbus, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1953, pp. xiii, 412, \$6.50.) Twenty years ago Professors Roseboom and Weisenburger of Ohio State published their first *History of Ohio* at a time when Ohioans were backward in writing their own state's history. Roseboom and Weisenburger's works are evidence that the backwardness is over. The new volume reveals thorough scholarship, is beautifully printed and illustrated, contains an excellent critical bibliography. At its sesquicentennial Ohio is old enough to have had not only a history but good historians.

MICHIGAN IN FOUR CENTURIES. By *F. Clever Bald*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954, pp. xiii, 498, \$4.00.) Covering the history of Michigan from prehistoric times to the present, this volume is addressed to the lay student. Written in a lively style, it is based on wide reading in both source and secondary material. Excellent illustrations enliven the text and a short bibliography is provided. The author, a member of the University of Michigan history department, thinks of Michigan history as the "way of life of its people."

A CENTURY OF BANKING IN WISCONSIN. By *Theodore A. Andersen*, Economist for the Ford Division of the Ford Motor Company. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, pp. vi, 226, \$4.00.) This concise, clear, and brief account begins with a chapter on "Territorial Banking" and ends with one on "Developments since 1935." Among the matters discussed are the banking activities of Alexander Mitchell, George Smith, and Cadwallader C. Washburn; the predicament in 1860-1861, when three fourths of the collateral behind Wisconsin bank currency consisted of depreciating Southern state bonds; and the effect on the state banks of such national legislation as the National Bank Act of 1863, the Federal Reserve Act, and the various New Deal measures. The author achieves brevity by forgoing the opportunity to make comparisons between banking in Wisconsin and other states and by avoiding detailed discussion of most political issues involving the banks. For example, he dismisses the greenback issue by stating that the farmers strenuously opposed retirement of greenbacks "because they believed it would tend to lower the prices of farm commodities, and they were already receiving relatively low prices, carrying heavy mortgage indebtedness, paying high freight rates, and suffering from federal tariff barriers." He emphasizes the importance of the increased use of bank checks in making more capital available, but he does not venture to suggest whether or not that new device was adequate to the legitimate needs of Wisconsin's large rural population. Concerning adequate government regulation of banking to protect depositors, however, he does make it clear that controls were woefully slow in coming; that what state action was finally taken on the matter was the result of an aroused public; and that it remained for the federal government to inaugurate deposit insurance—which had received much public support and banker opposition during the three previous decades. The book is well documented, evidencing a careful examination of reports of state and federal officials, bank association proceedings, several newspapers, a few manuscript collections, and some monographs.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL, *University of Maryland*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XX, THE TERRITORY OF ARKANSAS, 1825-1829 (Continued). Compiled and Edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 967, \$4.25.) This is the second of the three volumes that are to contain, when completed, the official papers of the Territory of Arkansas. In this volume, as in the first, the papers have been drawn, for the most part, from the files of the various departments of the national government. Some important selections have been taken from the *Arkansas Gazette*. The period covered is from March, 1825, to March, 1829. There are approximately 842 documents, arranged in chronological order. Most of the documents relate to the two administrations of Governor George Izard. The others relate to the third and fourth administrations of Acting Governor Robert Crittenden. There is an index of 105 pages. The work of selecting and editing the material, and of preparing the index, measures up to the high standard set in the previous volumes of the series. The documents relate especially to administrative problems. They deal with Indian affairs, land surveys, land sales, the fixing of boundaries, the survey and construction of roads, the establishment of post offices and post roads, and the appointment of officials. Some interesting documents dealing with miscellaneous topics are included. An example is the inclusion of several documents relating to the search for William King, a man who was accused of being involved in the murder of William Morgan in New York for attempting to reveal the secrets of Free Masonry. When the third volume has been published, there will be easily available, for the first time, an abundance of source material covering the entire territorial period. This will meet a need long felt by students of early Arkansas history, and, in addition, will stimulate others to take more interest in the study of the subject. The publication of these volumes is a service that deserves the highest commendation.

JAMES HARRIS ATKINSON, *Little Rock Junior College*

ARID DOMAIN: THE SANTA FE RAILWAY AND ITS WESTERN LAND GRANT. By *William S. Greever*. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1954, pp. x, 184, \$4.00.) This little volume is a welcome addition to the small, but growing, list of books dealing with the policies governing land-grant railways in the administration and disposal of their land subsidies. Among transcontinental railways projected in the Civil War decade was the Atlantic and Pacific, chartered to build to California by the 35th parallel route. For building a line through northern New Mexico and Arizona, from the Rio Grande to the Colorado River, the company earned a land grant of some thirteen million acres; and when in 1897 the Santa Fe purchased the bankrupt Atlantic and Pacific it acquired somewhat more than ten million acres of the land subsidy. It is with this vast acreage of "low mesas, erosion valleys, dry washes, and stands of yellow pine and Douglas fir" that Mr. Greever is concerned. No other railway whose land policies have been studied was called upon to administer a wholly "arid domain." Other companies had large areas of arable land suitable for settlement. They were therefore cast in the role of colonizers. It is to the credit of Santa Fe authorities that their realistic hard sense, their honesty, and their enlightened self-interest enabled them to reject many offers for large acreage at high prices from "promoters who wished to colonize arid land without bothering to provide water." The bulk of the area was sold or leased as grazing land, while smaller areas were dealt with as timber, mineral or irrigable lands. Much of the grant was disposed of in the booms attending the two world wars. Mr. Greever is admirably judicious and impartial. If he is no apologist for the Santa Fe, neither is he of the opinion that the railway's land-grant policy was wholly inimical to the public interest. Indeed he makes it

clear that "the value of the grant was . . . repaid many times by freight rate discounts up to fifty percent on shipments by the government."

JAMES B. HEDGES, *Brown University*

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Latin-American History

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GENERAL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1936. In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 5424.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. xcv, 992, \$4.50.) The editors have done a good job of revealing the special significance of the year 1936 in United States-Latin American relations, by devoting nearly one fifth of the documents in Volume V (pp. 1-173) to "general" topics. Those on the Inter-American Peace Conference held at Buenos Aires in 1936 (pp. 3-34) reveal interesting aspects of the attitudes of Brazil, Argentina, Germany, the Philippines, and the League of Nations toward the conference. They also show something of the origin of the ideas which later produced the Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and the charter of the Organization of American States, as well as illuminating the complicated interplay of influences within the United States government which limited Hull's efforts to effect a "truce" in trade barriers. Documents on the settlement of the Chaco War (pp. 35-105) include the protocol ending the conflict (pp. 36 ff.). They throw light on the question of the exchange of prisoners not desiring to return (p. 49) and upon the effects of the Franco revolution in Paraguay (pp. 44 ff.). Documents showing the decision of the United States to abandon the Central American Treaty of 1923 as a guide to recognition (pp. 126-48) show how the new nonintervention policy seemed to require accepting *continuismo* in Guatemala and Honduras, and the personal conquest of power by Martínez in El Salvador. The Beaulac memorandum (pp. 136-48), which became a basic policy document, summarizes the experience under a policy based on the 1923 treaty and its gradual abandonment. Documents on the Inter-American Highway (pp. 151-73) reveal attitudes of the various Central American governments toward that project. Preliminaries of the boundary settlement between

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles.

Ecuador and Peru are covered in twenty pages of documents (pp. 106-25). Other significant topics covered include the Panama Treaty of 1936 (pp. 855 ff.); the religious situation in Mexico (pp. 773 ff.); the negotiation of trade agreements with Argentina, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua; termination of Haitian financial controls (pp. 599 ff.); revolutions in Nicaragua (pp. 815-51), Bolivia (pp. 220-36), and Paraguay (pp. 858-92); discussions with Argentina concerning equality of treatment of American oil companies (pp. 184-200); representation of the United States against the Mexican expropriation law of 1936 (pp. 715-30); and the United States attitude toward a proposed Central American defensive alliance against communism (pp. 851-54).

HAROLD E. DAVIS, *American University*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

DE LAS ISLAS DEL MAR OCÉANO. By Juan López de Palacios Rubios. DEL DOMINIO DE LOS REYES DE ESPAÑA SOBRE LOS INDIOS. By Fray Matías de Paz. Introduction by Silvio Zavala. Translation, notes and bibliography by Agustín Millares Carlo. [Biblioteca Americana, Serie de Cronistas de Indias.] (Mexico, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954, pp. cxxx, 318.) Of the two treatises published in this volume, *De dominio regum Hispaniae super indos* of Fray Matías de Paz has been available up to now in the Latin edition of Beltrán de Heredia in the

Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, III (1933). Palacios Rubios' *Libellus de insulis oceanis* (MS. No. 17.641 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) has remained unedited save for a few passages published by Dr. Zavala in 1937. The two works appear in full Spanish translation for the first time. They are similar in subject matter and have a like origin, for both were inspired by the Burgos convention of 1512. Both deal with the moral and legal problems of Spanish dominion in the Indies, with the nature of Indian man, and with the title on which Spanish authority was believed to rest. But whereas Matías de Paz, a Dominican friar and professor at the University of Salamanca, understood his topic theologically, Palacios Rubios' approach, as became a member of the *consejo real*, tended more toward juridical disquisition. Thus the two principal points of view from which such problems might be examined in the sixteenth century received simultaneous and complementary expression at a very early stage in the intellectual history of the subject. To bring forth their relationship and interdependence was the intention of Ferdinand in inviting the treatises, and the same is maintained for modern students in this accurate and carefully annotated double edition. Palacios Rubios probably enjoys the greater reputation. His bibliography, recapitulated as an appendix to this volume, includes the *Glossemata* on the *Leyes de Toro*, the *Requerimiento*, and a number of other works in addition to *De insulis*. The unique Madrid manuscript of the latter holds a special interest because of the critical marginalia by Las Casas. On most points *De insulis* offers a more considered and thorough presentation than *De dominio*, which is shorter and appears to have been more hastily written. The informative, analytical introduction by Dr. Zavala is reprinted from the *Memoria de El Colegio Nacional* of 1950-1951. Translations from Latin into Spanish and citations of authorities are the work of Agustín Millares Carlo. Both editorial tasks are accomplished with skill and erudition.

CHARLES GIBSON, *State University of Iowa*

EARLY COLONIAL TRADE AND NAVIGATION BETWEEN MEXICO AND PERU. By Woodrow Borah. [Ibero-Americana, Number 38.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. 170, \$2.50.) To those familiar with the consistently high quality of the Ibero-Americana publications and the integrity of Woodrow Borah's scholarship, the excellence of this study of early colonial trade between Mexico and Peru will come as no surprise. Trade between the two Spanish viceroalties began, as so much in early Mexican history did, with efforts made by Cortez to find new worlds to conquer or new pesos to garner. It ended abruptly when Spanish apprehensions were aroused because of the diversion of Peruvian silver to Mexico by the Manila galleon trade. In all, this early contact lasted almost exactly one hundred years—from Grijalva's voyage in 1536 until the suspension of all trade between Mexico and Peru in 1631. This is a period which Dr. Borah knows well. Using fresh manuscript materials for the most part, he has endeavored to recreate this early commerce as clearly and as fully as possible. He deals with the origins of the trade; the roles of Cortez, Alvarado, Mendoza, and other individuals; the ports—especially Huatulco—and the shipyards used; the routes followed; the place and importance of the trade in the economic patterns of both countries; the kind and degree of government regulation exercised over it; the extent and nature of the trade at its maturity and its eventual relationship to that of the Manila galleons. The study concludes with a penetrating analysis of the factors which brought the trade to a close. The main features of this economic intercourse between Mexico and Peru were already known, as well as its ultimate fate. Dr. Borah has filled in the details to form a satisfying picture where there was only outline before.

IONE STUESSY WRIGHT, *University of Miami*

THE INDIAN POLICY OF PORTUGAL IN THE AMAZON REGION, 1614-1693.

By *Mathias C. Kiemen*. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. xii, 216, \$2.50.) The seventeenth century was crucial in Brazilian history. It witnessed the repulse of the Dutch, the first great hinterland explorations, and the Portuguese expansion into Ceará, Piauí, Maranhão, Pará, and Amazonas. These northern districts, which were not then classified as part of Brazil proper, are the ones under discussion here. Father Mathias C. Kiemen traces the eighty years in which ecclesiastical and secular Portuguese, mostly the former, evolved a policy for controlling and civilizing the northern Indians. His is primarily a missionary story, involving Franciscans, Jesuits, Mercedarians, Carmelites, and members of the secular clergy. It is a history of quarrels between priests and laymen and between the orders themselves; a story of failures accompanied by perseverance, culminating near the end of the era in a workable policy of co-operation lasting until Pombal's time. All readers must commend the accuracy and objectivity with which the author, despite his understandable Franciscan preference, has presented the facts. Yet, in view of his praiseworthy research in the archives of Lisbon, Simancas, Seville, and Rome, it is a pity that he has not breathed more life into the account. This is a doctoral thesis, and, unfortunately, it reads like one. The trouble is not so much bad writing as poor digestion of the documents. The author is captured by them and led hither and yon, to the obscuration of major trends. Amazonian documentation tends to overshadow Amazonian life in this account. Both Father Kiemen and his documents frequently tell us that the lay Portuguese oppressed the Indians; more of the gory details would be welcome. The author begins (pp. 2-3) with some description of ritual cannibalism among the Tupi-Guaranis, the principal group involved. This surely posed a problem for the missionaries; it would be interesting to learn how they solved it. Yet, except for occasional hints that some natives were slow to abandon their anthropophagical habits, we hear no more of the matter. This book is one of many in which an author has given more effort to gathering than to presenting his material.

CHARLES E. NOWELL, *University of Illinois*

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SOUTH AMERICA

CARACAS DIARY, 1835-1840: THE JOURNAL OF JOHN G. A. WILLIAMSON, FIRST DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES TO VENEZUELA. Edited by *Jane Lucas de Grummond*. (Baton Rouge, La., Camellia Publishing Co., 1954, pp. xxxiv, 444.) This diary was discovered in 1942 in the William T. Morrey Collection of the Louisiana State University by the present editor. She began the exploitation of the material contained in the two original volumes with "Caracas Exile," an article published in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, October, 1947; she continued her exploitation venture, and the Louisiana State University Press brought out her *Envoy to Caracas* volume four years later. Now, three years still later, we get in an attractive format the diary itself—presumably all of it except the few lines inked out here and there and the large section missing for the period May 16, 1836, to June 24, 1838. The editor very accommodately filled the two-year hiatus with a brief chapter (xi) compiled from Williamson's official correspondence

with the State Department. The value of *Caracas Diary* is greatly enhanced by an intelligent orientation. The editor's ample introduction includes a pertinent account of Williamson's private and public career before he became chargé to Venezuela in 1835, along with a description of political affairs in northern South America into which the American diplomat was thrust. Moreover, her explanatory footnotes are unusually illuminating. The contents of the diary itself represent the greatest paradoxes this reviewer has come across during his brief academic experience. On the one hand, one finds marvelous descriptions of Venezuela's physical beauty and vivid characterizations of the many types of society represented at Caracas in Williamson's time; on the other hand, the author's provincial, pro-slavery, antiforeign, anti-Catholic biases are notorious even for that day and age. Moreover, here is a supposedly educated, partly college-bred man whose spelling and English composition are befitting only to our present era of "progressive" education. But perhaps these contradictory elements in the diary may make its reading more amusing to some. Certainly the editor is in no way responsible for them. She has done a fine job of presentation.

LAWRENCE F. HILL, *Ohio State University*

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American Historical Association

The annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close this year on May 1. The award has a cash value of \$1,000 and provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Professor John Tate Lanning, Department of History, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Raymond P. Stearns, 313 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, before April 1, 1954. The committee wishes to emphasize that it will no longer read carbon copies, rough drafts, or manuscripts extensively worked over in longhand.

Copies of a folder of information concerning the International Historical Congress at Rome, September 4-11, 1955, are available to members who write to the Association office for them.

Semiannual luncheons for historians in and around Washington, D.C., are held the last Saturday in October and the last Saturday in March (unless Easter falls on the following Sunday). Historians from other parts of the country or abroad who happen to be in Washington at either of these times are cordially invited to attend. Further information may be obtained from the Association office.

Professor Earl H. Pritchard, who had compiled the list of articles in Far Eastern history for the *Review* since the January, 1942, issue, resigned last spring under the pressure of other duties. The Far Eastern Section has been divided into two parts: Eastern Asia (China, Japan, and Korea) and Southern Asia (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indochina, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines). Compilers for the two lists, both of which appear in this issue for

the first time, are Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania and Cecil Hobbs of the Library of Congress.

Other Historical Activities

Benjamin H. Griswold, III, a partner of Alex. Brown & Sons of Baltimore and a direct descendant of its founder, has presented the firm's records for the years 1800-80 to the Library of Congress. Beginning as a linen importer, Alexander Brown was one of the foremost mercantile figures in America and head of an international banking house at the time of his death in 1834. The records are contained in 263 volumes and in photocopies of 3 additional volumes. Among the most interesting are lettercopy and letterpress books from 1802 to 1880 (124 volumes); they contain detailed information about political and civil affairs in this and foreign countries, which was collected as a basis for making sound business decisions.

The Library has received the first installments of papers of the Gallaudet family, pioneers in the education of the deaf in America. These include correspondence of, and a notebook kept at Yale College by, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (1787-1851), founder and first president of the American School for the Deaf at Hartford, Connecticut. When complete, the collection will also include papers of his son, Edward Miner Gallaudet (1837-1917), who expanded the Columbia Institution for the Deaf in Washington, D.C., into a collegiate institution, known today as Gallaudet College. The papers will remain under restriction for five years.

The papers of the late Ogden Livingston Mills, estimated to number about 60,000 pieces, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Mills. They contain official and personal correspondence covering Mr. Mills's service as a member of Congress from New York, 1921-27, Under Secretary of the Treasury, 1927-32, and Secretary of the Treasury, February, 1932, to March, 1933. When the collection has been organized, it will be available for use by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The Evalyn Walsh McLean papers, presented to the Library as a deposit some years ago, were made a gift by Judge Thurmond Arnold of Washington. The collection, which numbers some 40,000 pieces, consists largely of incoming letters and other papers. There is a substantial group of papers of Mrs. McLean's father, Thomas F. Walsh, relating to his career as mine owner and mining engineer in Colorado, and some material dealing with various business enterprises of the McLean family; but the correspondence is preponderantly social.

The papers of Benjamin C. Marsh, who was closely associated with the People's Lobby, Inc., from its inception in the early 1930's to its close in 1950, have been presented by his son, Michael Marsh. Although a few of the items date as far back as 1910, the papers are mainly records of the People's Lobby, of

which Mr. Marsh was executive secretary. Included is considerable correspondence with John Dewey, for many years president of the Lobby, and with James Couzens, Harold L. Ickes, and Henry C. Wallace; there are scattered letters from former President Herbert Hoover, Cordell Hull, J. S. Middleton (secretary of the British Labour party), and many others.

Significant additions to two collections have been received by the Library. To the extensive collection of Ewing family papers, there have been added some 9,000 pieces, dated from 1769 to 1949. These relate chiefly to Gen. Charles Ewing (1835-83) and are of particular interest for the period of the Civil War and the years immediately following. Photocopies of more than 150 pieces of correspondence exchanged between Gutzon Borglum and important figures of the twentieth century have been added to the Borglum papers by permission of Mrs. Borglum. Correspondence with William Allen White, Robert Todd Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt is included.

A significant event in the world of historical scholarship is the opening of the Adams papers in Boston, Massachusetts. The papers, released by Thomas Boylston Adams and John Quincy Adams, trustees of the Adams Manuscript Trust, will ultimately be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The collection contains more than 300,000 manuscript pages—letters and diaries of four generations of the Adams family from pre-Revolutionary days through World War I. The papers are to be edited and published under the sponsorship of the Adams Manuscript Trust, the Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard University, and *Life* Magazine. Lyman H. Butterfield is editor-in-chief. Harvard University, through the Belknap Press, has agreed to publish as many volumes of the papers as are judged to be of wide historical interest. In advance of book publication, *Life* Magazine will publish selected portions of the material. A grant by *Life* Magazine, Time, Inc., extending over a decade and amounting to \$250,000, will give the necessary financial support for maintaining the editorial staff for the papers. Microfilm copies of the collection will be made available to sixteen major research libraries, including the Library of Congress, within the year.

The family of John Hay has presented a collection of Hay's letters, notebooks, and diaries to the John Hay library in Brown University. Many of the manuscripts deal with the Civil War period and some are in Lincoln's own hand. The material contains no official documents but there are drafts of letters by Hay or Lincoln which Lincoln sent to his generals, cabinet, or friends.

The Microfilm Committee of the Canadian Library Association (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 822.) has issued Volume I, no. 1, of its *Microfilm News Notes*,

which includes a preliminary catalogue of the titles most recently microfilmed. Among these are the Niagara Peninsula newspapers—twenty-five titles in all, covering the period 1799 to 1898, and microfilmed as two sets: the Niagara Papers (those published at Niagara-on-the-Lake), and the St. Catharines Papers (those published at St. Catharines). Since some of the files of these papers are broken, the Canadian Library Association would welcome information as to the location of missing numbers. Such information, or queries about the project, should be addressed to the Canadian Library Association, 46 Elgin Street, Room 40, Ottawa, Canada.

The National Archives has recently issued "Special Lists," No. 13, *List of Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, compiled by Laura E. Kelsay, and "Preliminary Inventories," No. 71, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives Investigating National Defense Migration, 1940-43*, compiled by George P. Perros.

The Middle East Institute is preparing for publication an annual "Survey of Research in Progress on the Middle East." The geographical area concerned includes the Arab countries, Israel, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, North Africa, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. The subjects will cover ancient, medieval, and modern problems in the social sciences and appropriate aspects of related fields (e.g., linguistics, archaeology, art, law, and Islamics). All those currently engaged in research on the Middle East are urged to submit the following information: name, address, topic of investigation, sponsoring organization (if any), estimated date of completion, and pertinent comments on the nature of the research, sources being used, and method of approach. Correspondence should be addressed to: Survey of Research, the Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. The Institute would also like to receive information on research completed since October 1, 1954.

The Business History Foundation, Inc., has recently arranged to write the history of the Great Northern Railway Company. Dr. Charles W. Moore, the Foundation's president, announced that the authors will be Professor Ralph W. Hidy of New York University and Dr. Muriel E. Hidy, associate of the Foundation. The history is planned to be a study of the company's administration and operations from the beginnings of its predecessors in the 1850's to the present. It will probably be published in 1962.

Bound sets of the typewritten "Extension Volume" II (a detailed study of materials, in four books) of Eldon Griffin's *Clippers and Consuls: American Consular and Commercial Relations with Eastern Asia, 1845-1860* (Volume I published 1938) have been deposited in the Baker Library, Graduate School of

Business Administration, Harvard University, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, and in the library of the University of California, Berkeley. A third set remains with the author, 1211 Twenty-first Ave. North, Seattle 2, Washington.

The Times [London] *Literary Supplement* of September 17, 1954, devoted 100 pages to "American Writing To-day." Included are two essays on history, "Rival Approaches to History: Gentlemen v. Players," and "The Movement of History in the United States."

At the February, 1954, meeting in Paris of the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, which was attended by the full members of the Commission and the author-editors, the structure of the Commission was altered in a number of ways. (See earlier note on the Commission, *AHR*, LVIII [October, 1952], 233.) The editorial committee, set up for the purpose of supervising the work of the author-editors and consisting of five members with Professor Ralph E. Turner as its chairman, was abolished; the author-editors were made full members of the Commission, thereby becoming fully responsible for the work, and decisions taken concerning it, instead of simply carrying out the wishes of the Commission on a contract basis. When the first drafts of the manuscripts are ready in 1956, Professor Turner will be appointed as editor to co-ordinate the six volumes. He and another member of the Commission, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of India, were made vice-presidents and members of the Bureau, which also includes the two other vice-presidents, Dr. Julian S. Huxley of the United Kingdom and Professor Carl J. Burckhardt of Switzerland, and the president, Professor Paulo E. de Berrêda Carneiro of Brazil.

At the same meeting, the nomination of Dr. Caroline Ware of Howard University as author-editor of Volume VI was approved. (This post had formerly been held by Professor K. Zachariah of India, who was forced to resign for personal reasons.) Dr. Ware has since accepted this appointment, and Professor Jan Romein of the University of Amsterdam has accepted the position of co-author-editor of this volume. An Indian scholar will soon be appointed second co-author-editor. In addition, Professor Mahmud Husain from the University of Pakistan has since accepted the invitation to become a full member of the Commission, and Professor Luciano Petech of the University of Rome has accepted appointment as associate to Volume II. The nominations of Professor Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina and Professor Earl H. Pritchard of the University of Chicago as associates to Volume IV have been approved. Except for the appointment of associates for Volume V, the roster of scholars responsible for the six volumes was complete by the middle of last summer. However, the unfortunate death in July of Dr. Henri Frankfort of the Warburg Institute of London left the post of author-editor of Volume I, Part II, vacant. Sir Leonard Woolley, F.S.A., English archaeologist and author, has now been appointed to replace Dr. Frankfort.

As for the actual preparation of the manuscripts of the History, the greater part of the February meeting was taken up in a critical analysis of the draft plans and introductions of the volumes, with the exception of that for Volume VI, which Dr. Ware is preparing. The author-editors are revising their plans to meet the decisions taken at the meeting. Furthermore, to insure a logical transition between the volumes, there have been several brief meetings between individual author-editors, and a meeting of all the author-editors is planned for the spring of 1955 in Paris. These plans will eventually be published in the *Journal of World History* so they may be examined by all those interested in the History. In the meantime, research and the writing of parts of the first drafts of the manuscripts themselves are proceeding at an ever-increasing rate. A contract for the publication of the History in English has been signed with Little, Brown and Company of Boston, which, in addition to the six volumes, provides for the publication of two derivative works—a text and trade edition. The publication date has been set for 1958.

Meanwhile, the *Journal of World History* has entered its second year of publication and has been well received by the press. The main emphasis of the *Journal* lies in inter-regional, intercultural, and international aspects of the scientific and cultural development of mankind. In the coming months, a considerable effort will be made to publicize the *Journal* among public and university libraries and historical associations throughout the world.

The Commission is confident that, after the February meeting, when general agreement was reached on many points of procedure and on the basic contents of the volumes, its work will proceed more smoothly and rapidly than has been the case before. As parts of the volumes are ready in draft form, they will be submitted to the critical evaluation of the consultants and corresponding members to insure that the History is truly international in character.

The annual Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research in London on July 8–10, 1954. Eleven papers were read and a number of social gatherings held. Over eighty American and Canadian historians attended. It was decided to hold a similar brief conference at the Institute July 7–9, 1955. Historians from North America who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute, University of London, Senate House, W.C. 1, early in the New Year, so that invitations may be sent to them.

On September 15 a group of the historians in the Army's Office of Military History met for the first session of a school which will hold fifteen meetings during the year. At each meeting a lecture by one of the members will be followed by an hour's discussion. The objective during the year is to develop the outline and bibliography of a course in the military history of the United States. The chairman of the group, Dr. K. R. Greenfield, desires to be notified of any

course in the subject now being given. His address: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D.C.

The Upper Midwest History Conference was held at the University of Minnesota on October 15. Professor Robert Fogerty of the College of St. Thomas presided and President Paul Giddens of Hamline University read a paper entitled "Standard Oil Company (Indiana): A Pioneer of the Petroleum Industry in the Middle West." Professor Ernest Osgood, University of Minnesota, was elected presiding officer for the coming year and Walker D. Wyman, Wisconsin State College at River Falls, was re-elected secretary.

The Conference of Historians of Northern New England was held at Dartmouth College October 9 and 10 with representatives present from the universities of Vermont and New Hampshire, Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Marlboro, Middlebury, Norwich, and St. Anselms. The main speaker was Professor Paul Fullam of Colby College, recent candidate in Maine for the United States Senate.

Since 1951 the Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo in Spoleto has held an annual "settimana," or a week-long conference, on early medieval studies. A specific historical period is studied each year; a number of scholars are invited to deliver lectures; attendance is open to all, but there is a picked group of Italian and foreign postgraduate students and young teachers who are granted fellowships so that they may attend. Americans, of course, are welcome to apply. In 1954 the "post-Carolingian" period was illustrated with lectures by Professors Boeckler, Bognetti, Faral, Falco, Franceschini, de Francovich, Ganshof, Grand, Leicht, Luzzatte, MacKinney, Mor, Morghen, Schramm, Uhlirz, and Lopez. The Gothic period will be studied in 1955. The president of the Centro is Professor Giuseppe Ermini, now minister of public instruction in Italy; the secretary is Giovanni Antonelli. The transactions of the "settimana" are published, two volumes having so far appeared.

Twelve students from seven universities attended the third summer seminar in numismatics held by the American Numismatic Society at its Museum in New York from June 22 to August 28, 1954. The use of numismatics as a necessary auxiliary to research in history and other broad fields of study provided the theme of the seminar. The program included background reading on coins, attendance at seventeen conferences conducted by specialists in selected fields, and preparation by each student of a paper on a topic of his own selection. Most of the conferences were concerned with specific problems in ancient and medieval history and art toward the solution of which numismatics makes a definite contribution. In the closing week of the seminar each of the students conducted a conference on his own topic of investigation. The seminar will be held again in

the summer of 1955, and the society will again offer grants-in-aid to students who will have completed at least one year's graduate study by June, 1955, in archaeology, classics, economics, history, history of art, oriental languages, and other humanistic fields. Each study grant will carry a stipend of \$500. This offer is restricted to students enrolled in universities in the United States and Canada. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, N.Y. Completed applications for the grants must be filed by March 1, 1955.

Through the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, five two-year fellowships are awarded annually for work in early American culture at the University of Delaware. The Fellows currently engaged in research are seeking information on the following subjects: John Lewis Krimmel, genre painter working in Philadelphia 1810-1821; John Potts (1710-1768), early Pennsylvania ironmaster and builder of Potts Grove, Pottstown, Pennsylvania; Jonathan Gostelowe (1744-1795), Philadelphia cabinetmaker; and the influence of English design books on Philadelphia furniture styles, 1760-1780. Information should be addressed to the Museum, at Winterthur, Delaware.

The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, announces the establishment of a fellowship awarding \$5,000 to the writer who displays the most insight and scholarship in projecting a book-length manuscript analyzing some significant aspect of the culture of Kentucky or its region. When completed, the book will be published by the press. Deadline for application for the fellowship is April 1, 1955.

The Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust, established by Harper and Brothers to provide assistance to writers, has granted a fellowship to Richard M. Huber of Princeton, New Jersey, to complete a history of the idea of success in America.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Solon J. Buck, treasurer of the American Historical Association, former Archivist of the United States, and Assistant Librarian of Congress, retired from the last position on September 1, 1954. He will continue to give his time to consultation with historians who seek information concerning manuscripts and archival material in United States history and will be found in Study Room 127 of the Library of Congress Annex or at his home, 321 A Street, S.E.

David C. Mearns, chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, has succeeded Solon J. Buck as the representative of the Librarian of

Congress on the National Historical Publications Commission. Wilfred E. Binkley of Ohio Northern University has been appointed a member of the commission in the place of Richard H. Shryock, whose term expired in 1954.

George W. Knepper, Jr., has accepted a year's appointment as instructor in history and assistant adviser of men at the University of Akron.

Charles G. Summersell has been appointed chairman of the department of history in the University of Alabama to replace Frank L. Owsley, who has resigned the headship. Lewis M. Wetzler has been appointed acting associate professor of history, and Allen Going is on leave to teach in the history department of the University of North Carolina. Vernon C. Grosse has been appointed assistant to the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Ethel Marshall is on leave of absence from Alabama College for study at the University of Florida.

M. K. Dziewanowski has been appointed assistant professor of history in Boston College.

Koenraad W. Swart has been appointed professor of history and social studies at Brenau College.

At Bryn Mawr College David J. Herlihy, formerly of Yale University, has been appointed assistant professor in medieval history. His duties will begin in the fall of 1955 since he is currently on a Fulbright Fellowship in Italy. Meanwhile Wallace T. MacCaffrey of Haverford College and Mrs. Lois G. Schwoerer of Bryn Mawr are assisting in the work of the department.

Appointments to the staff in history and related fields at the new Riverside campus of the University of California, now in its first full year of operation, have been made as follows: Ernst Ekman, instructor in European history; Robert V. Hine, instructor in American history; James B. Parsons, Jr., instructor in Far Eastern history and culture; John L. Beatty, assistant professor of history and humanities; L. Marshall Van Deusen, assistant professor of American civilization; Theodore H. Von Laue, assistant professor of European history. For 1954-55 while Mr. Von Laue is on a Fulbright in Finland, Owen Ulph, formerly of Reed College and the University of Nevada, is serving in his place as acting assistant professor of history and humanities. The division of humanities, of which the staff in history is a part, is under the chairmanship of John W. Olmsted, professor of European history, who until 1952 was a member of the department of history at the University of California at Los Angeles.

J. Monaghan of the University of California, Santa Barbara College, has gone to Australia on a Fulbright Fellowship for research on the gold rush from that country to California.

William Harrigan has accepted a position as instructor in history in Canisius College, Buffalo.

Clark C. Spence has been appointed instructor in history at Carleton College.

George H. Lobdell, Jr., has been appointed associate professor of history in Carthage College.

Gerhard L. Weinberg, formerly of the War Documentation Project of Columbia University, has been appointed lecturer in modern history in the University of Chicago.

Douglas Reading has been promoted to professor of history in Colgate University and Gilbert Cahill to assistant professor.

At Dartmouth College, Richard B. McCornack is on leave for the current academic year. W. R. Waterman and R. E. Riegel will be on leave for the second semester. Dr. Riegel will serve as visiting lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley.

Clifton J. Phillips has been appointed instructor in history in DePauw University.

John S. Curtiss, Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Arthur B. Ferguson are on sabbatical leave from Duke University during 1954-55. Andrew G. Whiteside and Charles R. Young have been appointed instructors in history at Duke.

Aretas A. Dayton of Eastern Washington College of Education has been promoted to the rank of professor and named head of the division of history and social studies.

At the University of Florida Donald E. Worcester has been named acting head of the department of history; John A. Harrison and David L. Dowd have been promoted to associate professorships; John K. Mahon has been appointed assistant professor of history; and Eugene E. Pfaff of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina is serving as interim professor of history. Rembert W. Patrick, Arthur Funk, and Arthur Thompson are on leave. Professor Thompson is teaching at the City College of New York.

Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois has been elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year.

Nicholas V. Riasanovsky has been promoted to associate professor of history in the State University of Iowa. He is spending the current year in Europe, principally in Finland, doing research on a Fulbright grant. Stow Persons will teach at the American Seminar in Salzburg in the spring.

George S. May has been appointed research associate in the State Historical Society of Iowa, effective July 1, 1954.

Alfred A. Skerpan of the department of history in Kent State University is in Finland for the year on a Fulbright Fellowship. A. S. Brown, formerly of the University of Michigan, is serving in his place. L. S. Kaplan, formerly a historian with the Department of Defense in Washington, has been appointed instructor in history at Kent.

Raleigh Suarez and William H. Adams have been appointed part-time instructors in Louisiana State University.

Thomas H. Greer of Michigan State College is on sabbatical leave during the current year. He is completing his study of the political philosophy of Franklin Roosevelt.

Eugene T. Petersen has resigned as instructor of history in the University of Michigan to become director of the Michigan Historical Museum at Lansing.

Lawrence D. Steefel is in Germany on a year's sabbatical leave from the University of Minnesota. George M. Stephenson, emeritus professor of history in the University of Minnesota, is in Sweden on a Fulbright lectureship.

Harold Dean Cater resigned in October as secretary and director of the Minnesota Historical Society. On October 15 Solon J. Buck, who was secretary and superintendent of the society from 1914 to 1931, temporarily became acting director. He returned to Washington on October 30, and Russell Fridley, the assistant director, is in charge in Dr. Buck's absence.

At the University of Missouri Irvin G. Wyllie and David H. Pinkney are on leave; Samuel H. Baron and James N. Primm have been appointed visiting assistant professors for the year. I. J. Brugmans of the University of Amsterdam is teaching at Missouri during the first semester; he is in the United States on a combined Fulbright and Hay-Whitney Award. James L. Bugg has been promoted to associate professor of history and Lewis W. Spitz to assistant professor. Dean

Elmer Ellis is acting president of the university for the academic year 1954-55, and W. F. English has been promoted to associate dean and has assumed the duties of dean of arts and science during the current year.

Mitchell Smith of Midwestern University, Texas, is serving as lecturer in history in the University of Nevada for the current academic year.

Osgood Hardy, Norman Bridge professor of American history at Occidental College, retired from thirty-one years of active teaching last June. His duties have been assumed by Assistant Professor Andrew F. Rolle. Dr. Hardy, who was president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in 1954, was the second recipient of the Norman Bridge Chair, originally bestowed upon Robert Glass Cleland; Glenn S. Dumke, dean of the faculty, has been named to succeed him.

At the Ohio State University Everett Walters has been promoted to associate professor of history. Frank J. Pegues, formerly of the University of Colorado, has been appointed assistant professor. Gilman Ostrander, who taught last year at Reed College, has been appointed instructor in history. James M. Smith, instructor in history, has been awarded the Elizabeth C. Howald Fellowship for 1954-55 for research on the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

At Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Thomas H. Reynolds, for twenty-eight years professor and head of the department of history, has retired as professor and chairman emeritus; Homer L. Knight, formerly dean of Westminster College, has been appointed professor and head of the department; Theodore L. Agnew has been promoted to associate professor; and Max Guyer has been appointed instructor.

John E. Pixton, formerly of Northwestern University, has been appointed instructor in the history department of the Pennsylvania State University.

Leon J. Agourides has been appointed assistant professor of history in Rider College, Trenton, New Jersey.

George H. Miller, formerly of the University of Michigan, has been appointed instructor in history in Ripon College.

At Rutgers University Irving S. Kull has retired after thirty-six years of unbroken service. L. Ethan Ellis has been re-elected chairman of the department of history and appointed to the Voorhees professorship. Dean Samuel C. McCulloch is in Australia on a Fulbright grant for the year, and in his absence Henry R. Winkler is serving as acting assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

John Higham, formerly of the University of California at Los Angeles, has been appointed associate professor of history. G. Alef, R. Baker, and F. G. Eyck have been appointed lecturers for the current academic year.

Promotions announced by the department of history in St. John's University, Brooklyn, are Robert Lacour-Gayet to professor, Gaetano L. Vincitorio to associate professor, and James E. Bunce and Frederick A. Benincasa to assistant professors.

In the University of the South James Miller Grimes has been named Francis L. Houghteling professor of history and chairman of the department. John Maurice Webb has been promoted to associate professor of history and David Edward Underdown is serving as assistant professor of history.

James Melvin Peet has been appointed assistant professor of history in Stetson University.

Nelson M. Blake has succeeded William P. Hotchkiss as chairman of the department of history in Syracuse University, on a rotating chairman plan of three years. Dr. Hotchkiss will remain on the teaching staff and will direct the honors program. Robert J. Rayback is on leave of absence for the first semester of the current year to finish his manuscript on Millard Fillmore.

Four new instructors in American history have been appointed by the University of Texas: Robert O. Divine, John H. Fritz, Otis A. Singletary, and David D. Van Tassel. Oliver H. Radkey is on leave for the first semester.

Ralph W. Steen has been named head of the department of history in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. John Hugh Hill has been promoted to professor of history and will serve as assistant to the dean of arts and sciences.

J. D. Forbes, formerly of Wabash College, has been appointed professor of business history in the new University of Virginia Graduate School of Business Administration.

Solomon Katz has been named chairman of the department of history in the University of Washington.

At Wayne University George A. Foote has been promoted to assistant professor of History, Bernard Weisberger, formerly of Antioch College, has been appointed assistant professor, and Hans E. Tuetsch, Rome correspondent of the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* (Switzerland) is visiting assistant professor of history.

Vernon Carstensen and Marshall Clagett have been promoted to full professorships in the University of Wisconsin.

At Wisconsin State College, Superior, Ellen M. Clark has retired. Wyatt W. Belcher has succeeded her as chairman of the history-social science department. William G. Rector, formerly chairman of the social science department in Southern State Teachers College, Springfield, South Dakota, has joined the history staff.

RECENT DEATHS

George W. Eddy, associate professor of history in Youngstown College since 1946, died July 23 at the age of seventy-seven. He took his A.B. and A.M. at Brown University in 1903 and 1905 and his Ph.D. at the Ohio State University in 1932. His teaching career began at Keuka College, where he was professor of history and education, 1908-1912. For thirty-one years, 1915-1946, he taught history and economics at the South High School in Youngstown. He published various works on the teaching of history.

Bryn J. Hovde, educator, administrator, who passed away on August 10 at fifty-eight, was by nature a historian. A first generation American, he carried with him the Norwegian tradition of life and history. It is a tradition of men striving bravely against a harsh environment, individual men, generously loyal to leadership but recalcitrant to domineering control. Bryn Hovde's early ambition was to write the history of the plain peoples of the Northlands, Scandinavia. These were peoples that for hundreds of years had lived without the lust of conquering war. Peace was their sole international objective. But Bryn Hovde's Norwegians were no passive pacifists, as the Germans learned in dealing with the Resistance. They were prepared to fight manfully, but only for freedom.

But hardly had Bryn Hovde marked out the historical domain he meant to cultivate when he was drawn into public service as director of public welfare in Pittsburgh from 1936 to 1938, and from 1941 as director of the Pittsburgh office of the Defense Housing Agency, later as administrator of the Pittsburgh Housing Authority. In an environment far from liberal Dr. Hovde established such a repute for sound sense and creative public spirit that the door remained open for his return, after years in the State Department and as president of the New School for Social Research.

In the New School his dominant objective was to build up the division of international studies. In this he was successful, and given time he could have created a powerful center of international studies. But his health was giving way under the load of administrative duties. He retired to resume his early career as a real historian of the real people, only to be drawn back again into the public service of Pittsburgh housing.

And now when Bryn Hovde's career is closed, those who acknowledge the

supreme importance of history may ask themselves, Did we do well in making a housing administrator, an educational administrator, out of a man eminently qualified to become a historian of peoples?

The Honorable Charles Warren, famed historian of American legal institutions, and especially of the United States Supreme Court, died at his Washington home August 16. He was born March 9, 1868; was graduated from Harvard, A.B. and Phi Beta Kappa, in 1889; and, concluding his formal education with an additional three years in Harvard Law, was admitted to the bar in 1892. Then began a career which for many years was divided between public service and scholarly production, the two activities being frequently and fruitfully blended. His public life will be the subject of extended accounts elsewhere.

Mr. Warren's initial contribution to American legal history was his three-volume *History of Harvard Law School and Early Conditions* (1908), portions of which he later "revised, corrected and amplified" in his one-volume *History of the American Bar* (1911). Much the most important of his writings, however, is his three-volume work, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, which appeared in 1922, and received the Pulitzer Prize the year following. The subject of this great work is the impact of the Supreme Court on our national history, which Mr. Warren treats pragmatically, subordinating theoretical aspects. Thus while the expansion of judicial review necessarily claims his attention, he touches but lightly, when at all, upon the derivation and elaboration of the doctrines which rationalize this expansion. He shows statistically that since 1883 the Court's interventions in the field of legislative power, both state and national, have multiplied greatly, but he practically ignores one of the chief theoretical bases of this development, the conversion of the due process clause into a limitation on the substantive content of legislation. Indeed, he takes occasion at the end to insist that the product of judicial review, in other words, constitutional law, can never be a constitutional final (see III, 470-71).

The Supreme Court in United States History has been cited by the Court time and again, yet actually some of Mr. Warren's less formal writings have been of more immediate practical significance. Outstanding in this connection were his article in the *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVII (1937), entitled "New Light on the History of the Federal Judiciary Act of 1789," and the article in the *Boston Law Review*, X (1930), entitled "Presidential Declarations of Independence." On the strength of the former the Court in 1938 overruled a whole procession of decisions dating from 1842, thereby confessing nearly a century of error on its own part. To the latter is to be credited Attorney General Brownell's memorandum of May 17 last, supporting the right of the President to protect presidential confidences against congressional prying.

If Mr. Warren may be said to have professed a constitutional creed, it was James Madison's "dual federalism" or "federal dualism," as one chooses. This

point of view emerges most conspicuously, for example, in his small volume *Congress as Santa Claus*, the outgrowth of the White lectures at Virginia in 1932. But Madison is no longer the Court's mentor on this important issue. In 1936, in the "Triple A. Case," it definitely adopted Hamilton's sweeping conception of the national spending power.

Mr. Warren was a member of the American Historical Association from 1915 until his death and contributed frequent reviews to this journal.

Charles Henry Oldfather, professor of ancient history in the University of Nebraska, died in Lincoln, August 20, at the age of sixty-seven. Born in Tabriz, Persia, he received a B.A. from Hanover College (Indiana), a B.D. from McCormick Theological Seminary, studied at the University of Munich, 1911-12, and received his Ph.D. in 1922 from the University of Wisconsin. He taught at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, 1912-14. He was professor of classics at Hanover, 1914-16 and professor of Greek and ancient history at Wabash College, 1916-26. He came to the University of Nebraska as professor of history in 1926, and served as chairman of the department from 1929 to 1946 and as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1932 to 1952. His publications include *The Greek Literary Papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt* (1922); *Pufendorf's De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (1934); and translations of Diodorus of Sicily, Volumes I-VI, Loeb Classical Library, 1938-54. The favorite teacher of many students, he took an active part in the life of the university, the community, and the state. He had asked for retirement only a few months before his death.

Federick H. Cramer, whose tragic death occurred near Toulouse on September 4, was born in Berlin in 1906. He was trained in history and law at the University of Berlin and the Columbia Law School, and received his doctorate from the University of Zurich. A refugee from Nazi Germany, Professor Cramer settled permanently in this country in 1937, and for the past sixteen years he has taught ancient and modern European history at Mount Holyoke, serving as chairman of the department from 1945 to 1951. A man of amazing vitality and wide intellectual interests, he was a popular teacher at Mount Holyoke, Hartford and Holyoke Junior Colleges, and at Smith. He found time to write numerous articles and reviews for periodicals such as *Isis*, the *Jurist*, *Speculum*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Current History*, and the *American Historical Review*, as well as to lecture to civic groups. His outstanding contribution to scholarly research lay in the field of scientific history during the later Roman and early Byzantine period. At the time of the accident he was on leave of absence to complete a second volume of his book, "Astrology in Roman Law and Politics, in the Later Roman Empire," to be published by the American Philosophical Society. Mr. Cramer's death is an inestimable loss to Mount Holyoke, to neighboring institutions, and to the profession.

Helen Nicolay, author of many biographies for young people of prominent Americans from Washington to Eisenhower, died in Washington, September 12. She was born in Paris, March 9, 1866, the only child of John G. Nicolay, private secretary to President Lincoln, and with John Hay the author of a life of Lincoln. In this work Miss Nicolay assisted her father and completed the last volume, unfinished at his death. In this and in the twenty-one volumes that bear her name, including a life of her father, she was a careful worker. She was an accomplished linguist and a volunteer interpreter in the State Department in the First World War. She was educated entirely by her father and private tutors. In 1922 George Washington University conferred on her an honorary M.A. degree. As an artist she had exhibited in Washington galleries. The house in which she and her father lived and worked for many years after 1870 stood on ground now occupied by the Annex to the Library of Congress. In 1947 she presented the papers of her father to the Library of Congress. She had been a member of this Association since 1915 and an occasional contributor of reviews.

Jeter A. Isely, associate professor of history at Princeton University, died unexpectedly, and almost instantly, of a heart attack on September 30. He was born on November 4, 1913, at Morristown, Tennessee, graduated from the University of Tennessee, and received his doctorate at Princeton, where he had been a member of the faculty since 1941. During the war he served in the Navy, reaching the rank of lieutenant-commander, and spending part of the time on General MacArthur's staff in the Southwest Pacific.

His premature death removes from the profession a man wholly dedicated to its interests. An indefatigable scholar, persisting against mounting difficulties in recent years, he remained active in the two fields of the American nineteenth century and general military history. He was the author of *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party, 1853-1861: A Study of the New York Tribune*, and co-author with P.A. Crowl of *The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War: Its Theory, and Its Practice in the Pacific*. He was at work, at the time of his death, on a full biography of Horace Greeley and on a study of Greeley's associate, George Ripley of the *New York Tribune*. Despite his absorption in research and in his own writing, he gave himself unsparingly to his students, of whom a great many always sought him out. Many graduates of Princeton, over the past decade, will remember him as adviser on their senior theses, always interested, widely informed, helpful, demanding high standards while arousing, guiding, and appreciating their intellectual efforts. It is a tragic loss for a man of such integrity, industry, and widely ranging abilities to die before his forty-first birthday.

Carl Stephenson, professor emeritus of history, Cornell University, died at his home in Ithaca, October 3, three months after his retirement from active teaching. He was the author of many works in medieval history, notably, *Borough and Town: A Study of Urban Origins in England* (1933). A selection from his

historical essays has recently appeared, under the title *Mediaeval Institutions: Selected Essays*, edited by Bryce D. Lyon.

Carl Stephenson was born on August 10, 1886. His father, Andrew Stephenson, had studied in the company of Charles Homer Haskins and others in the seminar of Herbert Baxter Adams at the Johns Hopkins University. Carl Stephenson began his studies at DePauw University and received the doctor's degree from Harvard University in 1914. He won a Commission for Relief in Belgium Fellowship for study in Belgium in 1924 and a Guggenheim Fellowship for study in France in 1931. During these and other periods of work abroad, he established close acquaintanceship with Professor Henri Pirenne and other leading European historians.

He had a long, varied, and active career as a teacher; in the course of it he taught at Harvard, Princeton, Wisconsin, Arkansas, and Washington universities, before he became professor of history at Cornell in 1930. He also taught summer session courses at Chicago, Columbia, and Stanford Universities.

His lively, lucid method of expression won him the respect of undergraduates. To the graduate students he was a model of patient, exact, and imaginative scholarship.

William Linn Westermann, who died on October 4, upheld the highest traditions of American scholarship in ancient history. Born in Illinois in 1873 and graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1894, Westermann began his teaching career in the classics, serving as assistant in Latin at his alma mater and as instructor and assistant professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Missouri. But as a student at the University of Berlin, where he came under the influence of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Eduard Meyer and took his doctorate in 1902, his major interest was in ancient history, and from 1906 to 1908 he was assistant professor of history at the University of Minnesota. Thereafter he held professorial positions in history at the University of Wisconsin (1908-20), Cornell (1920-23), and Columbia (from 1923 until his retirement as professor emeritus in 1948). His teaching was not yet at an end, however, for in 1949 and again in 1953-54 he was visiting professor at Alexandria University in Egypt. Ancient social and economic history, particularly as illuminated by the Egyptian papyri, was the field which he cultivated most assiduously and intensively and in which he made his greatest contributions. He loved research and was tireless in carrying it on until he was disabled by a fatal brief illness. The list of his publications is long and impressive. Ancient slavery was a subject that he made peculiarly his own and on which his authority was universally recognized. The long article on it that he contributed to Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband VI (1935), served as the basis of what he regarded as his most important work, *The Greek and Roman Systems of Slavery in Antiquity*, which was in press at the time of his death and is to be published by the American Philosophical Society in the immediate future. But

for all his devotion to specialized research, Westermann was no esoteric. He believed in making the work of the specialist available to nonspecialists, as many of his articles attest. He took time off, moreover, to serve his country—as adviser on Turkish affairs and chief of the division of Western Asia in the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris in 1919, as delegate on the Greek Territorial Commission at the Paris Peace Conference, and as a member of the commission reporting to the State Department on the Armenian boundary decision in 1920. He was president of the American Historical Association and the recipient of many academic honors. The trustees of Columbia University voted to award him the honorary degree of doctor of letters, to be conferred at the Columbia Bicentennial Convocation on October 31, 1954, but death prevented him from receiving it.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It occurs to me that both the author and the readers of the "re-evaluation" of *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (AHR, October, 1954, pp. 1-12) may be interested to know that the lectures which made up that little volume were written not in 1926 but in 1895, when they were delivered at Barnard College. Dr. Jameson, while revising them for the Princeton series over thirty years later, expressed regret that he found disappointingly few changes necessary, so little research had been done along the lines he had indicated in the years since they were written.

Round Pond, Maine

ELIZABETH DONNAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Irving Brant, in his endeavor, in your October issue, to claim for Madison the authorship of "The North American," published anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of September 17 and October 8, 1783, represents Madison as favoring, "as a matter of justice," the contention of the small states "that the West was the common property of the nation, won in war by all for all." In taking this position Mr. Brant seems to have overlooked a discussion which occurred in the Congress on August 16, 1782, and which was reviewed on the following August 27. On the latter date a petition was reported to Congress from the inhabitants of Kentucky, which, declaring that they considered themselves "subjects of the United States and not of Virginia" and that "the charter under which Virginia claimed that country had been dissolved," asked Congress "to erect them into a separate and independent state and admit them into the federal union." Lee declared that the countenance that had been given the petition was "an insult to Virginia," while Madison characterized "the supposition that the right of the crown devolved on the United States" as "so extravagant that it could not enter into the thoughts of any man," to which Wither- spoon rejoined that it evidently could, since it actually had entered into his own thoughts and also "the thoughts of the petitioners and into the thoughts of many

sensible men at the beginning of the present controversy." *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (1878), pp. 146, 149, 138-39. See also J. C. Welling in *American Historical Association Papers*, III, Pt. 2, pp. 167 ff.

Of course, it has to be conceded that Madison sooner or later usually boxed the compass of opinion on about every subject he ever dealt with.

Princeton, New Jersey

EDWARD S. CORWIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The discussion which Dr. Corwin says I seem to have overlooked is dealt with at length in *James Madison: The Nationalist*, pages 151-56, within the compass of the citations in notes 7 and 8 of the "North American" article.

Washington, D.C.

IRVING BRANT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Readers of Kenneth M. Stampp's review of Thomas J. Pressly's *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (*AHR*, July, 1954, pp. 948-49) may be interested in the quite different evaluation of the book which appeared in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, May 7, 1954, the last paragraph of which reads as follows: "Professor Pressly has turned what might have been a pedestrian narrative and analysis of changing viewpoints into a really exciting piece of intellectual history, and that because he combines scholarship with a real grasp of the problems of historiography in any age or country and can see the problem of the Civil War, its causes, course and consequences, as a special case of a general problem. This is understanding, interpretation, not mere 'debunking' nor a resignation to the platitude that 'there is much to be said on both sides.' A book like this inspires hope that American history writing is entering a new and less parochial phase."

New Rochelle, New York

CORNELIUS A. VAN ZANDT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I was grieved by Kenneth Stampp's review of Thomas Pressly's *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* not because of Mr. Stampp's "revisionism," toward which I am inclined, but because of the general tenor of personal criticism in his review. Before these and other "young" historians get into a perennial squabble over interpretations of the Civil War, may I suggest that perhaps the problem for all of us in this matter lies not so much in the maturity of individual historians as in the maturity of our subject or "science" of history in this country, or indeed the maturity of America itself.

In his famous essay, "The Explanation of the Business Cycle," Joseph Schumpeter began with some remarks that seem extremely relevant to this issue:

"The childhood of every science is characterised by the prevalence of 'schools,' of bodies of men, that is, who swear by bodies of doctrine, which differ *toto caelo* from each other as to philosophic background and fundamentals of methods, and aim at preaching different 'systems' and, if possible, different results in every particular—each claiming to be in exclusive possession of Truth and to fight for absolute light against absolute darkness. But when a science has 'gained man's estate,' these things, whilst never ceasing to exist, tend to lose importance: the common ground expands, merits and ranges of 'standpoints' and 'methods' be-

come matter of *communis opinio doctorum*, fundamental differences shade off into each other; and what differences remain are confined within clear-cut questions of fact and of analytic machinery, and capable of being settled by exact proof."

Princeton University

WILSON SMITH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is quite natural that Nathan Schachner, biographer of Aaron Burr, should be inclined to rebut the evidence I produced that Burr tried to steal the 1800 presidential election from Jefferson and that his western conspiracy was treasonable in purpose. To prove the former, he says in his review of *James Madison: Secretary of State* (AHR, October, 1954, p. 126), I have marshaled "every bit of evidence, primary, second-hand, or mere assertion, in favor of that thesis and overlook[ed] equally weighty evidence against."

It was certainly my intention to marshal "every bit of evidence" that would prove or disprove the thesis, and any failure to produce available negative evidence was inadvertent. I thank Mr. Schachner for supplying the deficit, and wish merely to comment briefly on the omissions reported by him:

1. "Such for example, are omissions from Congressman Bayard's letter to Allan McLane, Federalist collector of customs, declaring 'I have taken good care of you,' and 'I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan [of removing Federalists from office].'" I had supposed that I covered this matter sufficiently by citing Bayard's later affidavit on assurances concerning "the non-firing of well-behaved public officials," and by saying that he wrote "to Collector Allan McLane that his job was safe." What this has to do with the question whether Burr was or was not intriguing to become President is a bit puzzling to me, but if Mr. Schachner sees a connection, and if the difference between his statement and mine is evidence to him that Burr was not seeking the Presidency, he surely has a right to his opinion.

2. "Similarly he [Brant] builds up a case against Burr's public renunciation by letter of December 16, 1800, because the election tie was not yet known, but omits reference to the letter of December 23 to Jefferson, when it *was*." I recall omitting that letter because use of it would have involved a complicated restating of Burr's deceptive maneuver regarding Rhode Island electors. So now I will merely amplify Mr. Schachner's comment by saying that on December 23 Burr wrote *privately* to Jefferson, assuring him that he was not seeking the Presidency, and that twice thereafter, when asked to end the intrigue by *an effective public renunciation*, he refused to do so. Again, this does not seem weighty evidence in Burr's favor, but if a Burr biographer thinks it clears him, it is right and proper that he should put the matter before the public.

Those who wish to compare Mr. Schachner's evidence with mine will have to read my book, which of course is all right with me.

Washington, D.C.

IRVING BRANT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Brant claims he had adequately covered Bayard's charges that Jefferson had made a deal with the Federalists in his text. After reading what he remarks above, let me quote his actual text (p.32): "He [Bayard] did not mention what

he claimed five years later: that General Smith gave him assurances as to Jefferson's views on the Navy, commerce, the public debt and the non-firing of well-behaved public officials. But he did write to Collector Allan McLane that his job was safe."

Does this not indicate that Bayard said nothing at the *time* about Jefferson's deal? Had Mr. Brant quoted Bayard's specific statement in the letter to McLane of February 17 concerning his "direct information" would he not have effectually negated what he was hinting at in his book: that Bayard's remarks five years later were a political afterthought? Furthermore, why does Mr. Brant not put into evidence the fact that General Smith himself, a Republican and directly involved, backed up Bayard's statement with concurring affidavits?

As to Mr. Brant's second point, wherein he defends his failure to cite Burr's letter to Jefferson of December 23 by calling it a *private* letter, I'm afraid he becomes somewhat disingenuous. Actually, as Mr. Brant is well aware, *all* political letters in those days were private in the sense they were written to individuals and not to the press. It was the accepted mode of disseminating information and letters were considered private only if definitely so marked. This letter was not thus restricted, and it is absurd to believe that Jefferson, whose presidency depended on it, felt inhibited from using it.

Why also does Mr. Brant omit from his case concerning Burr's intrigues for the presidency such readily available material to the contrary as Bayard's letter (February 16) to Bassett claiming Burr had it in his power to be elected, but "we have been counteracted in the whole business by letters he has written to this place" or General Smith's insistence later that Burr had never said or done anything contrary to his letter of December 16, 1800, denouncing all attempts to obtain for him the presidency? Why does Mr. Brant bring in the name of David Ogden, Federalist emissary to Burr, as having seen him without quoting Ogden's statement that the mission had failed? Why does he quote a seemingly damning letter from Burr to Smith (p. 30) in which, so Mr. Brant alleges above, he refused to renounce the intrigue, without stating the all-important fact that this letter is an alleged *copy*, not an original, which was found among a student's papers recently as made by him without any attribution to its source; that no such original can be found among General Smith's papers, while his statement as above clearing Burr does so exist? Certainly as probative evidence this modern copy has little value, and in any event the fact should have been clearly pointed out.

I am afraid that Mr. Brant has merely accentuated his definite bias against Burr by his defense.

New York, N.Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

Editor's Notes

In 1928-29, when Dana Munro was managing editor of the *Review*, the Board of Editors furnished reviewers with a list of suggestions which included the following:

"It is desired that the review of a book shall be such as will convey to the reader a clear and comprehensive notion of its nature, of its contents, of its merits, of its place in the literature of the subject, and of the amount of its positive contribution to knowledge. The Editors do not favor that type of review which deals with only

a part of a book, or makes the book merely a text for a digressive essay. The interests of readers require that the pages headed 'Reviews of Books' be filled with reviews in the literal sense. . . .

"It is hoped that the reviewer will take pains, first of all, to apprehend the author's conception of the nature and intent of his book and to criticize it with a due regard to its species and purpose. It should, however, be remembered that the review is intended for the information and assistance of readers, and not for the satisfaction of the author of the book. Sympathy, courtesy, a sense of attachment, readiness to make allowance for a different point of view, should not therefore withhold the reviewer from the straightforward expression of adverse judgment sincerely entertained; otherwise, the *Review* cannot fulfill the important function of upholding a high standard of historical writing."



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European Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*

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EUROPE has had an ancient tradition of dreams dreamed and deeds done in the name of human freedom. In the eighteenth century there arose in diverse parts of the continent a demand of unparalleled insistence for still more of the boons of freedom. Alas, however, for human plans; when in 1789 the opportunity came to build the new Zion with the precious stones of liberty, the builders in Paris went down in discredit and carried with them, seemingly, the repute of their great ideal. Ruined once by its mistakes, liberty in France suffered a second disaster in 1799 at the hands of a military adventurer.

A whole company of literary men exorcised the ghost of this departed horror, but with all their pages they could not write a lasting epitaph. By 1814 the people of France had become aware of the price they had paid for Corsican glory, and it was Bonaparte's own creatures, his senators, who deposed him for his despotic doings and who tried to exact a sworn constitution from the aged wanderer who was then on his way to Paris as the eighteenth

* A paper presented to the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 28, 1953.

Louis. The new sovereign could not readily negotiate with a Napoleonic legislature on what God had already decreed, but no one saw more clearly than did this exile-weary Bourbon the impossibility of turning back the calendar to the epoch of divine right despotism. In May of 1814 he announced that he would give his people what he termed a liberal constitution and shortly thereafter he issued the charter which had its source in his royal pleasure.¹ Within the next six years, despite the rigors of the reaction, constitutionalism achieved a series of victories—in the Netherlands, in Poland, and in several of the German states.²

Louis XVIII's charter and these kindred constitutions represented the perpetuated gains of the revolutionary epoch, the level reached after the up of the excesses and the down of the reactions which had been in process since 1789. They represented, no less, the point of departure for subsequent change, and have, therefore, a not unimportant part in the history of nineteenth-century liberalism. Indeed, these constitutions are of such significance that one perhaps may speak of the years following 1814 as the period of liberalism by princely grace.

For one reason, these instruments, with a single exception, gave guaranties of substantial individual rights. The ideal of 1789 still in 1814 embodied a living force that could not be denied. First and foremost were those two equalities without which any pretense toward modern liberty would have been a mockery—equality in the presence of the tax collector and equality before the judge and his books of law. There were, in addition, assurances that the individual would enjoy strictly regular processes at the hands of an independent judiciary, and that his property would be safe from the hand of royal caprice. Finally, the individual received a pledge that there would be no restraint on his conscience, that the exercise of his religion would be undisturbed, and that freedom of the press would be abridged only by laws to prevent abuse.

¹ The essential documents are given in France, Conseil d'Etat, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements, avis du conseil d'état . . . par J. B. Duvergier*, XIX, *passim*. Hereafter cited as Duvergier.

² The constitutions under reference may be found in Great Britain, Foreign Office, *British and Foreign State Papers*, as follows: (1) The Netherlands, III, 16-43; (2) Poland, XIX, 971-85; (3) Bavaria, V, 1055-76; (4) Baden, V, 161-70; (5) Württemberg, VI, 102-30; (6) Hesse-Darmstadt, VII, 386-99. Article XIII of the Constitution of the German Confederation of 1815 prescribed that each state would have an "estates constitution" (*landesständische Verfassung*) (*ibid.*, II, 128). Among the princes of German states who issued fundamental laws more in harmony with the estates concept than did the rulers of the above cited states were those of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *ibid.*, III, 842-71; Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, III, 747-48; Schaumburg-Lippe, III, 749-51; Waldeck, III, 751-63; Hanover, VI, 1130-33. The king of Prussia anticipated the decision of the Confederation to the extent of announcing on May 25, 1815, his intention of preparing a constitutional act and of establishing a representative assembly (*ibid.*, II, 1057-60), but he could take himself no further along the constitutional road than the organization of a council of state in 1817. The text of the instituting decree may be found in *ibid.*, IV, 791-99.

A further reason for suggesting the phrase "liberalism by princely grace" lies in the fact that there were in these constitutions two other renunciations of royal authority: henceforth no tax was to be collected and no law inscribed on the statute book without the consent of a legislative body. By such concessions there disappeared—at least on paper—those two powers which lay at the base of the absolutism of the Old Regime.

At the same time, there was another side to this newly minted royal coin. Louis XVIII was quite explicit in asserting that the plenitude of authority in France rested in the person of the king. In his proud words was a complete denial of a right belonging to the people, and with it a disquieting implication that what the king's grace had given the king's grace could take away. In substance the same theory presided over the other constitutions. Over and beyond this issue of theory was the fact of great daily significance—the predominant role which the sovereign retained for himself in his absolute veto and in his right of legislative initiative, and, too, in his periodic flaunting of self-imposed limitations.

The legislatures prescribed in these constitutions were typically bicameral. The upper house was a house of privilege in which men sat by right of noble birth, ecclesiastical office, or royal appointment. The lower house was either based on a geographic representation, as in France, or on some adaptation of the old estates system.³ But whichever way the chamber was recruited, three devices made it certain that the deputies would bear no stain of the unhallowed procedures of 1792: first, a set of qualifications for voting which, in somewhat varying degrees, excluded the economically less fortunate; second, a scheme of indirect elections; and, finally, a still more exacting set of qualifications for the deputy. In substance these devices assured that men of maturity and property elected men of still more maturity and of still more property. As was the case in the estates assemblies of the Middle Ages, the sovereign consulted, not with his people, but with the possessors of rural and urban wealth.

At best, then, liberalism by princely grace was a meager compromise with modernity. It was, none the less, gravid with significance. The concession of personal rights and liberties revived for the Continent some of the breath of those winds of freedom which had blown so fiercely during the French Revolution. The limitation on royal taxing and legislative power had its modern as well as its medieval aspects. The restoration of assemblies, semi-

³ In the Netherlands members of the lower house were named by the provincial assemblies. In Poland a majority was chosen by the noble dietines and a minority by the communes. In Bavaria five separate categories were represented, in Würtemberg six, and in Hesse-Darmstadt three.

estate in character though they were, at least brought several continental countries along the political road already traversed by the English.

In 1820 more advanced ideas of liberalism announced themselves from below the level of princely grace. The Spaniards, wearied with one of the most obscene governments of all Europe, restored their constitution of 1812 with its basic principle of the sovereignty of the nation, and the noise of their revolt returned sympathetic echoes from Portugal and the Italian peninsula where life was hardly better.⁴ The time was not ripe, however, for inexperienced liberals to fumble with their destiny, and armed force effectively restored what was called order.⁵

The real beginning of the new chapter of liberalism's history had to wait until 1830. Its opening pages were written in France. When the crisis came in July, it was the republicans of Paris who, more than anyone else, sent the former count of Artois on his second road to exile; but in the final showdown a group of less doctrinaire deputies had greater political strength and it was they who put the imprint of their ideas on a revision of the charter. Formally, this revision was nothing more than a modest legislative retouching of the text of 1814, but the cumulative effect of the changes added up to a substantial modification of the constitutional structure of France.⁶

Meanwhile the first response from abroad had come from Brussels. In Belgium French influences had already been inculcating their lessons of liberty and, given the signal from the July revolution, self-styled liberals and Catholics joined forces to declare their national independence and draw up a constitution.⁷ So fully did this Belgian constitution of 1831 epitomize the main currents of liberal opinion in Europe that for half a century and more it enjoyed high prestige as a masterpiece of political wisdom and its provisions steadily made their way into other constitutional experiments.

In Great Britain the happy tidings from Paris created no upheaval, but they did give a new inspiration to the agitation for reform. It was an old habit for malcontents of the Continent to look across the haze of the Channel and see in England the home of liberty. In truth, the English had so far

⁴ For the text of the constitution signed at Cadiz in 1812 see *State Papers*, VII, 237-79. The Portuguese cortes on March 9, 1821, decreed the bases of a new constitution (*ibid.*, VIII, 973-77), and the definitive text was promulgated on September 23, 1822 (*ibid.*, IX, 921-59).

⁵ For a convenient collection of the principal documents relative to the conferences of Troppau and Laybach of 1820-21 and the suppression of the constitutional movement in Naples see *State Papers*, VIII, 1129-1206. For the conference of Verona and the decision to suppress the Spanish difficulties see *ibid.*, X, 909-36. On June 25, 1823, the king of Portugal issued a proclamation annulling the constitution and appointing a junta to prepare a new constitutional draft (*ibid.*, XI, 852-53).

⁶ Duvergier, XXX, 93-103; 110-14; *State Papers*, XVII, 1009-13, 1013-18.

⁷ For the text of the Belgian constitution as voted by the national congress on February 7, 1831, see *State Papers*, XVIII, 1052-65.

preceded the continentals that issues which preoccupied the latter after 1814 had long since been settled. Yet, despite this historical advantage, the crystallization of the estates system had produced in England an issue which was the basic issue of the Continent as well. That was, of course, a reasonable share of political power for the middle class. On this point the two liberalisms converged in time and problem. The British counterpart of the continental troubles, the great Reform Bill of 1832, averted rather than accomplished a revolution. An alliance between landed and city wealth was an old fact of English history; the new bill simply brought it up to date by effecting a more acceptable division of political power.

These political changes in France and Belgium and Britain between 1830 and 1832 charted the main direction of liberal hopes in other lands during the years that followed. Since they represented the program of a liberalism sufficiently victorious to give practical effect to its major objectives, they established the new benchmarks in the political terrain beyond the realms of princely grace.

With respect to the control of the state, there was at least a hint of a dilemma in the liberals' position. The old suspicions of the state which went back to Seneca and Augustine had found more than vindication at the hands of John Locke and his rationalist successors, and their children of the new generation were not without the family trait. On the other hand, there was a mundane consideration which also had an imposing history. Harrington had pointed it out back in the seventeenth century: that the possessors of economic power are not content until they gain political power commensurate with it. For all of the aura of dubiety about the state—indeed, on account of it—the state was a reality worth a great deal of effort to influence and to control.

None the less, the liberals of the first half of the nineteenth century did not desire to push forward to a complete mastery of the state: being moderates, they were prepared to leave old elements of privilege. Still, the share which they demanded for the middle class was materially greater than that allowed by the charters handed down from sovereign thrones.

The first victorious act of the continental liberals, following the precedent of England, was to settle their case against the undue pretensions of royal authority—without destroying monarchy. In France King Louis Philippe had to proclaim his dependence on the national will,⁸ and the constitution of

⁸ Because of the delicacy of the crisis in July and August, 1830, it was essential to proceed tactfully with the revision of the charter. The declaration of the chamber, adhered to by the peers, disposed of the theoretical issue of sovereignty in these words: "Selon le vœu et dans l'intérêt du peuple français, le préambule de la Charte constitutionnelle est supprimé, comme blessant la dignité nationale, en paraissant octroyer aux Français des droits qui leur appartiennent."

Belgium was most precise in its theoretical and practical curbs on kingly power.⁹

The great positive achievement of the liberalism of these years was to build up the strength of the lower legislative house. Bicameralism remained, but the place of the nobility in the body politic suffered a new reverse. In Belgium an elected bourgeois senate, in France a house of peers in which nobility had a declining role, in Britain a house of lords under notice that it must bow to the will of the nation—in such developments was eloquent proof that the liberals were attacking the custom-grounded pre-eminence of the noble estate.

The dissatisfaction with which the middle rungs of the social ladder looked upward did not prevent their turning to look downward with even less friendly eyes. These men of the middle, and their fathers before them, had once read earnest lessons about people being born and remaining free and equal in rights. But now those days were gone. The memory of revolutionary experience, the more recent evidences of proletarian unrest, the disposition of the successful to see moral failure in a humble station in life—all these considerations afforded grounds enough to deny the lesser orders of mankind a share in the great prize of political power. The upshot was that liberalism pronounced against political democracy; control of the state remained the privilege of men of property.¹⁰

With respect to what the state should do, a movement dedicated by tradition and by conviction to liberty had naturally a marked prejudice, if not an entirely clear principle or program. And that was, manifestly, that the state should do nothing more than the minimum required by some vaguely defined social necessity.

To keep government within the bounds of common sense, the liberals pinned their hopes to two devices. The first was a scheme to make the machinery incapable of quick or efficient action. Recalling the old tyrannies of

nent essentiellement" (Duvergier, XXX, 94-95). In his act of August 9 Louis Philippe said, "J'accepte, sans restrictions ni réserve, les clauses et engagements que renferme cette déclaration et le titre du Roi des Français qu'elle me confère, et je suis prêt à en jurer l'observation" (*ibid.*, XXX, 104).

⁹ Article 3 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789 states, "Le principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la nation." The Spanish constitution of 1812 took the sentence in this form: "La soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación" (Title I, chap. 1) and the Portuguese document of 1822 repeated it (Title II, art. xxvi). The declaration of the French chamber in 1830, as indicated in the preceding note, repeated the adverb *essentiellement*. The Belgian constitution-makers dropped the adverb as an unwarranted equivocation: "All powers emanate from the nation . . ." (Title III, art. xxv).

¹⁰ For the text of the French election law, April 19, 1831, see Duvergier, XXXI, 177-219. This law raised the number of voters from about 94,000 to about 188,000. In Belgium the more generous suffrage qualifications were determined variably from province to province. The Reform Bill of 1832 increased the number of British voters from about half a million to slightly more than 800,000.

royal despotism and the later tyrannies of the mob spirit, these twice-bitten men wished, as the abbé Sieyès said, to quench the fires of Rousseau's popular sovereignty by the waters of Montesquieu's separation of powers. The European constitutions, following the American adoption of the old principle, effected therefore a distinction between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. In their prescriptions of bicameralism they also hoped to insure a check on hasty legislation. None the less, while an independent judiciary retained its position, very shortly the newer principle of ministerial responsibility so undermined the old that the separation of powers as a part of the credo of European liberalism was gradually pushed off into limbo.¹¹

The second, and far more important, device for restraining government was, of course, the confirmation and the amplification of the bill of individual rights which the restored sovereigns had already rescued from the wreckage of the French Revolution. By its prescriptions *all* men, in their persons and in their property, were to be secured against tyranny; *all* men were to be free to think and to believe and, within limits, to write as they wished.

When one moves on into the story of the role which these early liberals assigned to the state in relation to economic enterprise, one point stands out in all clarity: the protection of property from foreign aggression, from state encroachments, from the disorders of the mob, and from the tricks of rascality. Among these last, the refusal to honor a contract was of prime and horrifying significance, since contract made the difference, so thoughtful men believed, between order and chaos.

In such unquestioned necessities there was a large and, unhappily for the liberal, an expensive role for the state—that of the self-denying night-watchman. In a positive work of facilitating economic enterprise, the stopping point of state action was not so readily established. For such things as a stable currency and the improvement of roads and harbors there was soon no serious opposition, but a fairly general liberal rejection of protective tariffs came slowly, and policy toward the new railways ranged from British private enterprise to Belgian state operation.

None the less, the prevalent theory, and increasingly the practice, left a wide latitude to the self-interest of economic man. Under its inspiration

¹¹ Benjamin Constant (Henri Benjamin Constant de Rebecque) offered an ingenious argument in support of a system of five powers (*Cours de politique constitutionnelle* [Paris, 1818–20], I, *passim*). François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Histoire des origines du gouvernement représentatif et des institutions politiques de l'Europe* (Paris, 1855), translated as *History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe* (London, 1861): "Il faut qu'il y ait plusieurs pouvoirs égaux et indispensables l'un à l'autre, dans l'exercice de la souveraineté de fait, pour qu'aucun d'eux ne soit conduit à s'arroger la souveraineté de droit" (I, 122). Charles Edward Merriam, Jr., *History of the Theory of Sovereignty since Rousseau* (New York, 1900), chap. v. Jeremy Bentham launched an attack on the doctrine of separation of powers in *Fragment on Government* (1776) reprinted in *Works* . . . ed. Sir John Bowring (Edinburgh, 1838–43), I, part 1.

legislatures poured out a veritable stream of acts which removed qualifications from property rights,¹² extended freedom of contract, and struck ancient shackles from commerce and industry and finance. Before the middle of the century, the social consequences of industrialization were beginning to creep from England to the Continent, there also to raise grim questions of policy; but the rank and file of the liberals, genuinely humanitarian though they were, found it hard to reconcile themselves to state regulation. Inescapably there had to be a great deal of confusion when Europe faced problems hitherto undreamed of, and, quite apart from a powerful economic theory, there could only have been much doubt as to the ability of state agencies, given their notoriously bad history, to do an effective social service.

The practical applications of this ideal of liberty, however, betrayed an inner contradiction, an inherent conflict of purposes. The constitutional and legislative enactments bestowed rights on all men without distinction of birth or fortune. Likewise the principles of the inviolability of private property, liberty of individual enterprise, and freedom of contract vouchsafed blessings to all men equally.

But, as these doctrines worked out in daily practice, they created disparities in wealth and position which boded ill for any morally rooted concept of freedom. The high regard for property rested on the old conviction that property was essential for the full achievement of the human personality. Something was wrong, therefore—as Thomas Jefferson saw¹³—when many men had no property. Something was wrong, too, for the prospects of human personality when freedom sent the penniless factory worker to negotiate single-handed a contract with an owner, or the landless peasant to deal with a great proprietor. These pregnant years of the first half of the century were demonstrating that seemingly inescapable paradox of man's finite destiny which decrees that a liberty which is not within hailing distance of equality is not really a human liberty. It is, rather, a citadel of privilege, something alien to the birthright of all men as envisaged in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and in the French proclamation of the Rights of Man.

When political privilege was added to the economic, the citadel was complete.

The citadel, however, rested on precarious foundations. There was hardly any man so libertarian that he was prepared to deny a paramount claim of society. In the realm of economic enterprise and, too, in the realms of intellec-

¹² For a discussion of the increased freedom of property in England see Albert V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1905), pp. 200 ff.

¹³ Jefferson to the Rev. James Madison, Fontainebleau, Oct. 28, 1785, Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950—), VIII, 682.

tual and spiritual enterprise, the ends of society could be achieved in one of two ways. The most direct was by means of social controls. The liberals rejected this alternative in favor of a wide latitude of individual freedom. But, caught in their commitment to social primacy, they could do so only on one logical condition: that, by some alchemy of the nature of things, there presided over free individual activities a benignant and harmonizing force which served the high claims of social justice. In a very literal sense, therefore, the liberalism of the first half of the century was nailing its case for freedom, for the full realization of the potentialities of the individual personality, to the future fortunes of capitalism.

It was difficult to provide a systematic justification for the position taken by these early liberals. An overt appeal to the heady doctrines of Natural Law was hardly feasible. Only a few were aware of how David Hume had used his scalpel,¹⁴ and Jeremy Bentham his brass knuckles,¹⁵ on that ancient mode of thought, but many were well aware, since the French Revolution, that Natural Law contained a far more dangerous set of axioms than the purposes of liberalism needed.

Nor was there much greater security in the utilitarianism preached by the genial sage of Ford Abbey. Bentham's ponderous writings also went too far. They were good for criticizing an outworn order, and they gave the liberals much needed help with their economic problems, but, when pushed by logic, Benthamism produced not liberals but radicals, radicals who were disposed at times to turn their syllogisms against the liberal order as well as against the old. Bentham himself demonstrated the radical potentialities of his method; he allowed his reasoning to lead him into democracy and republicanism and, no less to the consternation of the liberals, he impatiently laid down the thesis that there was no assignable boundary to the sovereign power of the state.¹⁶

Liberalism, therefore, had to feed on a different kind of meat. In England it was not bad form to go in for fairly systematic thinking about economics, but in politics it seemed safer to respect what was popularly considered the national distrust of an abstract proposition. In France the liberals were content—were, rather, compelled—to go through the motions of philosophizing while dodging the basic problems of political philosophy.¹⁷

¹⁴ In *Treatise of Human Nature*, first published in 1739–40.

¹⁵ In *Anarchical Fallacies: A Critical Examination of the Declaration of Rights*, written about 1791, in *Works*, II, part 2, pp. 489–534.

¹⁶ For the development of Bentham's radicalism see Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (New York, 1928), pp. 254–65, 415, and *passim*; Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians* (New York and London, 1900), I, chap. vi.

¹⁷ For further discussion see Roger Soltau, *French Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1931), introduction, chaps. I, III; Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European*

But however deficient this early liberalism was in a sound philosophic foundation, it was not wanting in uncritically embraced assumptions. To name some of them is to see the trick played upon itself by a professedly antimetaphysical generation: the belief in an abstract individual who stood in antithesis to the state, the sanctification of private property to the point that no liberal, or even Benthamite, was willing to subject it to the test of social utility, and, finally, the assurance that the selfish activities of atomistic individuals would, under that invisible hand celebrated by Adam Smith, add up to a maximum social benefaction. These foundation assumptions, one need hardly point out, were simply old Natural Law concepts carried over bag and baggage into the new century. For the time being, however, a philosophic inadequacy lay obscured behind material and political success.

In 1848 there burst over Europe a new revolutionary fury. For a fleeting moment many a liberal glimpsed a day of new triumphs, but only for a fleeting moment. That frenzied year was compounded of a variety of suddenly unleashed forces and they served notice, at times in brutal language, that the future did not necessarily belong to liberalism. Yet, for all the power of upsurging competitors, and for all the triumphs of the old order, liberalism defied the current epitaphs and went on to the period of its greatest victories. If liberalism after 1848 was living on borrowed time, it made good use of the loan. Liberalism in the first half of the century had been more a state of mind, a set of impulses, than the doctrine of a single political party. Gradually parties took shape which claimed to act as the special custodians of the credo and their services to the cause were great. Theirs, however, were by no means the only services rendered. The whole work of the great day of liberalism was not a monopoly product of party spirit, but the effect rather of a pervasive flow of conviction.

After 1848, as after 1814, the triumphs of reaction did not entail a complete turning back of the clock. In Italy the *statuto* of Piedmont-Sardinia remained in force;¹⁸ in Prussia a king who had recently advanced strong religious reasons for his despotism felt obliged to refashion a revolutionary document into a constitution emanating from his sovereign grace,¹⁹ and his successor in 1867 accepted as a matter of course a written instrument for the

Liberalism (London, 1927), pp. 158-73. Henry Michel, *L'idée de l'état* (Paris, 1896), p. 291: "Les Doctrinaires sont pauvres de doctrine, ou, si l'on aime mieux, leur doctrine consiste tout entière à expliquer, à justifier certains états de fait."

¹⁸ An English translation by S. M. Lindsay and Léo S. Rowe may be found in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, supplement to Vol. V (1894-95).

¹⁹ For the text temporarily accepted by the king of Prussia on December 5, 1848, see *State Papers*, XXXVII, 1378-90, and for the text of January 31, 1850, *ibid.*, XXXIX, 1025-39. A translation and commentary on the latter document by James Harvey Robinson may be found in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, supplement to Vol. V.

North German Confederation, a document which, with slight modification, became the constitution of the German empire in 1871.²⁰ In the Habsburg dominions new attempts at personal rule broke down and the *Ausgleich* of 1867 was a victory for constitutionalism as well as for Hungarian national feeling.²¹ This successful pressure went on until finally, before 1914, there was no state in Europe without some formalized procedures of calculable government. These gains, of course, had their uneven qualities when measured against the liberal ideal; at the same time, the continuing direction of European political development was seemingly beyond all doubt.

A signal feature of this heyday of liberalism was a great expansion of individual liberties. Not all police interference was confined, by any means, to Russia, but generally in Europe one individual freedom after another gained formal recognition and became more solidly embedded in social practice.

Among the freedoms most cherished by liberalism was that of religion. This zeal for an unrestrained right to worship as the individual saw fit, plus the inherently secular cast of liberal thought, precipitated serious conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities in the second half of the century. A perhaps inescapable series of clashes with Catholicism was made all the more certain by the determination of Pope Pius IX to strengthen the ultramontane forces within his spiritual dominion. Liberalism's response was a further reduction of church influence, state appropriation of ancient ecclesiastical functions, and denunciations of concordats by which earlier popes had hoped to tighten the bond between crown and altar. In Great Britain the tendency of legislation was in the same direction: disestablishment in Ireland, termination of the Anglican monopoly at Oxford and Cambridge, and progressive emancipation from various forms of religious disability.

As for economic liberty, the steady march of freedom in international trade from Huskisson's enactments, through the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Cobden-Chevalier treaty, on to imperial Germany's first economic legislation, is an oft-told tale. Equally representative of the strong current of liberalism was the victory of freedom in domestic enterprise. Nowhere was this conquest of a free economy more sweeping than in Germany. On top of administrative reforms and the rigorous application of the principles of the *Rechtsstaat*,²² German capitalism received independence so readily and so

²⁰ For the constitution of the North German Confederation, 1867, see *State Papers*, LVII, 296-313, and for that of the empire promulgated in 1871, *ibid.*, LXI, 58-76.

²¹ For the text of the "December Constitution" of Austria, December 22, 1867, see Edmund Bernatzik, *Die österreichischen Verfassungsgesetze mit Erläuterungen* (2d ed., Vienna, 1911), pp. 390-453.

²² For an introductory and illuminating discussion of German theories of the relation between the state and the individual from Kant through Jellinek see Ruggiero, part I, chap. III.

generously that its practitioners—unlike their predecessors in England and in France—never felt a driving necessity to win a political victory as a means of achieving economic freedom.

These great accomplishments were all aspects of the question of what the state should and should not do. In these same years after the middle of the century that other basic political question, the control of the state, was equally hammered on the anvil of controversy.

The formalized structure of government as inherited from the first half of the century continued to be a compromise between king, nobles, and the new version of the old third estate. Without launching a direct attack on outward forms, liberalism none the less tended to undermine that equilibrium of forces. Over Europe as a whole liberalism continued to have no doctrinal objection to monarchy. So exceptional was the latest French experiment after 1873 that Mr. H. A. L. Fisher on the eve of 1914 was led to his ill-fortuned surmise that there was no future in Europe for republicanism.²³ Kings, however, were no longer the real issue in the problem of executive authority; the real issue was the adoption of the British device of ministerial responsibility. Where the liberals were sufficiently powerful, they secured it; where they were not, they agitated for it, and in this preoccupation the question of monarchy steadily shriveled to an irrelevancy.

With respect to the nobility, its place also was subject to a continued erosion. In England a great acceleration of the ancient process of elevation to the peerage—so deftly satirized by the wag who spoke of the house of beers—tore away much of the old substance. The final blow, within the framework of bicameralism, came in 1911 when the lords lost their position as a fully co-ordinate legislative power. On the Continent the course of formal institutional growth was different, but the end result was even more drastic for the heirs of feudal privilege. Membership in upper houses became more and more a matter either of election or of appointment, and there were fewer and fewer men who could claim a seat as a right of birth.

While liberalism was chipping away at the privileges embodied in the old compromise, its own system of privilege was suffering attacks from two different directions. When the reactionaries of the Bourbon restoration in France proposed the enfranchisement of the lower classes as a means of swamping the bourgeois liberals,²⁴ they introduced an idea which was not

²³ H. A. L. Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe* (New York and London, 1911), chap. XIII.

²⁴ In 1815 the leading *ultras* of the chambers, at odds with the government of Louis XVIII and critical of the charter, asked for a wider suffrage. Villèle explained as follows: "From the beginning of the world . . . the middle class, envied by the lower and an enemy of the upper, has constituted the revolutionary party in all states. If you wish to have the upper class in your

easily to lose its attraction. In England an alliance of the upper and lower social strata to squeeze the middle was a part of Disraeli's political philosophizings, and on it he acted in pushing through his electoral reform bill of 1867.²⁵ In that same year Bismarck, moved by a variety of considerations, gave the North German Confederation a lower chamber elected by direct universal manhood suffrage.²⁶ In Belgium, the Catholic party, confident of the support of the peasants, voted extensions of the suffrage over the opposition of many of the liberal leaders.²⁷

On the other side of the liberal position, the pressure toward democracy became ever greater, championed as it was by the growing power of radicals and socialists. The dilemma for the liberals was increased by the fact that in times of need—for example in Paris during the crisis of the July Revolution and in Britain during the Reform Bill and Corn Law agitations—they themselves had not been above playing with the democratic fire. It was one thing, however, for the liberals to use the masses, to turn them on and off like a spigot; it was quite another to put the ballot into their hands. In addition to simple social prejudice, practical observations showed some ominous clouds on the horizon. There was danger that the bishops would command the vote of the faithful for their own illiberal purposes, and there was an even more threatening danger that a propertyless majority would lay reckless hand on the rights of property.

Pressure and persuasion, however, were not wholly to be defied, and gradually, hesitatingly liberalism began to move in the direction of political democracy. Yet it could not carry with it the whole body of its adherents. The conversion of Gladstone and the eventual splits of the liberal party in Britain are not unrepresentative of the whole experience of Europe.²⁸

assemblies, have it chosen by the auxiliaries which it has in the lower class, go as far down as you can and thus annul the middle class which alone is the one you have to fear" (S. Charléty, *La Restauration [1815-1830]* [Paris, 1921], p. 98).

²⁵ For brief summaries of Disraeli's political thought see Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 130-48, and Robert H. Murray, *Studies in the English Social and Political Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1929), I, chap. vi.

²⁶ For a number of years Bismarck had been moving toward the decision of 1867. On the one hand he was increasingly aware of the advantage for Prussia in German politics of an advanced position on suffrage. On the other, he had had more than occasion, since his advent to ministerial power in 1862, to regret the kind of majority which the three-class electoral system had sent to the Prussian Landtag. An astute student of Napoleon III, Bismarck well knew how the latter-day Bonaparte had capitalized universal suffrage for his own purposes. From 1862 to his death in 1864 the socialist Ferdinand Lassalle had pushed the Prussian minister-president toward broad electoral reform.

²⁷ Frans van Kalken, *La Belgique contemporaine (1780-1930): histoire d'une évolution politique* (Paris, 1930), p. 124; Jules Garson, *Frère-Orban* (Brussels, 1945), pp. 87-105.

²⁸ On May 11, 1864, Gladstone started a routine House of Commons debate by saying, "I venture to say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Con-

A new generation of writers rose up to put their pens at the service of the liberal cause, but the most striking efforts toward a philosophic validation were those of two Englishmen, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Mill in his tract *On Liberty* made, most assuredly, one of the world's great pleas for human freedom, yet his attempts to refurbish Benthamite utilitarianism left his cause lost in philosophic confusion. For all of his sympathetic open-mindedness, Mill could not go beyond the old assumption that there was a fundamental antagonism between the individual and the state. Herbert Spencer tried to lodge the same proposition in the ineluctable laws of science, but the more he elaborated his system the more he turned out to be a Procrustes who hacked in vain on the intellectual child of his own procreation. It was soon apparent that science was to be no more successful in finding one voice for the discussion of politics than religion had been.

Despite this continued poverty of theory, liberalism in the second half of the century accomplished a multitudinous work. Yet the high period of achievement lasted but a brief moment. Already in 1872 Disraeli likened the liberal government bench at Westminster to a range of exhausted volcanoes.²⁹ One may discount the hyperbole of a political novelist in opposition, but there was percipience in his analogy. The great Gladstone ministry came to a weary end in 1874 and could not repeat its triumphs in 1880. In 1879 the recently victorious liberal republicans in France came under Clemenceau's schismatic criticisms for excessive compromise. Equally in 1879 the national liberals in Germany were losing out and their colleagues in Austria, tarred like certain liberals in other countries by the crash of 1873, were falling into disrepute. Sterility and confusion were spreading over liberal Italy and comparable symptoms of malady showed themselves elsewhere. The old liberal ideas seemed to be losing their force and the liberal parties were breaking into discordant factions.

stitution" (Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 3d Ser., CLXXV, 324). John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1905), I, 759-65. One of his most irreconcilable colleagues in the liberal party was Robert Lowe, later Lord Sherbrooke. In the spring of 1866, during a new debate on suffrage extension, Lowe made a notorious attack on the idea of working-class suffrage, in which he said, among other things, "If you want venality, if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness, and facility for being intimidated; or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where do you look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top or to the bottom? . . ." (*ibid.*, 3d Ser., CLXXXII, 147-48). In France there appeared in the writings of Charles Renouvier and Emile Littré a hope to have a bourgeois pre-eminence within the framework of universal manhood suffrage. For an introductory exposition and a useful bibliography see John A. Scott, *Republican Ideas and the Liberal Tradition in France, 1870-1914* (New York, 1951), pp. 47-115. Emile Faguet belonged to the liberals who refused to make their peace with democracy. See his *Le libéralisme* (Paris, 1902), *Culte de l'incompétence* (Paris, 1910; English ed., London, 1911), and *L'horreur des responsabilités* (Paris, 1911; English ed., New York, 1914).

²⁹ William Flavelle Monypenny and George Earle Buckle, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield* (New York, 1929), II, 530-31.

The difficulties were of two kinds: crises within liberalism itself, and external blows from both the left and the right.

One of the great internal crises of later nineteenth-century liberalism has already been suggested: the debate on political democracy. The second was over the vexing question of what to do next. So much had been done within the old framework that the movement showed signs of reflecting John Bright's outlook when, in 1873, he said that the great causes to which he had devoted his public life had been brought to fruition.³⁰ A revival of energy required a new liberal principle, and a new liberal principle depended on a new analysis of the relation between individual liberty and the state, that problem on which Mill and Spencer had produced nothing new.

The crucial decision had eventually to be made on whether something should be done by the state about the social consequences of industrialization, the old question first raised by nonliberal humanitarians earlier in the century. Some liberals had found in the iron law of wages an argument against intervention; some had been torn in mind and spirit over the issue; but the dominant voice of the movement had happily assured the anxious and the outraged that economic freedom would find the answer. The march of the years, however, did not deal gently with these responses. The logical plausibilities of the iron law of wages persuaded no one to reconcile himself to a marginal existence, and, worse still, the spread of free industry, for all of its miracles, showed no signs of binding the wounds of humanity. The meagerness of the life of the lower orders was revealing all too clearly that the old combination of certain rights for all men and special rights for certain men was not, after all, a harmonious and defensible synthesis. If liberalism was to maintain its concern for the universality of its principles, if it was to rise above the charge of being simply a pig philosophy, it was going to have to follow the nonliberals in a critical assessment of the laissez-faire state.

Both in England and in France there was noteworthy thought which helped to clarify and to solve the problem for liberalism. Within its own arsenal there was a weapon that could be put to a new use, and that was Benthamite utility. Stripped of Bentham's own cumbersome rationalizations, the principle raised the simple but searching demand that every institution and every practice should be weighed in terms of a calculable social benefit. William Stanley Jevons invoked it in an important book published in 1882. Jevons proposed to go forward empirically with social questions, assessing the good and the bad of each suggestion as it arose without tenaciously holding onto the old presuppositions against state intervention.³¹ About the same

³⁰ George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (Boston, 1913), pp. 411-15.

³¹ William Stanley Jevons, *The State in Relation to Labour* (3d ed., London, 1894).

time, Thomas Hill Green approached the same set of problems from the point of view of an emerging school of British idealism. Green lodged the right and the necessity of positive state activity in its assistance to the moral self-realization of the individual.³²

In France a wide variety of students gave their attention to this question. Out of their discussions came the doctrine of *solidarité* which, like that of Green, put its emphasis on the inherent dignity and worth of the individual human being. To serve the high purpose of moral individuality, these French thinkers were prepared to place restrictions on, without abolishing as a matter of dogmatic principle, the rights of private property.³³

In so far as it rallied to such considerations, liberalism made a new affirmation of its concern for all men. After Gladstone was gone, the British liberal party became converted to the doctrine of the state as an engine of social betterment, and these same ideas were gaining ground on the Continent when the war came in 1914.³⁴ This reshaping of liberal thought, however, was not easily accomplished. The conception of a positive role of the state won out only at the expense of more divisions within the ranks of liberalism, as in the case of the move toward political democracy. The social group which, a generation and more earlier, had shown a high degree of cohesiveness, was beginning to break up.

This propensity for dissension appeared at the same time in another complex issue of state intervention. Disillusionment with the happy confidence of early liberalism was by no means limited to an acknowledgment of the poor fortunes of the proletariat. Time revealed, and especially the time after 1873, that all was not well with the fortunes of the middle possessing class.

In a period, accordingly, when the state loomed larger and larger as the ark of salvation, it was inescapable that uneasy entrepreneurs should also see in this erstwhile Moloch the instrument of their own redemption. Earlier, when Europe had lived under that regime of state intervention so inaccurately

³² Richard L. Nettleship, ed., *Works of Thomas Hill Green* (London, 1894-1900). "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation" may be found in Vol. II, and "Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract" in Vol. III. David G. Ritchie, *The Principles of State Interference* (2d ed., London, 1896), chap. IV; John MacCunn, *Six Radical Thinkers* (London, 1907), chap. VI.

³³ Charles Gide and Charles Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines* (New York, n.d.), pp. 587-607; Francis W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought* (New York, 1934), pp. 410-15; Scott, pp. 157-86; Michel, *L'idée de l'état*, pp. 581-622.

³⁴ The principle of the state as an agency of social reform must be distinguished from the proposition that the economically privileged classes should attempt through legislative benefactions to assuage the dissatisfactions of the less fortunate. This latter doctrine was articulated in a rough frankness when Joseph Chamberlain in 1884 and 1885 began to speak of the "ransom" which property would have to pay for its security. Charles W. Boyd, ed., *Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches* (London, 1914), I, 130-39; J. L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1932-51), I, 541-43. A comparable thought appeared in France in the writings of Emile Littré, who wished to undermine the revolutionary nature of the proletariat by a policy of "social conciliation" (Scott, pp. 100-105).

called mercantilism, the "sneaking arts" of the self-regarding pressure group had put an uncountable array of laws on the statute books. In the hard times of the 1870's and later, the growing practice of turning to the state offered an opportunity which industrialists and landowners could ill afford to overlook.

The whole story of Europe's abandonment of international free trade and its reversal of colonial policy cannot be told simply as the machinations of capitalists who had lost their nerve. At the same time, the work of the Central Union of German Manufacturers and comparable societies elsewhere leaves no doubt but that, in no small measure, the return to protection and imperialism was state intervention in economic enterprise for the direct benefit of the bourgeoisie.

The raising of these issues meant further splits and defections within the ranks of the liberal parties. In spite of the continued dedication of many liberals to the "sacred principle" of free trade, in spite of hesitations about imperial adventures, liberalism was perforce to some degree driven away from its older outlook, that outlook which had in it the vision of a peaceful world joined together by the bonds of unfettered trade.

While these internal crises were racking liberalism, the movement was suffering from a costly competition. In earlier times, the ancestral set of liberal ideas had engaged in what had been essentially a straight two-sided contest. When, however, the liberals began to search out their position after the French Revolution, they found that they no longer stood face to face with one antagonist; they were, rather, caught between two opponents, one to the left and one to the right. By the fourth quarter of the century, liberalism was beginning to feel keenly the disadvantageous consequences of its middle ground.

The appearance of socialist parties on the left was a somber warning that an awesome number of the proletarians of Europe would not accept the meager role which earlier thought had assigned to them at the bottom of the social scale. An earthy resentment, obviously, inspired these champions of a new social order, but a basic difference between the two movements undoubtedly contributed to the mass trooping of Europe's proletariat into socialism. Liberalism, born in compromise, and living in compromise, was unable to claim the possession of a rounded system of eternal verities. In contrast, Marx and the children of his spirit labored in the conviction that the universe was unequivocally on the side of the proletariat. This gospel would probably have been heart-warming and energizing at any time, but it came with a special force in the years after 1873—perhaps one might say after 1859

—when uncertainties were beginning to gnaw at the composure of the whole continent.

Election figures showed dramatically the pull of the socialist faith—and the damage done to the liberal parties. There was, however, an additional consequence. Regardless of whether the Marxist mastiff before 1914 had a bite equal to his bark, there was certainly more than enough noise to frighten the bourgeoisie. While, therefore, socialism attracted in one direction, it also exercised a powerful force of repulsion in the other. For many anxious possessors of private property, it looked as if the liberal parties, especially as they threatened to go back on a rigorous *laissez faire*, were supping with far too short a spoon, and there followed an exodus of uneasy liberals toward the antisocialist pole. Numerically it was much less imposing than the move into socialism, but it was far from insignificant in terms of political weight. In the perspective of today, these losses to the right were as fraught with consequences as were the defections to socialism.

The previous discussion has indicated that the ideas and institutions which liberalism had opposed in 1814 had suffered, under the fell clutch of nineteenth-century circumstance, a diminished fortune. Kings remained, but the rhetoric of a William II of Germany belonged, like the ceremonies of Westminster Abbey, to the political theater rather than to the work-a-day world of political fact. Nobles remained, too, and they were not without a force out of harmony with Bentham's dictum that each should count for one and only one. But here, as well, there was something reminiscent of the pages of Sir Walter Scott and the pageantry of Watteau rather than the prime stuff of life. It was symbolic of more than a German dilemma when the sons of Brandenburg contracted marriages among the daughters of Berlin and the Ruhr.

Of these earlier forces at odds with the major tenets of liberalism only the Roman Catholic Church was able to muster the energy for a counteroffensive. The Church had long seen no fury such as that of Pius IX when his Holiness returned to his dominions in 1849 after the storms of the revolution had driven him from Rome. During the next thirty years this ecclesiastical Hercules put the strength of ten times ten into the tasks of rescue, discipline, and defiance. The culminating eightieth of the errors of the day, said the Vatican *Syllabus* which excited all Europe in 1864, was the proposition that the Roman pontiff should reconcile himself to, and come to terms with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.³⁵ The growth of Catholic politi-

³⁵ The precise relation of Pope Pius IX himself to this document which was attached to one of his encyclicals became a subject of debate from the day of its publication. Many so-called liberal Catholics, and other Catholics to whom the adjective would not have been entirely agreeable, insisted that the *Syllabus*, as related to the pope's real intent, was not as rigorous as it

cal parties hostile to the intellectual outlook of liberalism and at times critical of its economic policies gave practical effect to at least a part of this guidance from Rome.

These efforts, imposing as they were in successfully girding the Church for battle, could not undo one development, and could not spare the Church one serious dilemma. In 1814 it had seemed to many anxious spirits a matter of transcendent importance to cement the bond between throne and altar, to commingle (as Croce bluntly put it)³⁶ the odors of the sacristy and the police station. In the decades which followed, the liberal spirit had done a work of destruction on that bond which could not be undone. And indeed, the Church, with its ancient sensitivity toward the state rearoused, was no longer ready with a unanimous verdict in favor of the old alliance, no matter how firmly Lamennais had been called to heel back in the thirties.³⁷ The distrust of the state in the mind of the converted Newman may well have had some connection with the Anglican Erastianism which he had repudiated, but elsewhere good Catholics among his contemporaries and successors could not be overly comfortable in their own souls about a secular institution which was undertaking so many functions that it threatened to forget the distinction between the things which were Caesar's and those which were God's.

Despite what remained of strength in the old conservatism, the menace to liberals coming from the right derived from another source. It was to be found in the *embourgeoisement* of conservatism, that is, in the defection of capitalists—and of that happy breed, the vicarious capitalists—from the ranks of their fathers. In the caravan of seceders were those who were apprehensive of that leap into the dark waters of political democracy, those who saw invasions of economic liberty in social legislation, and those who were aroused by the socialist war on private property and wanted a firmer ground of opposition.

Liberalism had exalted progress along with freedom and latterly had been attempting to adapt its ways and principles to new conditions. It was equally representative of a new trend that by the 1880's doubts as to the reality of progress were beginning to appear, and men in both England and France—men like Sir Henry Maine and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu—were invoking liberty as a barrier to the activities of a democratic state.³⁸ About the same time,

seemed. This thesis has received a recent expression in Thomas P. Neill, *The Rise and Decline of Liberalism* (Milwaukee, 1953), pp. 223-24.

³⁶ Benedetto Croce, *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1933), p. 93.

³⁷ E. L. (Sir Llewellyn) Woodward, *Three Studies in European Conservatism . . .* (London, 1929); Harold J. Laski, *Authority in the Modern State* (New Haven, 1919).

³⁸ Sir Henry Maine, *Popular Government* (New York, 1886); Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *Etat moderne et ses fonctions* (1st ed., Paris, 1889; 2d ed., Paris, 1900). The first three books of the latter were translated as *The Modern State in Relation to the Individual* (London, 1891).

while the liberal John Morley was warning his turbulent friend Joseph Chamberlain against talking about Natural Law,³⁹ the philosopher Ritchie found a noble lord before a Tory audience making capital for his party out of the arguments of old Tom Paine.⁴⁰

These references are only illustrative of the fact that people who had their hearts—and their fortunes—heavily invested in economic individualism were going over to the defensive, were organizing a holding operation which made their point of view, by any reasonable definition, conservatism. These new bourgeois conservatives could see no great injury to liberty in a protective tariff, but other forms of state intervention in economic enterprise they were disposed to regard as poison in the well-springs of individual initiative and responsibility. In so far as the old liberal parties no longer offered aid and comfort to such convictions, the anxious believers moved off to parties on the right.

It was a common concern for the security of private property which formed the bridge between the old and the new conservatism. Once upon a time aristocratic opponents of bourgeois liberals had innocently indulged in day dreams about an alliance with the lesser folk, but the latter part of the nineteenth century was no longer once upon that time. The disfranchised of the cities had shown no more willingness to follow the lead of the upper classes than that of the middle, and when such defiance had become a signal fact of European life, the men of two kinds of property, rural and urban, moved together.

At the same time these growing uncertainties and anxieties were conducive to a review of the place of religion in bourgeois life. There were precedents that could not have been entirely lost. Napoleon Bonaparte and John Wesley had in common at least the fact that they had shown the effectiveness of religion as a stabilizer of the social order. In the newer times of unrest men who once cherished anticlericalism as a fundamental part of their credo began to realize the utility of the church. But it was not just a matter, as with some of the leaders of the *Action française*, of pouring out an opiate for the masses. After 1848, men whose urban ancestors back in the Middle Ages had delighted in indelicate stories about the clergy, discovered that regularity at the mass, or at the sermon, was a hallmark of respectability and, for at least some of them, a source of spiritual relief. A generation later this reconciliation had made further strides, although he would be bold indeed who proposed to count the bourgeois noses that breathed piety and those that sniffed still the air of secularity.

³⁹ John Morley, *Recollections* (New York, 1917), I, 157–58.

⁴⁰ David G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights* (London, 1895), p. 15.

The Catholic Church, while welcoming the penitent and the timorous, had its own continuing problems of adjustment to the late nineteenth century. Its distrust of a headstrong state inspired caution in questions of governmental intervention in social problems; on the other hand, its compassion for the plight of the masses required search for a social agency of help. When in 1891, therefore, Pope Leo XIII prepared his encyclical *Rerum novarum*, he had no simple task. His concern for the working class won him the title of the workingman's pope, but at the same time he held out substantial comfort to the owning class. For all of its ameliorative proposals and adjurations, the papal pronouncement left the workers still workers, the bottom stratum of a hierarchical society; capitalist enterprise no less than private property received a certificate of sanctification, and socialism felt anew the lash of sacerdotal reprobation.⁴¹ Out in the provinces of the Church there appeared in time various social movements, some based on a concept of a so-called Christian socialism, which could not be reassuring for bourgeois conservatism, but the dominant tone of ecclesiastical utterances none the less assisted in the bourgeois drift to the right and in the reconciliation of the old conservatism with the new.

One further aspect of this newer conservatism requires emphasis: that was its moderation. Where the conservatives won out at the expense of the liberals, their victories did not affect the main contours of life. The temper of the time had its compass in Burke rather than in Joseph de Maistre and Adam Müller and the latter-day arch-reactionary, Heinrich Leo. Bismarck's principles, such as he had, allowed him to try to destroy liberal measures as readily as to adopt them, but even Bismarck was unable lastingly to root out what he had sown. Aside from this gargantuan creature, it would be difficult to find a political conservative of eminence during the second half of the century who wanted to do fundamental violence to the achievements of the liberal epoch.

It is true that the spirit of constitutionalism was still at times subverted, but there was no formal abandonment of a constitution where liberalism had won a solid achievement, and no formal reversal of the distribution of political power. In the life of the average European there was no significant loss of rights once gained. His legal protection remained intact and those personal freedoms of the old bill of rights, except for the transitory Bismarckian onslaughts, continued to command respect. There was no serious thought outside of Russia of repeating the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, or of reviving some-

⁴¹ A new and approved translation of *Rerum novarum* was issued in 1942 by the National Catholic Welfare Conference of Washington, D.C. A somewhat abridged text appears in Donald O. Wagner, *Social Reformers: Adam Smith to John Dewey* (New York, 1934), pp. 617-37.

thing like the judicial commission at Mainz which operated at about the moral and intellectual level of some of our present-day legislative investigations. On June 28, 1914, this average European moved more freely, read more freely, and talked more freely than ever before in the Continent's experience. To that extent, therefore, we may properly speak not only of the *embourgeoisement* of conservatism but also of its liberalization.

If the observations suggested up to this point were the whole story, the history of liberalism's troubles would be relatively simple, perhaps even relatively unimportant. There were, however, other chapters of portentous import.

The great affirmations of freedom out of which liberalism had drawn its spiritual nourishment vaunted individualism toward the point of making society a mere collection of atoms. In 1789 the Declaration of the Rights of Man had epitomized this way of thinking when it made no reference to a right of association. Jeremy Bentham, in turn, made one of the most extreme statements of the same conviction—"The community is a fictitious *body*"—yet only one of the most extreme statements.⁴² The concept of an atomistic social aggregate was, either explicitly or implicitly, a basic element of early liberalism.

As it turned out, the zealots who hurried on impatiently with the work of winning liberty for the individual operated on assumptions about the nature of man which were too single-minded. There were good grounds, both in the practicalities of life and in the impulses of man, which suggested to hordes of human beings something less than a complete espousal of atomization. As de Tocqueville explained it, "Through association private citizens can create very wealthy, very powerful, very influential beings, in a word, aristocrats."⁴³

The nineteenth century learned the philosopher's lesson well. In the field of economic enterprise, there was on one side a great growth of labor unions; there was on the other a tremendous expansion of corporations and, on top of them, cartels and those other complicated arrangements which leave the uninitiated in baffled confusion. Equally, in other fields of life the number of associations was beyond count. One thing about this gigantic proliferation of collectivities is inescapably clear. It played havoc with liberalism's starting assumption of an atomistic individualism. When the discussion moves from individual freedom to freedom of economic and religious and other associations, one is soon in a changed geography of politics. The issue may still be

⁴² Bentham, *Works*, I, 3; Wagner, p. 35.

⁴³ In a letter of 1842, Soltau, *French Political Thought*, pp. 51-52.

liberty, but it is no longer that of early liberalism. An inherently atomistic society is giving way to an inherently pluralistic society.

Behind the manifold practicalities of life which were conducive to the making of associations, there were impulses of man which drove the individual down from the isolated rock into the fold of a group. Jean Jacques Rousseau once pointed out that there was no great emotional satisfaction in contemplating one's membership in the whole body of mankind. And, in truth, the search for something bigger, something more significant, more transcendent than the self has found numerous havens in a smaller society. In the nineteenth century, as in all others, a wide array of corporate bodies gave a sense of belonging to lonely individuals, but the reasons of the heart seized most portentously on that essentially new apparition in the life of man, the nation.

The liberal of the early decades of the century could not fail to respond to the nobility of a Herder and a Mazzini. For one who believed in the freedom of an individual human being it was treacherously easy to espouse the freedom of a group of human beings making up a nation. Hence it was that liberalism rallied to the cause of the Greeks, suffered with the Poles, and gave its blessing to the dreams of Italy. Hence it was, too, that in Germany the liberal and the national aspirations appeared to be merely two sides of one and the same great avenue to felicity.

The upheavals of 1848 gave a harsh shock to this house of illusions. The debates in Frankfurt on the Poles, the Hungarian attitude toward the Slavs, were symptomatic of the new day that was struggling to birth. Soon thereafter came a reversal of a dimension to cast a long shadow. The conservatives, whose fathers had joined Metternich in rejecting this new folly, moved steadily forward to become the champions of nationalism. After the moral damage which Bismarck and Napoleon III and Cavour did to the idea of Europe, this virulent spirit stood revealed in its true colors—and on the other side of a gulf from the old liberalism.

Yet so pervasive, so compelling was the force of nationalism that it administered the most shattering blow which liberalism had had to suffer. Nationalism, like other trends, spelled defections from the liberal parties, but more disastrous still, it commanded the eventual capitulation of the parties themselves. Before 1914 the freedoms which liberalism had cultivated as the basic necessities of decent human life had actually become luxuries, marked for sacrifice on the national altar when the day of reckoning should come.

The growth of nationalism, then, represented an undermining of the

atomistic assumption of liberalism. It was, at the same time, symptomatic of the decline of another, and even more fundamental, article of the creed, belief in the inherent rationality of man and in the high value of intelligence in the ordering of human affairs.⁴⁴

It had become less and less easy to hold to the good eighteenth-century doctrine that man by taking thought could add one cubit to his stature. The industrious age of history-mindedness sounded the first warning. History had lost that dogmatic simplicity of the rationalists who held that Europe was what it was because of the tricks in times past of scheming priests and selfish politicians. Instead, historians were now disposed to picture European society as the slowly wrought product of a complex of change that was beyond the directing control of a group of men however bad—or however reasonable. Burke had warned in 1790 that one could not hurry history, and nineteenth-century experiences and researches seemingly confirmed his judgment.

But this dampening lesson in history was only introductory to the course in science which followed. In those black years of the fifties and sixties when nationalist irrationality was winning its most striking victories in international relations, science was beginning to consolidate its own empire. It was purportedly an empire of hard fact which had no place for philosophic values, but speculation crept in to set up a mechanistic cosmos propelled by blind force. The new biology seemingly revealed how irretrievably man was embedded in this realm of elemental impulse; sociology purported to expose the irrationalities of the social process, and psychology dealt out a whole series of blows in rapid succession. This thing called mind was a product, so it was said, of heredity; it carried the stamp of racial antecedents and it carried no less the merits and demerits of immediate parental stock. Here were doctrines subversive enough of the old assumption, but more damage yet was in store. The rational process turned out, by scientific finding, to be only a small part of the human psyche, the least important. Behind it, hidden but dominant, was the basic primitive force of life with its pounding drives, not for thought but for action.⁴⁵

The creature pictured in such terms bore only a coincidental external resemblance to the man of disembodied intellect posited by James Mill and to some degree assumed by the traditions of liberalism. A first reaction to

⁴⁴ For an excellent brief statement of the place of rationality in the liberal canon see George H. Sabine, "The Historical Position of Liberalism," *American Scholar*, X (December, 1940), 49–58, reprinted in Caroline F. Ware, ed., *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940), pp. 212–22.

⁴⁵ John H. Hallowell, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought* (New York, 1950), chap. xv gives a short and unsympathetic survey of these trends. See also his *Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology . . .* (Berkeley, 1943).

these disillusioning discoveries could only have been one of pessimism, and so it came about that Schopenhauer gained at last his vogue. But it is not given to Western man to sit long in nerveless passivity crying against the vanity of all things. If science had analyzed away a convincing moral goal of action, one could at least act, and one could do so in the scientifically validated conviction that action was an end in itself, the real purpose of life.

Studies and conclusions such as these began, of course, in the top intellectual stratum of Europe. In the last generation of the nineteenth century, however, ideas were seeping downward more rapidly than in less literate times, and, therefore, an ill-digested *mélange* of these ill-digested new thoughts began to spread into the shelters for the derelicts of Vienna, along the gutters of Switzerland, and even as far away as the waterfront of San Francisco. By the time the war came, however, the rocky strata of the middle class, although showing signs of strain toward the bottom, were still relatively impervious, and the ultimate fortunes of these extremes of illiberalism were still in the womb of time.

Yet most certainly in 1914 the old dream in which the European had been lured on toward the promised dawn of man's perfectability was becoming the private luxury of the willful somnambulist. Beneath the miracle of continually mounting wealth and the relentless drive toward democracy, the vitality of a once confident movement was declining. In the face of unforeseen economic developments, of uninspiring levels of practical politics, of weak philosophic bases, the people of Europe were turning away from the ideal which had so powerfully stirred their fathers and grandfathers.

Many harsh things have been said about liberalism—in the rolling Latin of Rome, in the quarrelsome idioms of Marxism, in the shrill tongues of the antirationalists. Some of the more moderate opponents have proposed to dismiss liberalism, or to discount it, as merely the rationalizations of the middle class on the make, rationalizations which were no longer of interest when middle-class fortune was made, and particularly when middle-class fortune was in jeopardy. Criticisms springing from dogmatic convictions can hardly be met without moving the debate to the dogmas themselves, but it may be in order to point out that the class interpretation of liberalism, however much truth there may be in it, contains a fallacy. The full significance of an ideal is not exhausted by an account of its origins, nor is an ideal to be judged exclusively in terms of some movement or vested interest which uses it for its own purposes.

The weaknesses of the way in which nineteenth-century liberalism clothed an ancient ideal are eminently apparent now that a newer century has half

gone by. The weaknesses, however, are not the whole story. Under the impact of the long swing of the pendulum in recent years it is perhaps easy to minimize liberalism's accomplishments and, also, to underestimate the strength of the governing ideal which, for all the blunders and crimes committed in its name, has had—and still has not by any means entirely lost—a dynamic power, the power arising from a vision of human freedom based on moral conviction. The means which the nineteenth century adopted were not adequate for the realization of the vision; the problems were too complex for the insights of those intellectually unprepared generations. But the vision was there, and it has been passed on, though it be damaged at the hands of both the liberals and their rivals and enemies.

Today's sobering knowledge warns that, at best, the achievement of the ideal has been postponed beyond the time once so happily expected. It may be that mankind can never really attain a secured liberty, that it must go on working toward it, like old Sisyphus, with little hope of success until the day of doom. But even if the prospect is that meager, for one who loves liberty it seems surely that mankind could not be better employed.

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The Distinguished Negro in America, 1770-1936

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I

EXCEPT for an occasional Nat Turner, Booker T. Washington, or George W. Carver, the Negro as a person is missing from the textbooks from which the millions learn their history. The race has bulked large as a theme in American historiography, but such treatment has been largely preoccupied with Negroes *en masse* and as a "problem," and has rarely extended to individual, creative Negroes and their contributions to American society. It may be supposed that white, college-bred Americans can identify very few of the most celebrated Negroes who attained prominence of some sort before World War I.

A search of the 14,285 sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, reveals that only 89 of the number—about six tenths of one per cent—treat Negroes, and the selections reflect an honest application of impartial standards. If a conservative twelve per cent be taken as the average proportion of Negroes to the total population in the entire span of American history to 1936 it would follow, if the Negro's opportunity had equaled that of the whites, that some 1,700 colored notables might have found their way into the *DAB*. And if the number of Negroes in *Who's Who in America* since that time is a valid measure (it is admittedly a precarious one), it appears that both the small number of Negroes in the *DAB* and the extremely limited number of fields in which they were concentrated traced a pattern that persisted well into the twentieth century.¹

The roster compiled for this paper identifies some 215 of the most celebrated Negroes in the American past. It makes no pretense at cataloguing every person of African descent who made his name a familiar and honored

¹ *Who's Who in America, 1936-1937* with a total of 31,434 entries, includes a hundred Negroes (0.32 per cent); the volume for 1944-1945, only 91 (0.27 per cent), in a total of 33,839. The index of the *DAB* lists nearly 700 occupations, avocations, and other roles in which the biographees fall. In approximately 98 per cent of these areas where Americans have achieved the kind of distinction that is celebrated in biographical dictionaries, not a Negro appears. On the other hand, no less than 33 of the 100 Negroes in the 1936-1937 *Who's Who* are in the single category of leaders in the Negro church. See Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1937-1938* (Tuskegee, 1937); and also the volume for 1947, edited by Jessie P. Guzman (Tuskegee, 1947).

one beyond his own time and place; still less does it purport to call the roll of the "greatest" or ablest, for it has been steadily assumed in this investigation that greatness and renown are only distantly related, that achievement is far from being a straight function of capacity, and that fame is all too often merely a matter of blundering into precisely the right place at the right time in the right company.

The problem of enumerating distinguished Negroes in the American record is a formidable one. In determining his standards for inclusion, the writer reckoned with two elements. He tried to employ the measuring rod used by the editors of the *DAB* ("In general, only those are included in the following pages who have made some significant contribution to American life in its manifold aspects. The Dictionary cannot find space for average or merely typical figures, however estimable they may be" [I, vii]). But a strict construction of this principle seems too exclusive when one is inscribing the names of those who stood in the vanguard of the Negro race as it climbed from slavery; achievements that may appear short of memorable in the context of the whole population can be far from average in another frame, and scrutiny of the Negro notables may reveal many who, unless they are measured against opportunity, are not conspicuous for talent or achievement. A second criterion, therefore, was the extent of each candidate's renown, especially among Negroes, as expressed by the attention paid them in print—from scholarly works to popular periodicals. The relative preponderance of the two elements varies greatly from individual to individual. A person of genuinely outstanding achievement is listed even though he did not win mass acclaim; but, on the other hand, a more widely noticed individual whose fame rests on more modest grounds was considered equally eligible. But when great popularity rested on evanescent "distinction" (in this category the writer would—perhaps arbitrarily—place heroes of the world of sport, light music, tap-dancing, and the like), the name was discarded.²

² The critical relevance for this paper of his own list's validity is the writer's apology for a lengthy note on his method in assembling it. It is emphasized that the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the present study differ widely in purpose, and there is no intention here to "improve" upon the *DAB*'s selection. In the case of persons who had died before January 1, 1936, the problem of selection was measurably simplified by access to the *Dictionary*. The high critical standards of that work justified, in the author's judgment, the inclusion in his own list of all the Negroes listed in that work. It was necessary to scan all of the biographical sketches in the *DAB* to cull out those describing Negroes. That done, the writer examined the standard general histories (all of them were written by Negroes): John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1947); Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (8th ed; Washington, 1945); Benjamin Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921); George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America* (2 vols., New York, 1882). Of particular interest, not for critical scholarship but for the frank intention which its title implies, is another history, Merle Eppse, *The Negro, Too, in American History* (Chicago, 1939). Extremely valuable from other points of view were William E. B. DuBois, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York, 1939); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949); and Gunnar Myrdal, *An American*

Of the 126 names added to those in the *DAB*, some (like Benjamin Banneker, Sojourner Truth, Alexander Crummell, Charles W. Chesnutt) are very much more celebrated among Negroes and by their historians than many of those in the *Dictionary*; and some of the *DAB* selections (e.g., James Beckwourth, Camille Thierry, Edward Roye, George Young) are not usually identified as eminent American Negroes at all. Moreover the *DAB*, its supplementary volume included, lists no persons who were still living after 1935, and therefore does not take into account a remarkable develop-

Dilemma (2 vols., New York, 1944). Much information concerning outstanding Negro personalities was gleaned from Benjamin Brawley, *The Negro Genius* (New York, 1947); and two older, uncritical works: William Wells Brown, *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (New York, 1863); and William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* (Cleveland, 1887). Vernon Loggins, *The Negro Author: His Development in America* (New York, 1931), by a white scholar, had a much wider relevance to this study than the title suggests. Immensely useful also was William E. B. DuBois and Guy B. Johnson, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Negro* (preparatory vol., New York, 1946), a catalogue of all the topics, including persons, that were to have been the subjects of sketches in that projected work. While analyzing the foregoing books, the writer entered upon a tally sheet the individuals singled out for particular mention, noting by means of a (necessarily) makeshift weighted index the relative importance assigned to each, judged especially by the regularity of mention in the whole range of works and the emphasis allotted to the several candidates. This device was continued in the course of an examination of the complete files of the *Journal of Negro History* (Washington, 1916—) and the *Negro History Bulletin* (Washington, 1937—), both published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; the *Journal of Negro Education* (Washington, 1937—), of Howard University; *Phylon* (Atlanta, 1940—), of Atlanta University; *Opportunity* (New York, 1923—), published by the National Urban League; *Crisis* (New York, 1910—), an organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and two popular monthlies, *Ebony* (Chicago, 1945—), and the *Negro Digest* (Chicago, 1942—). This whole list of books and periodicals will be cited collectively hereafter as "Basic Bibliography." The list was further checked against the judgment of specialists whose books, monographs, and articles (many of them cited in the footnotes that follow) deal separately with Negro antislavery leaders, Negro art, music, and religion, the Negro economy, Negroes in politics, studies of individual Negroes, histories of American literature in general and of Negro literature in particular, and the like. For the period after 1900, many of whose notables were still living in 1936, the investigation could no longer lean upon the *DAB*, and additional resources had to be pressed into service to supplement the Basic Bibliography. The starting point was the group of 100 Negroes in the 1936-1937 volume of *Who's Who in America*. Because the standards of selection in *Who's Who* are not so high as those for the *DAB* (the single volume for 1936-1937 contains more than twice as many biographies as does the whole of the *DAB*, which spans more than three centuries), and because, of course, in view of its widely different purpose, *Who's Who's* selections are not subjected to the same scholarly evaluations that mark the *DAB's* choices, the *Who's Who* entries were analyzed in the course of this study and compared with the data already assembled from the Basic Bibliography and the special studies described above. Further evaluation of the candidates was made in the light of suggestions from the 1937, 1942, and 1947 volumes of the *Negro Year Book* (cited) and issues of Florence Murray, ed., *Negro Handbook* (New York, 1942, 1944, 1947, 1949), as well as the several volumes of *Who's Who in Colored America* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1933, 1938, 1941, 1950). Lists of the winners of the annual Harmon Awards and Spingarn Medals for distinguished achievement were studied, and not overlooked were critical reviews and notices, in general and special periodicals, of the work of Negro artists, writers, and musicians. Important information and interpretations were also provided by such books as Roi Ottley, *New World A-Coming* (Boston, 1943), Jay Saunders Redding, *No Day of Triumph* (New York, 1942), James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York, 1930), and *id.*, *Along This Way* (New York, 1933). This procedure led the writer to omit from his list some of those entered in *Who's Who in America* and to include some who were not listed in that work at all. As this paper's roll of distinguished Negroes is accumulated in subsequent footnotes, the first mention of each name taken from the *DAB* is starred (*) to distinguish it from names selected for the compilation by the author. The evidence upon which his own choices were made is then indicated.

ment affecting the generation whose careers were launched in the post-World War I years and who were in mid-career at the *DAB*'s closing date. By setting the terminal date for this study at 1936 the writer limits his investigation to (a) those whose careers had already been closed by death at that time, and (b) those, then living, whose claim to more than passing attention, already apparent by 1936, seems now to have been confirmed.

The list as a whole may be conveniently divided—with the usual hazards that such division encounters—into four periods, each with a character of its own and reflecting the wider aspects of contemporary American social history. No single trait is more characteristic of the whole group of distinguished Negroes than their commitment to the American culture pattern. In the process of transplantation to America, the race was cut clean from its native culture, and thereafter, during two centuries of bondage, its role in America made the identification of the American Negro with an African culture unthinkable. At the same time, a kind of caste system barred it from full participation in native American society. The response was the gradual building by the Negro, severely limited by the materials at his disposal, of a replica of white American culture on his own side of the color line, an enclave stamped with the features of its model and carrying over familiar designs of social stratification based eventually on inheritance, wealth, vocation, and education. But, from the moment the Negro counterpart of American society began to emerge, the premises from which both derived their sanctions turned the thoughts of the leaders of the Negro community to the day when the color line would waver and break and the copy merge with its original.³

II

If a central tendency in American social history in the half century following 1770 was the effort to found a native American order, the same effort engaged the Negro leader. Denied full participation in that process in the white man's institutions, he proceeded to build his own, beginning with the church, the school, and the fraternal order. Other members of the race found self-expression in letters and in learning, and still others began the assault upon slavery and caste. Twenty-six persons have been selected to represent the first period, 1770-1831: (a) three Revolutionary heroes, (b) two who may be called men of science, (c) three pioneer literary figures, (d) four chiefly

³ For further development of this point of view, see Alain Locke, "The American Negro as Artist," *American Magazine of Art*, XXIII (September, 1931), 216-20; Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, *passim*; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (July, 1937), 57-71.

noted as articulate champions of Negro advance, (e) three plotters of insurrection, and (f) eleven religious leaders.⁴

Diverse though it was, this group presents at least three uniformities. First, all were in some sort Negro pioneers: first to die for America, to win glory in her wars, to become published writers, to initiate an independent Negro church or to establish congregations for Negroes in the white man's denominations, and the like. Second, such distinctions as they achieved were not won in competition with whites. Though they fall into two general groups from this point of view—those who demonstrated the Negro's capacity to make some contribution to society and so furnished their race with new claims upon their white countrymen, and those who made some overt attack upon the white man's arrogations—they had in common the fact that each is remembered for furnishing leadership somehow in the struggle to raise the Negro's condition. Third, these folk for the most part made their mark on their own initiative—often encouraged by sympathetic whites, to be sure—but not as sponsored agents of white organizations and their programs.⁵

⁴ (a) Crispus Attucks,* hero of the "Boston Massacre"; Peter Salem and Salem Poor, who distinguished themselves at Bunker Hill. (b) Benjamin Banneker, mathematician and almanac-maker; James Derham, pioneer Negro physician. (c) Jupiter Hammon* and Phillis Wheatley,* poets, and Gustava Vassa, author of a remarkable autobiography. (d) Paul Cuffe,* successful champion of suffrage for the free Negro in Massachusetts; Elijah Johnson,* a founder of Liberia; David Walker,* abolition pamphleteer; and James Forten.* (e) Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey,* and Nat Turner.* (f) Richard Allen,* Andrew Bryan and George Liele, pioneer Baptist preachers; James Varick,* founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; David Coker, Absalom Jones, and Morris Brown,* early African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church leaders; Lemuel Haynes; Lott Cary,* Baptist missionary to Africa; John Chavis,* educator and Presbyterian preacher; Prince Hall, founder of Negro Masonry. Of the 14 names added here to those supplied by the *DAB*, all were clearly indicated by the Basic Bibliography. Extreme claims for some of them are made by a distinguished scholar in DuBois, *Black Folk, Then and Now*, *passim*. For additional evidence of their prominence as leading Negroes see, e.g., Henry Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer," *Journal of Negro History*, III (April, 1918), 99-118, and the series, "The Real Benjamin Banneker," by William B. Settle, in four successive issues of *Negro History Bulletin*, beginning January, 1953. Additional testimony to support the status of James Derham as an eminent Negro is in Kelly Miller, "The Historic Background of the Negro Physician," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, I (April, 1916), 99-109. On Vassa consult Brawley, *Negro Genius*, pp. 28-30, and Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 16-29. Gabriel Prosser is frequently encountered in the Basic Bibliography, but see also Herbert Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860* (Washington, 1939), pp. 27-31. Bryan, Liele, Coker, and Jones are among the most familiar names in the early history of the Negro church: Carter G. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church* (second edition, Washington, 1921), pp. 42-53, 74-75; "The Negro in Pennsylvania," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (December, 1941), 52-58; Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (Washington, 1935), *passim*; Loggins, pp. 62-63; Charles Henry Huberich, *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia* (2 vols., New York, 1947), I, 144; James W. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860*, XCVII, no. 3, in "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" (New York, 1921), pp. 203-205, 217; John W. Davis, "George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, III (April, 1918), 119-27. The stature of Lemuel Haynes is indicated in W. H. Morse, "Lemuel Haynes," *ibid.*, IV (January, 1919), 22-32, and Loggins, pp. 117-26. On Prince Hall consult Harry E. Davis, "Documents Relating to Negro Masonry," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXI (October, 1936), 411-32; Loggins, pp. 53, 83-85; Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement* (New York, 1941), p. 30.

⁵ Banneker, for example, stirred in Thomas Jefferson the hope that proof might be some day

Pre-eminent among the religious leaders is Richard Allen, founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Goaded by the whites' rising sentiment—in the North, be it noted—for segregation in Methodist congregations, Allen was instrumental in the establishment of a separate denomination for Negroes (1816) and attained at once the stature of a race leader hitherto not achieved by any Negro and thereafter unequaled until the rise of Frederick Douglass. The Negro church was not only the first but for many years the only major social institution created by and for Negroes. The pastor and the denominational spokesman were henceforth peculiarly the leaders of the race, for the Negro minister's function quickly became a much wider one than that of his white counterpart.⁶

Among the early crusaders for Negro rights James Forten, a wealthy free Negro of Philadelphia, was outstanding as an opponent of colonization schemes and as the founder of pre-Garrisonian abolitionism in America. One careful student sees in Forten the central figure in "the most important single event in the anti-slavery crusade."⁷

In the whole group of twenty-six were nine who had never been slaves, four of them natives of the North, four of the South, and one of the West Indies. Fourteen are known to have been slaves,⁸ six in the North and eight in the South, including two (Wheatley and Vassa) who were snatched from Africa during childhood. The status of three others is not known. Three of the slaves never became free (Hammon, Prosser, and Turner); and of the nine who did, only one did so by flight and the rest were either freely manumitted or purchased by themselves or friends or relatives. Only four

forthcoming that would enable him to abandon his reluctant belief in the inferiority of the race; and the performance of James Derham won extravagant praise from Benjamin Rush. Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer," pp. 99-118; Miller, "Historic Background of the Negro Physician," pp. 99-109. The three belles-lettrists, particularly Phillis Wheatley, though severely imitative, furnished evidence of the consonance of high intellectual and aesthetic qualities with Negro blood that has ever since been cited to bolster the Negro's case for the inherent equality of races. For a characterization of Miss Wheatley as the leading American writer of her day, by a foremost Negro scholar, see DuBois, *Black Folk, Then and Now*, p. 218. See also Loggins, pp. 9-30, 40-47; Benjamin Brawley, *Early American Negro Writers* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 21-74; *DAB*, VIII, 201, XX, 36.

⁶ On Allen as the foremost Negro leader of his time, see Wesley, *Richard Allen*; David Walker, *Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular and very Expressly to those of the United States of America . . .* (3d ed.; Boston, 1830), pp. 65-66. For the role of the Negro church and its leaders, see Daniel Alexander Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, 1891); Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*; Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York, 1933); Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 334-66.

⁷ Whereas the colonization idea and the American Colonization Society premised their program on the racial inferiority and social unassimilability of Negroes, the Garrison-Weld movement came to be grounded on the doctrine of equality, thanks in large measure to Forten, who did much to convert Weld and Garrison to that view. Ray Allen Billington, "James Forten: Forgotten Abolitionist," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, XIII (November, 1949), 31-36, 45.

⁸ Attrucks, Derham, Hammon, Wheatley, Vassa, Prosser, Vesey, Turner, Allen, Bryan, Cary, Coker, Jones, Liele.

of the twenty-six are described as "pure" blacks (Wheatley, Cary, Chavis, and Jones); the racial admixture of three is not known (Poor, Salem, Varick), and all the others were evidently mulattoes.⁹

Seven of the group laid the foundations for their renown in the South, four achieved prominence by their accomplishments outside America (Cary and Johnson in Liberia, Vassa in England, Liele in Jamaica), and fifteen won distinction in the North. Of the thirteen born in the South or brought there from Africa, seven remained in the section, four achieved their renown abroad, and two attained note after removal to the North. None of the whole company migrated to the South to make his contribution.

The educational preparation of three is not known (Attucks, Salem, Poor); of the other twenty-three none remained illiterate, though most of them attended no school but obtained what instruction they had by their own efforts or through the help of relatives or whites. The exceptions were Banneker; Forten, and Brown, who attended schools for free Negroes; Chavis, who had some college training; and Haynes, who attended schools for white children in Connecticut and apparently studied for a time at Dartmouth College.

III

This first group of eminent Negroes was composed primarily of men who had absorbed the culture of the whites and strove to extend it to more of their race. In the next generation a larger company of these acculturated leaders were characteristically men who found economic and civil disabilities intolerable precisely because they had assimilated so much of American culture. Such men moved naturally into the antislavery crusade because, through racial discrimination, they had themselves become identified with the enslaved Negro. This second period, 1831-1865, was in the nation's social history pre-eminently the time of the "rise of the common man," effectuated by wide-ranging reform efforts increasingly channeled into the antislavery movement. The Negro leadership adjusted itself easily to this formula and, convinced of the futility of slave revolts on the Turner model, worked now in close association with a growing army of Northern folk who espoused positive programs.

Just as the religious leader, typified by Allen, had dominated the previous period, so the next phase of Negro history saw the abolitionist-Negro-rights-

⁹ The term "mulatto" is loosely used in this study to denote persons of mixed Negro and Caucasian blood. Data concerning racial antecedents of the individuals are often given in accounts in the *DAB* or in the sources noted in note 2 above. In some instances the author has relied for information on this point on a somewhat controversial work, Edward Byron Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918).

crusader, epitomized in Frederick Douglass, move to the fore.¹⁰ Of the thirty-seven notable Negroes primarily associated with this period, no less than twenty-eight¹¹ are remembered chiefly for their contribution to that cause, and of the twenty-eight at least ten were or had been clergymen. Only one of the

¹⁰ This is not to say that the influence of the Negro church and its leaders waned; on the contrary, it remained more than ever the dominant institutional force in the Negro community. But with the pioneer work accomplished, independent denominations or congregations founded, and a network of other religious agencies already in being, even the most brilliant and industrious divine was less likely to stand out than his predecessors had been. Meanwhile in the South, where the Negro's religious institutions had not developed so far, the work was virtually halted by the legal and social pressures evoked by the Vesey and Turner risings.

¹¹ James Madison Bell,* William Wells Brown,* Samuel Cornish, John B. Russwurm,* Frederick Douglass,* Henry Highland Garnet,* Anthony Burns,* Josiah Henson,* Lunsford Lane, Jermain Loguen,* William Cooper Nell,* James W. C. Pennington,* Robert Purvis, Charles Bennett Ray,* Charles Lennox Remond,* Joseph Jenkins Roberts,* Edward James Royce,* David Ruggles, Prince Saunders,* Dred Scott,* James McCune Smith,* William Still,* Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman,* Samuel Ringgold Ward,* Martin R. Delaney,* James Whitfield, Alexander Crummell. Several of these persons are almost as well known for other accomplishments as for their association with the Negro rights movement. Bell and Whitfield were among the chief Negro poets of their time; Brown and Nell were the ablest historians that the race had yet produced; Cornish was the first editor and journalist; Russwurm became the first superintendent of public schools in Liberia; and Garnet was for a time widely known as a pastor of a white Presbyterian congregation in Troy, New York. Henson, the reputed original of Mrs. Stowe's world-famous fictional character, virtually made a career of being Uncle Tom; Loguen was a prominent bishop of the A.M.E.Z. Church; Pennington twice served as president of the Hartford Association of Congregational Ministers, an organization of which he was the sole Negro member. Ruggles enjoyed a measure of fame as a "hydropathist" at the Ruggles Water Cure Establishment in Northampton, Massachusetts, and Smith was both a successful physician and proprietor of what is believed to be the first pharmacy operated in the United States by a Negro. Still's service on the Underground Railroad enabled him to write the large volume on the history of that enterprise that keeps his memory alive among historians. Ward was noted for his pulpit eloquence and was minister to a white congregation in Courtland, New York. Delaney was the first Negro to hold the rank of major in the United States Army. Crummell, an eminent anti-slavery crusader and clergyman, later spent twenty years in Liberia, and then after his return to the United States was a sort of elder statesman to the race until his death in 1898. The pulpit oratory of his later years is still considered one of the American Negro's highest literary accomplishments, and he is regarded as one of the most effective spokesmen of the doctrine of challenge in the era when his people were more inclined toward the "Atlanta Compromise" philosophy of Booker Washington. Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 199-209, 299, 301. See also William E. B. DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 215-27. All of the anti-slavery workers here drawn from the *DAB* are heavily emphasized in the Basic Bibliography. The writer's decision to add the other names is based both on the Basic Bibliography and on the testimony afforded by many other works. See especially Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, II, 737; John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina*, "Johns Hopkins University Studies," Series XVI, no. 6 (Baltimore, 1898), pp. 60-74; Sherman Savage, "The Influence of John Chavis and Lunsford Lane on the History of North Carolina," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXV (January, 1940), 14-24; Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, Northern Slave* (Boston, 1850); Mary Derby, "Sojourner Truth," *Opportunity*, XVIII (June, 1940), 167-69; Arthur Huff Fauset, *Sojourner Truth: God's Faithful Pilgrim* (Chapel Hill, 1938); Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898), *passim*; L. D. Riddick, "Samuel Cornish," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (November, 1941), 38; Bella Gross, "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XVII (July, 1932), 246-86; Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, p. 495; Dorothy B. Porter, "David Ruggles, an Apostle of Human Rights," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXVIII (January, 1943), 23-50; Helen Boardman, in *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (November, 1941), 39-40; Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 78-82, 209, 66-69, 219-22, 301; Brawley, *Early Writers*, pp. 299-301; DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk*, pp. 215-27; Brown, *Black Man*, pp. 165-69, 253-59; Pauline C. Johnson, "Robert Purvis," *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (December, 1941), 65-66; William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 711. Whitfield, like Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (who appears later in this study), is more often identified as a poet than as an anti-slavery leader, but he threw his greatest energies into the abolitionist effort. See Brawley, *Early Writers*, pp. 228, 261-63, 290-92; Loggins, pp. 235-48; Brown, pp. 152, 160, 223-27.

larger group of thirty-seven was a church leader whose fame lay outside the Negro-rights movement.¹² Of the remaining nine, (a) four were writers of belles lettres, (b) one was a Shakespearean actor, (c) one a concert singer, (d) one an inventor, (e) and one is listed in the *DAB* as a "hunter, squaw man, and raconteur."¹³

The great majority of the apostles of Negro rights sought to end slavery and to achieve first-class citizenship for free Negroes.¹⁴ Many made their contribution by writing or lecturing; several wrote "personal narratives," usually encouraged by, or directly in behalf of, antislavery and benevolent societies who helped polish the literature and give it circulation. Others were associated with abolitionist journals like those of Garrison or of Negro editors like Cornish. Some Negro abolitionists served as organizers and agents, some of them salaried, for antislavery groups; some, like Cornish, Douglass, and Purvis, were high officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. More dramatic were the exploits of at least ten of the list, who engaged in the direct rescue of slaves through the Underground Railroad.¹⁵

¹² Bishop John Mifflin Brown,* also noted for efforts to promote higher education for Negroes.

¹³ (a) Victor Séjour,* playwright, and Camille Thierry,* George Moses Horton, and George B. Vashon, poets. Séjour and Thierry were of Louisiana French-Creole stock and made their careers in France. (b) Ira Aldridge.* Finding his own country unready to support a colored dramatic genius, he achieved high renown in England and then made his home there. (c) Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, perhaps the greatest Negro singer in America before 1865. (d) Norbert Rillieux, of mixed French and Negro descent, inventor of apparatus that proved to be of critical importance to the sugar-making interest of Louisiana. (e) James P. Beckwourth.* The claims of Horton, Vashon, Mrs. Greenfield, and Rillieux are strongly set forth in the Basic Bibliography and elsewhere. See especially Loggins, *Negro Author*, Brown, *Black Man*, and Brawley, *Social History, Early Writers*, and *Negro Genius*. Additional support for Rillieux is in Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, II (January, 1917), 21-36.

¹⁴ A minority of them were, instead, advocates of colonization. Roberts and Royce made their careers in Liberia. It is doubtful that Saunders' interest in emigration went far beyond an attempt to make a career for himself in the court of Christophe in Haiti. Delaney, Russwurm, and Whitfield were emigration propagandists, though Delaney returned to the opposition and Russwurm had earlier been a vigorous opponent of the scheme. The emigrationists of this period, like those associated with the Garvey movement in the twentieth century, represent an aberration from the central trend toward an American culture for Negroes. Neither had much hope of success. See Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, pp. 185-86, 746-49, 805-807, and Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, XLIII, 57-71.

¹⁵ An extensive bibliography of antislavery writings by Negro authors is in Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 408-39. Active in the physical rescue of slaves were such figures as Brown, Garnet, Henson, Purvis, Ray, Smith, Still, and that celebrated "Moses of her people," Harriet Tubman. Consult, Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, and Still, *Underground Railroad*. See also Aptheker, *Negro in the Abolitionist Movement*, and Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman* (Washington, 1943). Important also were the first major breaches in the segregation pattern in public conveyances in large Northern cities, accomplished by the efforts of Still and Pennington, and the first successful attack, by Nell, upon discrimination in federal employment. *DAB*, XIII, 413; XIV, 441; XVIII, 22; *Negro Hist. Bull.*, V (November, December, 1941), 31, 50-51. The period also saw the establishment, under the leadership of the persons on this list, of a number of institutions for Negroes, including the YMCA, schools and colleges, and homes for orphans, the indigent, and the aged. Notice should also be taken of the important "Convention Movement," in which nearly all of the foregoing antislavery advocates participated in some degree, at first under the chairmanship of Richard Allen and later under Frederick Douglass. Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 79 f.

The efforts of the colored abolitionists were significantly correlated because the individuals were sponsored operatives, but differences over strategy and tactics often divided them, reflecting both diverse philosophies and friction between rival leaders surprisingly jealous of each other. They disagreed about the wisdom of working through political parties, of establishing an independent Negro abolitionist press, and even about the pace of the campaign.¹⁶

Of the thirty-seven selected for this period, fourteen were born in slavery, fourteen were Northern free-born persons, another was fathered by a white man in Jamaica, and eight (at least seven of whom were predominantly white) were born free in the South. Eight of the whole number are presumed to have been unmixed blacks or nearly so; the racial make-up of five others is not known; all the rest are considered mulattoes. Only two of the slaves remained in servitude, one was freed under the New York manumission laws, one by voluntary manumission, two by purchase, and eight are known to have fled—all of them from border states. Five of the thirty-seven were Southerners who attained prominence by performance in the South, but none came into the section from elsewhere. Seven made their major accomplishments abroad (Aldridge, Roberts, Russwurm, Roye, Saunders, Séjour, and Thierry), and of these, three had left the South, four the North. A number of the group are noted for accomplishments both in the North and in other countries, and the remainder for work in the North alone, eleven of them original Northerners and the others Southerners.

This group exhibits extreme variations in educational attainment. Three were illiterate (Tubman, Truth, and Scott), while nine achieved literacy without elementary school instruction. All in both these categories had once been slaves. Of the remaining twenty-five, the educational history of five is not known, and the other twenty had at least some common school education. Only three did so in the South: Roberts, who was at least seven-eighths white, and Séjour and Thierry, both born to means and identified with French-Creole stock rather than the Negro race. Those who attended elementary schools in the North went to standard public schools, public schools for Negroes, or special schools established for free persons of color by manumission societies, Quakers, or other friends of the race. Several attended secondary and higher schools, all of them white men's academies and col-

¹⁶ Douglass himself at first opposed the use of party politics and a Negro press but later became an active worker in the Liberty party and the founder of the *North Star*. Garnet, an example of the fate of a general too far in advance of his troops, was repudiated as too radical, though he had previously been a national figure in the cause and is described by one authority as the "forerunner of Douglass, who assumed eventually, the leadership of the movement for which Garnet deserved credit." William Brewer, "Henry Highland Garnet," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XIII (January, 1928), 36-52; *DAB*, VII, 154.

leges. The period had in Russwurm (Bowdoin, '26) the first Negro college graduate, and at least ten others in this generation were college-trained.¹⁷

IV

The race's adjustment to the changed conditions after 1865 was conservative, and the leaders in this period, 1865-1900, typified by Booker T. Washington, were dedicated to the moral and intellectual improvement of their people.¹⁸ Now began also the movement northward and cityward, the growth in the number of literates (from an estimated tenth of the Negro population in 1860 to more than a half in 1900 and seven eighths in 1930),¹⁹ the proliferation of schools, and the maturing of universities like Fisk and Howard, Wilberforce, Atlanta, and Shaw. The social history of the nation was dominated during the period by rapid industrialization and urbanization and the cooling of ante-bellum enthusiasms. The Negroes were now all but deserted by their old white allies and such note as their gifted sons might win must be achieved in a nation that had lost interest in the race's redemption.

Sixty-one in the gallery of eminent Negroes fall in this period. Of these, thirty-three owed their chief recognition to political careers, most of them in the South. Little has been claimed for the colored political figures beyond the fact that the mere act of attaining these posts and then occupying them for the most part with dignity and quiet efficiency under hostile pressures was itself a distinction. Though most Negro officeholders served in local

¹⁷ On the schools available to Negroes, see Carter G. Woodson, *Education of Negroes before 1861* (New York, 1915), and Horace M. Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York, 1934). Aldridge and Smith attended the University of Glasgow, Smith taking the A.B., A.M., and M.D. degrees there. Séjour went to college in Paris, Pennington took a D.D. degree at Heidelberg while still legally a fugitive slave, Delaney obtained a medical education at Harvard, and Purvis was for a time a student at Amherst. Three of the group had theological training at first-rank seminaries (Brown, Ray, and Crummell), and four attended Quaker Beriah Green's Oneida Institute, Oneida, New York.

¹⁸ Not only because the eras 1865-1900 and 1901-1936 possess sufficient individuality to tolerate such periodization but also because each of these 35-year periods comprises a "turnover" of the Negro population, so that by 1900 one full generation, and by 1936 two generations had passed on since Emancipation, the writer has been willing to assume the hazards that such categories always invite. It must be emphasized, however, that the lives of many of the notables naturally ran from one period into the next. Alexander Crummell and Frederick Douglass were, for example, listed as antislavery workers in the pre-Civil War generation, but their very important careers ran on until nearly the close of the next period. (Douglass died in 1895 and Crummell in 1898.) And Booker Washington's emergence into national prominence as late as 1895 is pointed out in qualification of the thesis that he "typified" the post-Civil War generation. Throughout that entire era, moreover, the doctrine of conciliation and compromise was under militant attack by such massive figures as Crummell and Douglass, to say nothing of the Negro conventions of the 1870's and 1880's in which the leading Negroes of the period participated. The opposition to Washington's program during the period is perhaps as frequently played down as is the significance of his role as an intermediary between the two races. For an extreme statement characterizing Washington in the latter role rather than as the voice of the Negro, see William E. B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York, 1940), and *Souls of Black Folk*.

¹⁹ Israel Gerver, *The Changing Position of the Negro and Other Minorities in the United States* (New York, 1949), pp. 5-6.

and state government, the outstanding ones are the twenty-two who reached Congress, three important state officials, seven ministers to Liberia or Haiti, and one leader of Negro migrants to the West who was a political figure only in a very limited sense.²⁰

If we leave out of account, for want of biographical details, the five least known of these political figures, who served in Liberia and Haiti, we find that fifteen of the remaining twenty-eight public officers were born in slavery, ten were born free in the South, and but three were Northerners. Only four of the slaves had escaped by running away (all of them during the war), one had been purchased by his father in childhood, and the remaining ten were freed by federal law. The twenty-eight included only five—two of the very ablest among them—who are considered full-blooded Negroes, and all the rest were mulattoes, at least five of them the natural sons of white fathers. Singleton, who never held public office, was the only illiterate, and about a fourth of the group later described themselves as self-educated. Another quarter secured substantial elementary training in common schools or by private instruction, and nearly half had at least some college training.

This period marks the return of religious leaders to something like their old preponderance. A notable contrast with the earlier periods is the fact that all but two of this group of fourteen won distinction in the South, a region that now opened up in the wake of Emancipation a vast Negro religious frontier, while in the North the major religious structure had been completed.²¹ The education of this new generation of churchmen was not at first

²⁰ The Negroes in Congress were Senators Hiram R. Revels* and Blanche K. Bruce,* and the following Representatives: Richard H. Cain,* Henry P. Cheatham, Robert C. DeLarge, Robert B. Elliott, Jeremiah Haralson, John A. Hyman, Jefferson Long, John R. Lynch, Thomas E. Miller, Charles E. Nash, James E. O'Hara, Joseph R. Rainey,* Alonzo J. Ransier, James T. Rapier, Robert Smalls,* Benjamin S. Turner, Josiah T. Walls, George H. White, James M. Turner,* George W. Murray. The best remembered officeholders below the federal level were Francis L. Cardozo, Jonathan Jasper Wright,* and P. B. S. Pinchback.* The writer extends the list of famous Negroes beyond the *DAB* selections to include all those who served in the Congress during the period because their names appear prominently in the Basic Bibliography, as does that of Francis L. Cardozo, who served for a time as secretary of state for South Carolina and later as state treasurer. The best known diplomats (except Frederick Douglass, who was for a while minister to Haiti) were John M. Langston* and John Henry Smyth,* who served respectively in Haiti and Liberia. Far less widely noticed now are five others who are listed here because of the responsible positions they held rather than for their surviving reputation as Negro celebrities: the careers as ministers to Haiti of J. E. W. Thompson, William F. Powell, and Henry W. Furness, and of E. E. Smith and Ernest W. Lyon as ministers to Liberia fall in this period and a little beyond. Cain, Wright, and Turner, and possibly others, were famous Negroes even before going to Congress. Benjamin ("Pap") Singleton was the principal figure in the mass migration of Negroes from the Cotton South to Kansas, 1876-1879, a futile effort to establish a separate community for the freedmen in the West. John E. Van Deusen, "The Exodus of 1879," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXI (April, 1936), 111-29; Walter Lynwood Fleming, "'Pap' Singleton, the Moses of the Exodus," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, XV (July, 1909), 61-82. An account of Negro Reconstruction figures is Samuel D. Smith, *The Negro in Congress, 1870-1901* (Chapel Hill, 1940).

²¹ By 1900 the South also had a full range of religious institutions for Negroes, and there-

superior to that of earlier days, but later there was an impressive advance. In the earlier decades nearly all the leading divines were self-taught, while in the later years of the period the eight whose "peak years" came at the time had, with only two exceptions, college or seminary training or both. Notable also is the preoccupation of these men with labors beyond their pastoral duties, as leaders in the religious press, in the founding and directing of the multiplying sectarian colleges, and the building of vast Sunday school and mission programs. The clergy's relative withdrawal from the struggle for Negro rights conformed to the dominant trend toward accommodation and the effort to equip the race for responsible exercise of the gains they had made before pressing for further advances. Seven of the fourteen had been slaves; only one is known to have been a dark Negro.

The remaining names for this generation are (a) four in learned professions, (b) three in literature, (c) four in business and industry, (d) and three in the fine arts.²² Easily the most famous was Booker T. Washington, who in the year that Douglass died (1895) succeeded him as a sort of

after in neither the South nor the North did the religious leaders stand out so prominently among the most conspicuous personalities. The high proportion of church leaders among Negroes listed in *Who's Who* in recent decades must be understood as reflecting the mode of selecting persons for inclusion rather than necessarily the renown of the clergymen listed. The fourteen in our list for this period were Richard H. Boyd,* Wesley J. Gaines,* James T. Holly,* James W. Hood,* Lucius H. Holsey,* Emanuel K. Love,* Christopher H. Payne,* Daniel A. Payne,* Rufus L. Perry,* Daniel J. Sanders,* Benjamin T. Tanner,* Marshall W. Taylor,* Henry MacNeal Turner,* and Alexander Wayman.* Holly, an eccentric in the group, became an intense Negro nationalist, having been an active antislavery leader before the war, and made his chief career as bishop of Haiti in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

²² (a) Richard T. Greener* and Archibald Grimké,* lawyers and Negro rights spokesmen; Booker T. Washington*; George Washington Williams,* a lawyer better known as a historian. See John Hope Franklin, "George Washington Williams, Historian," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXXI (January, 1946), 60-90. (b) Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Albery Allson Whitman,* and Paul Laurence Dunbar,* poets. The inclusion of Mrs. Watkins in this group is urged by the Basic Bibliography. See, e.g., Loggins, *Negro Author*, pp. 245-48 and *passim*, and Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, p. 404. Dunbar, a poet of the first rank, falls into the "accommodationist" pattern that marks the period. Neglecting Negro themes, he felt compelled to write for whites curious to know what a black writer could achieve. Benjamin Brawley, *Paul Laurence Dunbar, Poet of his People* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 77; Loggins, pp. 245-48, 313-17, 320-26, 336-51. (c) Thomy Lafon,* capitalist and philanthropist of New Orleans, of predominantly French-Haitian ancestry; James Wormley,* a Washington hotel-keeper; Elijah McCoy* and Jan Matzeliger,* inventors. (d) Edmonia Lewis, the foremost Negro sculptor of the period; Edwin M. Bannister, the leading painter; Sissieretta Jones, the most accomplished concert singer. All three were professionals, trained in much the same way that white artists were and enjoying much the same critical reception. Miss Lewis and Bannister had studios of their own; Miss Jones found after a brief career that, in spite of sound professional training, high critical acclaim, and a concert appearance at the White House (1892), the public was as yet unwilling to support a Negro concert artist, and she stepped down to a role in her own musical comedy company, "Black Patti's Troubadours." A strong case could be made for extending the list to include three more artists: Marie Selika and Flora Batson, singers, and R. S. Duncanson, painter; and frequently mentioned in Negro social history is Thomas ("Blind Tom") Bethune, a pianist whose technical skill, in view of his handicap, entitles him to mention as a prodigy, though not as a virtuoso. The writer was moved to choose only Edmonia Lewis, Edwin M. Bannister, and Sissieretta Jones for his list on the basis of his analysis of the Basic Bibliography. On Negro art and music see especially Brawley, *Negro Genius*; Alain Locke, *The Negro in Art* (Washington, 1940) and *The Negro and His Music* (Washington, 1936); Maude Cuney Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (Washington, 1936).

charismatic leader, thanks in large measure to his widely noticed Atlanta speech affirming that "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Washington's long career as head of Tuskegee Institute, emphasizing vocational training, and his thesis that the Negro should earn his status as a first-class citizen by demonstrating his usefulness rather than press for further concessions made him until his death in 1915 the most influential voice of the great mass of his people. By then, however, his influence had waned before the mounting spirit of protest and aggressive demand for Negro rights for which a new generation of intellectuals were the leaders. Washington was perhaps the most powerful political personage in the South in his day, when the national administration was Republican.²³

In the above group of fourteen, three were born in slavery, eleven free (five in the North, three in the South, two in Canada, and one in Dutch Guiana). Only two were pure blacks (Dunbar and McCoy), and some, like Washington, Grimké, and Matzeliger, were fathered out of wedlock by white men. Only Washington and Lafon (both of them especially acceptable to whites) came to prominence in the South; five of the other twelve were original Northerners, and six had come to the North from the South or from other countries.

V

In the recent period, 1900-1936, the outlines of Negro leadership exhibited both the changing social climate of America and a profound mutation in Negro life. With waxing urbanization, education, and economic differentiation came the familiar American counterpart of growing specialization and expertness. Gone now was the era when a man because of rocklike character or a few years at Oberlin could step forth as a race leader. And with the new aggressive Americanism of the whites, intolerant of difference and suspicious of alien influences, there developed that chauvinistic hundred-percentism

²³ His role also conformed to another important quality of the times. This was pre-eminently the time in the history of Negro-white relations when the formula for defining precisely the economic and social relationships between the races was the central issue—an issue that had been all but irrelevant heretofore. The sharp contrast between Douglass' doctrine of challenge and Washington's philosophy of accommodation-with-a-price elicited from Kelly Miller, a leading Negro scholar who took the middle ground himself, a significant explanation: "Douglass lived in a day of moral giants; Washington lives in the era of merchant princes." Douglass in his day was constantly hearing talk of the equality of men; Washington was engulfed in talk of the Negro's inferiority. And if men will not serve their times they are not permitted to serve at all. Miller points out also that Douglass was a fugitive from slavery, while Washington had been freed by the white man's laws; that Douglass' stress on the Negro's rights and the white man's sins was appropriate to his time, while in Washington's day the better emphasis seemed to be on the Negro's own duties and shortcomings. See Kelly Miller, *Race Adjustment* (New York, 1910), p. 192; Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 540-47; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, XLIII, 57-71.

and belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority, which, because they had small place for the Negro, evoked the response so familiar in the history of colonialism. The colonial had grown too much like the national to be held to second-class citizenship. There emerged an aggressive Negro Americanism that saw the Tuskegee idea challenged by the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a mounting determination, accelerated by the race's participation in the War to Make the World Safe for Democracy, to become Negro Americans as well as American Negroes.

When death ended Washington's declining leadership, it was no longer possible for one person to be so nearly the voice of the race as he had been. The issue, now sharply joined, of conciliation versus demand for full rights widened the gulf between two major camps, making it impossible to agree upon a leader. Indeed, differences of degree within each camp made it impossible for any one Negro to speak for either side, though William E. B. DuBois was in a sense the spokesman for the left and Robert Russa Moton, Washington's successor at Tuskegee, for the right. Moreover, the maturing of Negro American civilization, fostered especially by the emergence of well-defined Negro communities in Northern cities, and by advances in special and general education as well as by increasing occupational diversification, rendered Negro life an ever more faithful facsimile of white society with all its social differentiations and stratifications. So far did this development proceed that facile generalizations about "The Negro" or "The Negro Mind" no longer hit the mark. Such a social order inevitably produced "functional leaders" instead of another Washington. A man would now be a leading writer, or scientist, or artist, rather than a "leading Negro"; and his position in the race would be determined more by the outlook and ideology of the group of which he was a part, and less by his own tendency to conciliation or challenge.²⁴

The standards for eminence were now much higher. Thousands served as gallantly in France as Salem Poor at Bunker Hill, but their names are not remembered; scores of Negro physicians in 1930 were perhaps in every way superior to James Derham but never known beyond their county lines. It was no longer enough, it was no longer possible, to be the first to enter a field and astonish the world with proof that here too the Negro could perform like a man. Now the writer no longer wrote to show incredulous whites what a Negro could do; he wrote for the same reasons, for the same publishers, and increasingly for the same public for whom white writers,

²⁴ Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, chap. xxi.

now his rivals, wrote. In the new era the Negro artist, scientist, or scholar was no longer an untaught prodigy or zealot, pushed forward by latter-day abolitionists beseeching the nation to measure him against his handicap. In growing measure he was the trained specialist, competing now with whites in the same exhibitions, the same scholarly journals, the same professional associations.

This is not to say that the day had arrived when competition for distinction was to be conducted wholly on the principle of equal opportunity. The distinguished Negro still felt constrained to confine himself to Negro themes, often working under Negro auspices, but the standards of excellence began to match those of the whites and sometimes to exceed them, for more spectacular performance was required of the Negro genius as the price of eminence in the white man's world than that exacted of his white colleagues. But it was now eminence in the white man's world. In this juncture with the main stream at a few critical points is the significant, the most portentous, attribute of the newer leadership. The change is more qualitative than quantitative. Perhaps the number of Negroes who were now "famous" was not larger, proportionately, than the number a century earlier; but the point is that the celebrity in the past (unless, like Washington, he stood astride the color line as a negotiator for both sides) was usually a hero only to the Negro and a small fringe of reformers and liberals, and for works wrought in the Negro community. In the newer era the few who did break through the barriers of caste emerged on a different plane, as eminent American artists, scholars, writers, religious leaders, rather than merely as outstanding Negroes.

After 1900 it becomes more difficult to identify the foremost Negroes, and among the ninety-one persons here selected are several chosen for their representative character. Even the serious business of race work was coming to be left to the professionals of the NAACP, the Urban League, the institutional church, the inter-racial commissions, staffed with full-time officials. The writer, the artist, the businessman, the educator had not abdicated responsibility for race improvement, but he lent his weight to the cause now as a member or trustee of organized agencies demanded by a more specialized age.²⁵

Ten names in the field of scholarship, for example, represent men noted

²⁵ Other eminent Negroes, not mentioned elsewhere in this study, whom it seems appropriate to add here to this paper's roster because of their leadership in important segments of Negro opinion and in the larger campaign to promote the race's progress were Eugene Kinckle Jones, a major figure in the National Urban League; Mary Church Terrell, long a foremost personality in the Negro advance movement and first president of the National Association of Colored Women; and two newspaper publishers—William Monroe Trotter of the crusading Boston *Guardian*, and Robert S. Abbott, founder and publisher of the militant Chicago *Defender*.

in the scholarly world as competent, creative craftsmen rather than as mere able Negroes. Much the same may be said of nine associated with the administration of educational institutions. Similarly, after 1900—especially after 1915—one finds a lengthening list of sophisticated, usually soundly educated, sometimes passionately protestant, and always talented and technically skilled literary artists. At least fourteen names for the period 1900–1936 should be noted, and perhaps many more. “The Negro as a creator in American literature is of comparatively recent importance,” said the foremost colored literary critic of the first quarter of this century. “All that was accomplished between Phillis Wheatley and Paul Laurence Dunbar, considered by critical standards, is negligible, and of historical interest only.”²⁶

²⁶ William Stanley Braithwaite, “The Negro in American Literature,” in Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro* (New York, 1925), p. 36. The ten listed in the present paper as scholars are William S. Scarborough,* Benjamin Brawley, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles S. Johnson, Alain Locke, Carter G. Woodson, George W. Ellis,* William E. B. DuBois, Charles H. Wesley, and George Young.* Young is more accurately described as a bibliophile but for convenience is grouped here with the scholars. The nine educators are James K. Aggrey,* Robert Shaw Wilkin-son,* Mary McLeod Bethune, John Hope, Mordecai Johnson, Robert Russa Moton, William T. B. Williamson, Kelly Miller, and Monroe N. Work. The latter two might with equal logic be grouped with the scholars. The writers are Charles W. Chesnutt, James D. Corrothers,* Rudolph Fisher, William Stanley Braithwaite, Arna Bontemps, Sterling Brown, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, Claude McKay, Jessie Fauset, Jean Toomer, and Zora Neale Hurston. Johnson and White were also known as executive secretaries of the NAACP. This company of thirty-three Negro intellectuals secured the great bulk of its professional training in Northern universities and earned at least fifty-six degrees in a score of the nation's foremost seats of learning (including Harvard, Yale, Hopkins, Chicago, Brown, Williams, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Barnard, Oberlin, New York, and Negro universities like Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta), and several had further study at other schools, including Columbia and Wisconsin, and abroad. Several were members of Phi Beta Kappa and a fraction were holders of Guggenheim and university fellowships including a Rhodes Scholarship. Of the nineteen scholars and educators, sixteen had been born in the South, one in Africa, and two in the North, while ten of the fourteen writers had been born in the North, three in the South, and one in the West Indies. All of the writers made their careers in large Northern cities, half of them in New York City, while most of the scholars and all of the educational leaders were attached to Negro institutions in the South or in Washington, with the single exception of Aggrey, who made his name in Africa. These creative Negroes, trained in the tradition and producing by the standards of white leaders in thought and letters, did not become national figures known to the millions, but the same may be said of white leaders in the same fields. What was new and significant was the degree to which Negroes were being recognized in those fields as participants in the American culture itself, not in an American subculture. The seven scholars not drawn from the *DAB* were sifted from the Basic Bibliography and further evaluated by examination of the critical reception accorded their published works by reviewers in professional and semiprofessional periodicals; analyses of biographical sketches in *Who's Who in America*; reference to the list of winners of the Harmon and Spingarn awards; and examination of the volumes of the *Negro Year Book* and the *Negro Handbook*. It may be argued that Frazier was in 1936 still an emergent leader in Negro scholarship, not yet established. The inclusion, among the educators, of Mrs. Bethune, John Hope, Robert Russa Moton, and Mordecai W. Johnson will scarcely be challenged, and W. T. B. Williams' stature as a leading figure in education was recognized in 1934 by his designation as the recipient of the Harmon Award for that year. The writers of belles lettres suggested by the Basic Bibliography, *Who's Who in America*, and critical reviews, were reduced to the list here offered after consulting such works as Robert E. Spiller, et al., eds., *Literary History of the United States* (3 vols., New York, 1949); Locke, *New Negro*; James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York, 1930); Sterling Brown, et al., eds., *Negro Caravan* (New York, 1941); Victor Francis Calverton, *Anthology of American Negro Poetry* (New York, 1929). Perhaps at the close of the period here under scrutiny younger writers like Arna Bontemps and Zora Neale Hurston were as yet more notable for their promise than for their performance, but

In music the same drift into the main stream is manifest. In addition to the leading position that Negroes began to assume in lighter entertainment—notably in the development of jazz, sometimes described as the only major innovation in music that America had yet produced—the postwar period witnessed the flowering of serious music in a brilliant company of vocal artists, composers, and instrumentalists. A crude measure of their acceptance as major artists is afforded by the fact that by 1941, five years after the close of this period, three Negroes (Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, and Dorothy Maynor) were among the ten most highly paid concert artists in America,²⁷ and a fourth (Roland Hayes, by then in his fifties) followed close behind.

Dramatic artists had not yet been accorded similar recognition in the nation's theaters, though seven stand out with sufficient prominence to be included in the list. All found their race a desperate handicap in their quest for roles worthy of their talents, and that circumstance operated to deter talented young Negroes from acquiring the professional training that was fast becoming a prerequisite for success in the theater. Richard B. Harrison found in *The Green Pastures* the only important role in his career when he was already sixty-five, and Robeson was able to secure some measure of recognition, notably in the roles of *Othello* and *The Emperor Jones*, only after spectacular dramatic successes abroad. Earlier, Bert Williams, a mulatto, had to "black up" and to become a close student of the public's Negro stereotype; and though he won great financial success he died without realizing his long-cherished hope to "stop doing piffle, and interpret the *real* Negro on the stage."²⁸

the Basic Bibliography suggests substantial recognition for them by 1936 and Zora Hurston had already (1935) produced what has been called "the finest single book in American folklore." Alan Lomax, quoted in Spiller, *et al.*, *Literary History of the U. S.*, II, 749.

²⁷ *Time*, May 11, 1942, p. 53. Until the postwar portion of this period the most conspicuous name was perhaps that of James R. Europe, a pioneer in the establishment of the jazz band as a major American institution who later became especially noted as a United States Army Band leader overseas. But in the succeeding decade and a half came a more noteworthy group of artists—characteristically highly trained musicians, received not as Negro curiosities but as authentic American artists; singers like Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, and Roland Hayes; symphonic composers like William L. Dawson and William Grant Still; composers and arrangers of songs like Harry T. Burleigh, Will Marion Cook, Nathaniel Dett, and J. Rosamond Johnson; W. C. Handy, creator of "the blues"; and Clarence Cameron White, violinist-composer. Paralleling the development of other forms of self-expression, these artists, like any comparable group of white musicians, were thoroughly educated at such institutions as the Chicago College of Music, the New England Conservatory, the American Conservatory, and the Oberlin Conservatory; and many of them had, in addition, college degrees, and some had supplemented their American training with study abroad. This list of eminent Negroes would have been much longer, of course, if the fields of popular music and sports had not, for the sake of brevity, been almost wholly excluded from the study. Support for the compiler's selection of leaders from the field of music may be found in the volumes of the *Negro Year Book*; *Who's Who in America*; Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music*; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, II, 989; Brawley, *Negro Genius*; and Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 500, 509.

²⁸ *DAB*, XX, 249. In the drama the most considerable names seem to have been Charles Gilpin,* Rose McLendon, Richard B. Harrison,* and Paul Robeson; and in the world of musicals

In the fine arts a half-dozen names are noteworthy, though others might be added, and in the sciences six may be instanced as examples of Negro leaders who illustrate the drift into the main stream. The artists were painters and sculptors with the same professional training as that enjoyed by whites, the same critical approbation; and, though their race sometimes proved an obstacle to entering exhibitions and winning commissions, their recognition rested on their very considerable promise and performance as foremost American artists. The scientists, likewise, were men of superior professional education, distinguished not as Negroes but as scientists working in laboratory and academic roles comparable to those of their white fellows. George W. Carver became so well known that by 1930 millions of white Americans who could not name another native American scientist could recognize him without hesitation.²⁹

If the ten religious leaders of the period who seem to appear most prominently in the record be taken as representative of new trends, a pattern emerges. The spirit of conciliation and quietism, the disposition to labor in the Negro enclave, recedes before a notable tendency to play roles in both the religious and secular life of the nation as a whole.³⁰ Particularly as the

and light comedy, Florence Mills, Bob Cole, and Bert Williams.* The all-Negro cast of *The Green Pastures* constantly encountered during its immensely popular five-year run the sort of unendurable discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and public carriers that frustrated the progress of Negro actors. *Time*, Mar. 4, 1935, p. 35. Robeson at one level and Bob Cole at quite another have no serious rivals in the Basic Bibliography for inclusion with those already supplied by the DAB from the realm of the stage, and the author concludes from Brawley, *Negro Genius*, and Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, that Rose McLendon and Florence Mills stand out.

²⁹ The artists were May Howard Jackson, Meta Warrick Fuller, and Augusta Savage, sculptors; Henry Ossawa Tanner, William Eduoard Scott, painters; and Richmond Barthé, who won distinction both as a painter and a sculptor. Mrs. Fuller was commonly regarded as the foremost sculptor of the race in her day, and at the end of the period Tanner, who early in his career had removed to France, had for three decades been regarded as the greatest artist that American Negroes had produced, and the Basic Bibliography, supplemented by Locke, *The Negro in Art*, leaves little doubt that at the level next below him first rank should be accorded to those named. All of the group had, in addition to private study under masters, been trained at such centers as the Chicago Art Institute, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and Cooper Union. Only one of the artists had been born in the South, and none of them made his career there. The scientists were Carver; Daniel Hale Williams,* cardiac surgeon; William A. Hinton and Julian H. Lewis, pathologists; Elmer Imes, physicist; and Ernest E. Just, zoologist. All of these scientists had their advanced professional training in Northern universities; three of them became associated with Negro institutions in the South (Carver at Tuskegee, Imes at Fisk, and Just at Howard), and three with Northern institutions or agencies in the hands of whites. Carver's unusual fame is sometimes explained as resulting from a favorable white press, pleased with his humble demeanor and appearance and his quiet role as a "good Negro" tending strictly to his work in self-imposed segregation at Tuskegee. Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, p. 561. Williams, on the other hand, a genuinely important figure in medicine in the early years of the century and at the same time a crusader for Negro rights in medicine, enjoyed no such publicity and is virtually unknown to white Americans outside his profession. Authority for the selection of the scientists here listed may be found by checking the lists supplied in Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, p. 543, and Woodson, *Negro in Our History*, pp. 560-61, against the life sketches in *Who's Who in America* and by comparison with other works in the Basic Bibliography.

³⁰ Those selected here from the most prominent figures in religious life are George W. Clinton,* Henry Hugh Proctor,* James S. Russell,* Alexander Walters,* Francis J. Grimké,

period advanced, they were men of extensive professional education, heads of vast institutional churches, significant civic leaders in their own communities, leaders in Negro improvement associations and also in great national religious and humanitarian agencies that encompassed Negroes and whites alike.

Two fields in which outstanding Negroes found the color line more difficult to cross were the economic and the military. An occasional inventor was useful to great corporations operating outside the "separate economy," but for the rest the Negro in business and industry was largely limited to serving the Negro community. In the military, the race watched with pride the career of its first son to become a colonel in the regular army, West-Point-trained Charles Young, only to see him passed over when commands were assigned and colonels whom he outranked promoted over his head during the First World War. High public office was also as yet a virtually closed preserve.³¹

Richard Robert Wright, Jr., Robert E. Jones, William N. DeBerry, Lacy K. Williams, and Channing Tobias. The Basic Bibliography and the lists of Harmon and Spingarn award winners point strongly to their pre-eminence. The range of activities and the influence of these men is suggested in the sketches of the first four in the *DAB* and of the latter six in *Who's Who in America*, XIII, XIX-XXII.

³¹ The only Negro from the world of business and industry in this period listed in the *DAB* is Sarah Breedlove Walker,* founder and president of the Madame C. J. Walker Laboratories, Indianapolis, manufacturers of hair and skin preparations for Negroes. Granville Woods, evidently the most celebrated inventor that the race had produced in America, also belongs to this period. See Baker, "Negro in the Field of Invention," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, II, 21-36. The most important enterprises came to be financial institutions, notably banks and insurance companies, headed by such leaders as Jesse Binga and Anthony Overton of Chicago, C. C. Spaulding of Raleigh, N. C., S. W. Rutherford of Washington, Joseph E. Walker of Memphis, Maggie Lena Walker of Richmond, A. F. Herndon of Atlanta, and Richard Robert Wright of Philadelphia, all of whom successfully developed a segment of the American economy hitherto neglected by white entrepreneurs who considered Negroes poor risks. But the grave want of capital, credit, and business training handicapped the Negro enterpriser even in the separate economy. As late as 1950 the grocery trade in the heart of the Negro community was still dominated by white retailers. The names listed here were sifted from the Basic Bibliography. On the persistence of the separate economy and the obstacles confronting the Negro businessman even there, see Robert H. Kinzer and Edward Sagarin, *The Negro in American Business* (New York, 1950); Abram S. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist: A Study of Banking and Business among American Negroes* (Philadelphia, 1936); Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, pp. 409 ff.; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, I, 307 ff. Col. Young won distinction in the war with Spain, and with the Tenth Cavalry in the expedition to Mexico. When, during World War I, he was placed on the retired list "for reasons of health," it was widely deplored as a ruse for denying to a soldier, because of his color, a promotion to the rank of brigadier general which could no longer in good conscience be postponed. When the period of this study ended, one Negro, Benjamin Davis, held the rank of colonel in the regular army. On October 25, 1940, he became the first Negro to reach the rank of brigadier general, but the promotion was made so near to election day that many saw a connection between the two events. *Crisis*, XXIII (February, 1922), 155; *Negro Digest*, IX (November, 1950), 29-33; Franklin, *Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 448, 560. One name that should be added to the list of prominent Negroes in the generation before 1936 is that of Oscar DePriest, of Chicago, who signalized the Negro's return to Congress in 1929. It is appropriate here to add also two early holders of responsible offices under presidential appointment: William H. Lewis, a distinguished Boston lawyer appointed by William Howard Taft as an Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and Robert H. Terrell, chosen by Woodrow Wilson as judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

For the whole list of prominent Negroes of the period 1900-1936 satisfactory data concerning the proportion of blacks and mulattoes are not available. Such information as can be assembled points again to a high preponderance of the latter over the former, but by this time the degree of intermixture in the race as a whole had become so great as to give the distinction even less significance than any it may have had in the earlier periods. But, light or dark, leaders of the race still had to rest their claims to distinction primarily on achievements in the Negro community, a limitation imposed as much by the resistances and rigidities of the larger American social frame as by the immense deficit in training and social inheritance with which the most talented and industrious embarked upon his calling.

Yet, though a vast distance still stretched before them, the distinguished Negroes of 1936 stood measurably closer to the ideal than did those of a century before. The new generation of leaders included many who could recall a childhood in bondage, and most were only a generation or two removed from slavery, yet no characteristic was more marked than their growing conformity to the American model of trained specialists. So rapid a rise from such inauspicious social origins gave the eminent Negro a special importance as a race hero, at once the best inspiration to lowly millions, the best rejoinder to affirmations of racial inferiority, the best presage of the race's progress toward greater participation in American life.

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Bismarck and German Nationalism

OTTO PFLANZE

I

THE Nazi revolution and the ruin which it brought have placed in doubt many of the previous assumptions of German historical thought.¹ Of the several problems for which new solutions must be sought one of the most important concerns the influence of Bismarck.² Does he share responsibility for the growth of that inverted nationalism upon which Hitler rode to power and conquest?

The question of Bismarck's nationalism has long been the subject of speculation and controversy. According to one school of interpretation, whose chief representatives were Heinrich Friedjung and Erich Brandenburg,³ he adopted a German national outlook early in his career, certainly after 1851 when he became Prussian delegate to the German Bundestag in Frankfurt. This viewpoint has proved tenacious. Recently it appeared again in an article by Otto Becker published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*.⁴ Following the same tradition, A. O. Meyer, author of the most recent biography, took an even more extreme position. To him it appeared axiomatic that the great Prussian Junker was motivated throughout his career by a German national patriotism which was as fundamental to his thought and action as his Lutheran faith and his monarchical loyalty.⁵

From the evidence, however, it is apparent that before 1866 Bismarck gave his primary allegiance to the Prussian state and monarchy. Therefore, Max Lenz, Erich Marcks,⁶ and Friedrich Meinecke⁷ concluded that his con-

¹ In a shortened version this article was read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1953. The author wishes to express his appreciation to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant which made possible some of the necessary research.

² For reviews of the literature on this subject see: Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Historians and Bismarck," *Review of Politics*, XV (1953), 53-67, and Hans Kohn, "Re-thinking Recent German History," *ibid.*, XIV (1952), 325-45.

³ H. Friedjung, *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland, 1859 bis 1866* (10th ed.; Stuttgart, 1916), I, 141; E. Brandenburg, *Die Reichsgründung* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1922), II, 30-35.

⁴ "Der Sinn der dualistischen Verständigungsversuche Bismarcks vor dem Kriege 1866," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXIX (1949), 294, 297.

⁵ Arnold O. Meyer, *Bismarck: Der Mensch und der Staatsmann* (Stuttgart, 1949), with an introduction by Hans Rothfels.

⁶ Gustav Schmoller, Max Lenz, Erich Marcks, *Zu Bismarcks Gedächtnis* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 120 ff., 148 ff. See also Max Lenz, *Geschichte Bismarcks* (4th ed.; Munich, 1913), and Erich Marcks, *Der Aufstieg des Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1936), II.

⁷ "Zur Geschichte Bismarcks. II. Bismarcks Eintritt in den christlich-germanischen Kreis," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XC (1903), 56.

version to German nationalism occurred after that date. But this interpretation also left something to be desired. Lenz and Marcks failed to define the character of Bismarck's latent German nationalism. In his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* Meinecke analyzed brilliantly the phenomenon of nationalism and traced its emergence in nineteenth-century Germany. But his analysis did not extend beyond the year 1866 and hence did not include the mature Bismarck.

Günther Franz and Hans Rothfels, on the other hand, have rejected both of these schools of interpretation.⁸ In their view the fundamental orientation of Bismarck's political thought from the beginning to the end of his career was the state and not the nation. He made no attempt to unite the whole of the German people under a single government and, in fact, foreswore any such ambition, admonishing the Austrian Germans that their future lay not with the Reich but with the peoples of central Europe to whom they were joined by history and geography. In annexing Alsace-Lorraine his primary motive was military security rather than cultural or racial unity. His policy toward Poland was based upon his view of the necessities of state rather than upon national bigotry. In foreign affairs he strove to preserve the European balance of power. Hegemony over Europe and the transformation of Germany into a world power were aims which he specifically rejected.

Since the end of World War II Rothfels has emphatically restated these conclusions. "Everyone who writes about Bismarck knows or should know that the Reich founded by him was neither a unitary nor a national state and that it differed essentially from the idea then dominant, that of the 'nation one and indivisible,' in both of the aspects concerned: the concept of unity as well as that of nationality." The genius of the Wilhelmstrasse has been criticized because he created the German state in opposition to the ideas considered progressive in his day. In Rothfels' opinion, however, he is significant for our times precisely because he was alien to his own century. Bismarck sought to disarm and confine those revolutionary forces which have since threatened our destruction.⁹

Gerhard Ritter takes a similar view. "Bismarck had nothing to do with the nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its blind fanaticism," he writes. "One cannot possibly stress that fact sharply enough."¹⁰ Although critical on other grounds of Bismarck's solution to the German question,¹¹ Franz Schnabel agrees that Bismarck "had nothing in common

⁸ G. Franz, *Bismarcks Nationalgefühl* (Leipzig, 1926); H. Rothfels, *Bismarck und der Osten* (Leipzig, 1934).

⁹ "Bismarck und das neunzehnte Jahrhundert," in Walther Hubatsch, ed., *Schicksalswege Deutscher Vergangenheit*, Festschrift für Siegfried A. Kaehler (Düsseldorf, 1950), pp. 233-48.

¹⁰ "Das Bismarckproblem," *Merkur*, IV (1950), 669.

¹¹ Schnabel doubts the wisdom of Bismarck's objective, the creation of a unified state (*eines*

with the dictators of the nationalistic period" and that he was completely free of that "*moderne Vaterländerei*" typical of the new national patriotism.¹² Both Ritter and Schnabel see in Bismarck the last great representative of classical diplomacy. Like Richelieu, Frederick the Great, and Metternich, he based his policy on the measured calculations of the reason of state. Since the rise of political democracy, on the other hand, foreign policy has been increasingly determined by the volatile passions of the masses.¹³

If the responsibility does not rest with Bismarck, where does it lie? In answering this question Rothfels has found support for his views in the research of a British historian, Sir Lewis Namier. Although Namier values the liberal tradition, he is highly critical of the revolutionists of 1848. In a study published in 1944 he concluded that German aggressive nationalism "derives from the much belauded Frankfort Parliament rather than from Bismarck and 'Prussianism.'" ¹⁴ In Rothfels' opinion this thesis is a "very creditable advance in historic revisionism."¹⁵ He believes, furthermore, that the Revolution of 1848 was a decisive turning point in European history. It began that vertical development in its institutions which burst the lateral bonds of the old aristocratic order. With the victory of the national over the universal came centralization, collectivization, and authoritarian government. Rothfels tells us that liberalism, rather than conservatism, must bear the blame for this development. Of necessity Bismarck navigated the "stream of time," but he steered against its most dangerous currents, above all that of nationalism.¹⁶

The implications of this thesis for contemporary Germany are apparent. It is particularly important, therefore, that the actual relationship between Bismarck and German nationalism be clarified.

II

Bismarck founded the German Reich not by opposing the idea of nationalism, but by skillfully exploiting it. Although he had bitterly opposed the

in sich geschlossenen Staatskörpers), instead of a central European federation capable of withstanding the pressure of the two great world powers which have since come to dominate Europe. He points to the writings of Constantin Frantz in support of his view that such foresight was possible. "Bismarck und die Nationen," in *Europa und der Nationalismus*, Bericht über das III. internationale Historiker-Treffen in Speyer—17. bis 20. Oktober 1949 (Baden-Baden, 1950), pp. 91-108. For Ritter's reply to this "surprising thesis" see his "Grossdeutsch und Kleindeutsch im 19. Jahrhundert," in Hubatsch, pp. 177-201, and his "Bismarck problem," pp. 660-64.

¹² "Das Problem Bismarck," *Hochland*, XLII (1949), 8-9.

¹³ Franz Schnabel, "Bismarck und die klassische Diplomatie," *Aussenpolitik*, III (1952), 635-42. Gerhard Ritter, *Europa und die Deutsche Frage* (Munich, 1948), pp. 69-108.

¹⁴ "1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXX (1944), 33.

¹⁵ "Problems of a Bismarck Biography," *Review of Politics*, IX (1947), 368.

¹⁶ "Bismarck und das neunzehnte Jahrhundert," pp. 226 ff.

movement for national unity in 1848-1850, he eventually came to appreciate its potential utility for the Prussian state. While delegate to the German Bundestag during the fifties, he began to realize that Prussia vitally needed support in her struggle against Austria for a greater share in the government of Germany. At first he sought this ally among the great powers of Europe, particularly France and Russia,¹⁷ but by 1858 he had reached the conclusion that the most satisfactory partner was German nationalism.¹⁸ Frustrated by the failure of 1848 and a decade of reaction, the liberals showed a willingness to sacrifice the principle of popular sovereignty in the hope that it would encourage the Prussian monarchy to take up the cause of national unity. Bismarck was quick to sense an advantage. If the expansion in the power of the Prussian state which he so earnestly desired could not be achieved by peaceful means, German nationalism would provide the moral issue with which to justify a war against Austria, the moral *élan* with which to gain the victory, and finally the centripetal force with which to consolidate the new state which would then emerge.

When Bismarck came to office in 1862 there was another important reason for identifying the Prussian monarchy with German nationalism. In its conflict with the Prussian Landtag over the issue of military reform the crown had reached one of the decisive moments in its history. The victory of parliament would have ended monarchical absolutism in Prussia and have unseated the Junker class from the places of power. In order to avoid this fate Bismarck needed a means of reconciling the masses to monarchical rule. He foresaw that this could be achieved by establishing universal suffrage under monarchical auspices and by seizing the banners of the national cause from the hands of the liberals.

Until 1866 Bismarck did not believe that war with Austria was inevitable. He hoped that Prussian expansion could be achieved in agreement with Vienna, in which case the above plan would have been abandoned or seriously modified.¹⁹ When war came he sought to execute his design without

¹⁷ In 1857 Bismarck argued that Prussia should "jump with both feet" into an alliance with France and Russia. Herman von Petersdorff and others, eds., *Bismarck: Die Gesammelten Werke* (Berlin, 1924-35), II, 120. Later he was more cautious, advocating a rapprochement with these powers which would develop into an alliance only if they were ready to go to war against Austria. *Ibid.*, II, 144, 150, 223; XIV (1), 473.

¹⁸ The first indication of a radical change in Bismarck's attitude toward German nationalism is to be seen in his long memorial (*Das kleine Buch*) of March, 1858, addressed to Prince William of Prussia. Here he advocated that Prussia arouse the German public against Austrian policy in the Bundestag through the medium of the press and parliamentary debate. *Ibid.*, II, 302-22. On April 3 he proposed for the first time the creation of a German national parliament for a similar purpose. *Ibid.*, XIV (1), 486-87. In the following year he broached his plan of co-operation to the German liberals of the *Nationalverein*. *Ibid.*, VII, 37-39; also XIV (1), 558-65.

¹⁹ The difficult task of unraveling Bismarck's motives in these crucial years was undertaken by Rudolf Stadelmann. See his *Das Jahr 1865 und das Problem von Bismarcks deutscher Politik* (Munich, 1933). Walter Lipgens has corrected some aspects of the Stadelmann thesis: "Bismarcks

delay, but with limited success. His proposal for a national parliament elected on a popular basis was greeted with incredulity and derision. His attempt to establish contact with prominent German liberals in the first days of the war ended in failure. Because of his role in the Prussian constitutional struggle they were mistrustful of his intentions. The war against Austria, moreover, was a civil war, and hence it was difficult to raise the national issue. Except for the diversion provided by Italy, he was forced to rely for victory upon the discipline, training, and striking power of the Prussian army.

One circumstance alone would have enabled Bismarck to arouse the German masses for a national war under Prussian leadership: foreign intervention. During the crucial months of July and August it appeared that this might occur. To St. Petersburg Bismarck telegraphed that the tsar's insistence upon a European congress over the German question would force Prussia "to unleash the full national strength of Germany and the bordering countries."²⁰ When Alexander interfered a second time, Bismarck restated his threat in even more forceful terms. "Pressure from abroad will compel us to proclaim the German constitution of 1849 and to adopt truly revolutionary measures. If there is to be revolution, we would rather make it than suffer it."²¹ But the greatest danger of intervention came from Paris rather than from St. Petersburg. Repeatedly Bismarck hurled the same warnings at Napoleon III, who demanded compensation for permitting the expansion of Prussia. Rather than cede German soil or part with any of her conquests Prussia would cross the River Main and use "every means" to arouse a national war against France.²² Should Austria join France in a two-front war against Prussia, Bismarck would renew the alliance with Italy and ignite the forces of national revolution within the Habsburg Empire. Prussia would conduct a "war of revolution," he told the Italian General Govone, "We would excite a rebellion in Hungary and organize provisional governments in Prague and Brünn."²³

Österreich-Politik vor 1866," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, X (1950), 240-62. For the year 1866 see Hajo Holborn, "Über die Staatskunst Bismarcks," *Zeitwende*, III (1927), 321-34.

²⁰ *Werke*, VI, 93.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 120.

²² *Ibid.*, VI, 45, 55, 106-13. Boldly he challenged France to a war of revolution, maintaining that in such a conflict the German throne would be more secure than the Napoleonic dynasty. *Ibid.*, VII, 149.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII, 156. As the crisis deepened, Bismarck requested an Italian plenipotentiary be sent to the Prussian headquarters with power to negotiate a treaty containing "further concealed aims." *Ibid.*, VI, 93. It was typical of Bismarck's versatility, however, that he did not consider simultaneous war against Austria and France to be the only possibility which the situation afforded. He also calculated on the possibility of a quick and generous peace with Austria to be followed by a German national war led by both powers against France. Holborn, "Staatskunst," p. 328.

Was Bismarck bluffing? The documents indicate the contrary. Since 1862 he had been in contact with Hungarian nationalists. When war came he pushed energetically the formation of a Magyar legion under the leadership of Klapka, a general of the 1849 revolution.²⁴ Agents were dispatched to the Balkans to arouse the southern Slavs under Serbian leadership.²⁵ Although these efforts were relaxed once the armistice with Austria was signed, they were renewed in early August when the full demands of the French became known.²⁶ Concerning the Czechs and Slovaks Bismarck was more circumspect, not wishing to antagonize the tsar unnecessarily. If Austria had renewed the war, however, he would also have supported their national ambitions.²⁷ Meanwhile, Bismarck felt the pulse of the German nation and gathered that she would follow Prussian leadership in a war against France.²⁸ In Berlin he sought to expedite the reconciliation of crown and parliament and urged upon his reluctant cabinet the immediate summoning of a "German Reichstag."²⁹ With Eulenburg, his most talented colleague, he discussed the use to which the German constitution of 1849 could be put in an emergency.³⁰

When Carl Schurz visited Germany eighteen months later, Bismarck related with—one may suspect—a certain mischievous pleasure the radical plan which had been in his mind at this crucial stage of the Austrian war. If France had marched, he informed the astonished émigré of '48, he had intended to arouse the "national feeling of the whole people" by adopting the Frankfurt constitution. Had Austria joined her, even more drastic measures would have been taken.

We would have been forced to explode every mine. In Hungary everything was prepared. The Honved battalions had been organized for the most part in secret. In Serbia and on the Moldau Hungarian cadres were ready. If this primer had been ignited, of course, retreat would no longer have been possible. To treat with Austria would have been out of the question. Her destruction would have been

²⁴ See Eduard von Wertheimer, *Bismarck im politischen Kampf* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 233–84, and A. Kienast, *Die Legion Klapka* (Vienna, 1900).

²⁵ See Hermann Wendel, *Bismarck und Serbien im Jahre 1866* (Berlin, 1927).

²⁶ *Werke*, VI, 93, 103, 114.

²⁷ After entering Bohemia the Prussian army issued a proclamation to the inhabitants which read in part: "If our cause is victorious the moment may come when Bohemia and Moravia can, like Hungary, realize their national ambitions." Hans Raupach, *Bismarck und die Tschechen* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 8–9. When complaints were heard from both Berlin and St. Petersburg, Bismarck wrote Eulenburg to explain that the proclamation was a mere gesture designed to keep the population friendly during the Prussian occupation. He added, nevertheless, that he was prepared to support Bohemian as well as Hungarian autonomy, if Austria were to continue the war. *Werke*, VI, 58–60.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 55.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 38, 40, 57, 59.

³⁰ Bismarck intended to proclaim the Frankfurt constitution as a last resort in the event of war against France, but indicated that if victorious he would subject the document to a "fundamental revision" in order to make it "usable for us." *Ibid.*, VI, 59.

unavoidable. A great empty space would have then opened between Germany and Turkey. It would have been necessary to create something to fill this vacuum. We could not have left our Hungarian friends in the lurch.

Bismarck admitted, however, that "such eccentric means" were only a last resort. He preferred to avoid war with France at such a cost. The existence of Austria was "necessary for Europe."³¹

Bismarck was confident of victory when he launched the war of 1866, but he was also very aware of the dangers of defeat. The future of the Prussian state and Hohenzollern monarchy was at stake. Later he told of his resolve to seek death on the battlefield if the Prussian cause had proved hopeless.³² Short of this extremity, however, he was determined to exhaust every available weapon. In July and August he dangled a lighted match over the powder keg of European nationalism. He preferred not to set off the explosion. But had nothing else availed he was prepared to do so.

III

Because of these policies Bismarck does not fit easily into the category of the classical diplomatist. It is true, as Schnabel has pointed out, that his policy of *arrondissement* and his dedication to *raison d'état* were typical of the age of absolutism.³³ His objectives, moreover, were limited and his measures calculated with dispassion. With consummate skill he steered the Prussian course amid the clashing interests of the great powers, traveling first with one current, then with another. Unlike the great practitioners of cabinet diplomacy, however, he did not limit the forces which he exploited to the governments of states. He included also the revolutionary social and political movements of modern times. Among his contemporaries, Gortschakoff, minister of the tsar, better deserves to be called a classical diplomatist. Bismarck belongs more properly to the category of Napoleon III.

In many respects Louis Napoleon was the prototype of the modern dictator. Drawing upon the tactics of his famous uncle, he employed the nationalistic appeal and universal suffrage to destroy the republic. By capturing many of the slogans and some of the machinery of democracy he constructed a new autocracy over the ruins of popular sovereignty. From Napoleon Bismarck learned that liberalism and nationalism were not inseparable and that the latter could be used to suppress the former. For nearly half a century the German liberals had argued that national unity could only be achieved through popular sovereignty. By bringing it about under monarchical

³¹ *Ibid.*, VII, 234-35, 242. See also *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1907-1908), III, 272.

³² *Ibid.*, VII, 146.

³³ "Bismarck und die klassische Diplomatie," *Aussenpolitik*, III (1952), 635-42.

auspices, the talented Junker deprived German liberalism of its most forceful argument for political reform.

Having achieved the divorce of liberalism and nationalism, Bismarck wedded the latter to conservatism. Previously the two had been thought incapable of union. Since 1815, Prussian conservatism had been dominated by romantic thought which wished to preserve and even rebuild the social and political structure of feudalism. Bismarck, on the other hand, appreciated the dynamic quality of the nineteenth century and realized that, if conservative institutions were to endure, they must be continuously refortified from the new social and political forces of the age. Through universal suffrage he hoped to by-pass the liberal bourgeoisie and bring the monarchy into contact with the working class.³⁴ By linking the monarchy with German nationalism, moreover, he intended to establish a bond between the crown and its subjects which would transcend class distinctions. Through these means, in fact, Bismarck was able to justify and perpetuate the social and political position of the Junkers and the autocratic powers of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

Another element in the synthesis of ideas and institutions compounded by Bismarck was Prussian militarism. In 1862 he was summoned to save the military program of the monarchy and the Prussian high command. It was Albrecht von Roon, the minister of war, who persuaded William I to appoint the man who the latter feared "would turn everything upside down."³⁵ By guiding the monarchy into the service of the national cause, Bismarck defeated the attempt of the Landtag to dictate military policy through its budgetary powers. Because of this victory the Prussian officer caste was able to strengthen its monopoly of command. During Bismarck's term of office, in fact, the Prussian General Staff succeeded in removing itself from all political control, either by parliament or the civil executive.³⁶ When the civil or military powers of the monarchy were questioned by the Reichstag, Bismarck replied by declaring that Germany owed her unity to the kaiser, the Prussian army, and its great commander, Moltke. On these occasions he refurbished the story of the period of unification, painting William I as a German nationalist whose role had been more important than his own in the

³⁴ This was the purpose of Bismarck's conversations and correspondence with the socialist Ferdinand Lassalle in the early sixties. See Gustav Mayer, *Bismarck und Lassalle* (Berlin, 1928).

³⁵ Quoted in Friedjung, *Kampf*, I, 51-52.

³⁶ During these years the Prussian General Staff established that fatal separation of military and political authority which severed the co-ordination of military and foreign policy and ended with the creation of a military dictatorship during the First World War. See the illuminating article by Gerhard Ritter, "Das Verhältnis von Politik und Kriegführung im bismarckischen Reich," in Werner Conze, ed., *Deutschland und Europa*, Festschrift für Hans Rothfels (Düsseldorf, 1951), pp. 69-97.

crucial decisions of the sixties. In one of his most bitter speeches against the parliamentary opposition in 1882 he declared that the army was "alone the bearer of the national idea" in Germany. Personally he felt a greater identity with the nation, a greater "love of country" as a Prussian officer than as a political leader.⁸⁷

Bismarck's Reich was not a unitary state. Nevertheless, the unitary pressure of nationalism played a vital role in the constitutional system which he devised. Nationalism supplied the centripetal force to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of particularism. The former was institutionalized in the Reichstag and its nationalistic parties and the latter in the Bundestag and the federated dynasties. By balancing these institutions and the forces which they represented Bismarck hoped to avoid the two extremes of confederation and unitary government. During his first decade as chancellor he feared that particularism was stronger than nationalism. It was difficult to believe that the dynasties would immediately lose the habits of selfishness instilled by centuries of political independence. Within the new Reich, even inside Prussia herself, there were many hostile elements—Danes, Poles, Alsatians, Lorrainers, and Hanoverian "Guelphs"—which could not be reconciled to the new order of things. Another dissident group was the German Catholics. Fearful of a national union dominated by Protestants, they formed in 1870 a new political party, the Center, whose program was ultramontane and decentralistic. The Prussian conservatives, moreover, were highly critical of Bismarck's "revolutionary" policy and of the new state which he had created. In foreign affairs also the chancellor foresaw the possibility of difficult times; he feared that the ghost of Kaunitz would walk again, summoning forth the alliance which a century before had almost ruined Frederick the Great.

In order to counteract these forces Bismarck leaned heavily in the beginning upon the national and centralistic arm of his constitutional balance. He allied his cabinet with the National Liberal party and conducted the *Kulturkampf* against the Center. So vigorously did he pursue the development of the new central government that to one observer, the Saxon envoy in Berlin, it appeared that "Prussia will eventually merge into Germany and not the reverse." A high Prussian official complained, "Bismarck will yet ruin the whole Prussian state for us!"⁸⁸ At the same time he fostered the growth of a German national sentiment. "The decisive factor which the governmental press will have to stress in its efforts to conquer particularism," he wrote in

⁸⁷ *Werke*, XII, 387; also 277-78, 330-32, 577; XIII, 222.

⁸⁸ Hans Goldschmidt, *Das Reich und Preussen im Kampf um die Führung* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 138-39.

1866, "lies in the German and not in the Prussian nationality."³⁹ Lecturing the Prussian Landtag he declared, "We have no cause to nourish any other than a German national patriotism."⁴⁰ Throughout these years his speeches, writings, and conversation,⁴¹ as well as the addresses he prepared for his royal master,⁴² were freely sprinkled with the words, phrases, and sentiments common to the lexicon of nationalism.

Toward the end of the seventies Bismarck reversed his earlier policy. As he became less concerned about the danger of particularism, his fear of the Reichstag grew. In his constitutional system one of the functions of the Reichstag was to act as a check upon "bureaucratic absolutism" and irresponsible influences in the imperial court. As long as he was in office, however, Bismarck considered this check to be unnecessary. Convinced of the sovereign wisdom of his policies, he expected the Reichstag to be the pliant instrument of their fulfillment. But in this he was disappointed. Like most modern legislatures, the German parliament became an arena in which opposed interests and conflicting ideals competed with each other and with the executive for political power.

In search of a pliable majority Bismarck reorganized the Conservative party upon a national platform, liquidated the *Kulturkampf*, and tried to make peace with the Center. He broke with his former liberal allies and sought to weaken them by seducing the capitalistic class with a protectionist program. At the same time he leaned upon the decentralistic arm of the constitutional balance by attempting to weaken the executive organs of the Reich and by strengthening the Bundesrat at the expense of the Reichstag.⁴³ "In the preservation of the federal state," he declared in 1880, "I see a much greater capacity for resistance against the pressure of republicanism, which is evident in the Reichstag as well as in the whole of Europe, than would be

³⁹ This passage is from a message to Stolberg-Wernigerode, in which Bismarck instructed the new governor of Hanover in the methods to be used in reconciling the inhabitants of that principality to the loss of their independence. *Werke*, VIB, 249-50. For a similar reason he opposed the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine by Prussia and advocated the creation of a *Reichsland*. *Ibid.*, XI, 176-77.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, X, 419.

⁴¹ For examples see the following references: *Ibid.*, VI, 255-56, 303; VIA, 41, 177, 192, 284-86, 367; VII, 257-59, 372; X, 276-77, 314-15, 320, 324-25, 329, 388-89, 400-401, 467-68; XI, 24, 33, 44-47, 118-19, 132-33, 138, 192-93.

⁴² The words which Bismarck put into the mouth of his king were among the most nationalistic he ever penned. *Ibid.*, X, 273-74, 316-18, 370-71, 379-80, 384-85, 464-65, 467-68; XI, 126-28, 134-35, 140-43, 145-46, 193-94. Günther Franz discounted these speeches as a source for Bismarck's own national sentiment. *Nationalgefühl*, p. 76. They are, however, indicative of his desire to buttress the Hohenzollern monarchy by identifying it with the nation and making it an object for the patriotic loyalty of the masses.

⁴³ This did not weaken, of course, the hegemonial position of Prussia, which was the real repository of central political authority in Bismarck's constitutional system.

possible in a unitary state, in which only a single government—not a majority of governments—would stand opposed to the Reichstag.”⁴⁴

Despite this shift in viewpoint, Bismarck did not cease to express himself in nationalistic terms. On the contrary, he even used this idiom to explain his change of mind. In the German dynasties he claimed to have discovered a truer “national sentiment,” a greater “enthusiasm for German unity,” than existed in the Reichstag and the German electorate.⁴⁵ Bitterly he denounced the political parties as hostile to the national interest. Their “partisan particularism” should be forbidden by law.⁴⁶ Because of them Germany might yet return to the “round table of the Frankfurt Bundestag.”⁴⁷ If forced to choose between liberalism and parliamentary majority, on the one hand, and absolutism, patriotism, and Germany, on the other, his choice must be the latter.⁴⁸ This was the mood which produced the *Staatsstreichpläne* of the eighties in which the father of the German constitution contemplated the destruction of his progeny.

In contrast to the opposition, Bismarck invariably pictured himself as above all partisan behavior. He was the true representative of the nation, “of national patriotism against partisan particularism.”⁴⁹ Even when he rose to defend the material and political interests of the Junkers, he argued with no apparent consciousness of cant that their welfare was necessary for “orderly government” and essential to the continued existence of Prussia and the Reich.⁵⁰ In the face of political opposition Bismarck’s favorite answer was to equate national patriotism with political conformity. Those who disagreed with him were *Reichsfeinde*,⁵¹ the enemies of state and nation, a phrase which was to echo into the future.

The consequences of this strategy for the German liberal movement were severe. Although the liberals may be criticized for their readiness to compromise, it is true that they were subjected to a pressure difficult to withstand. In 1848 nationalism had provided them with the revolutionary zeal to attack the conservative social and political order. But nationalism was now captive to the opposition it had once assailed. Confronted by a triumphant conservative nationalism the German liberals lost confidence in the validity of their own principles.

⁴⁴ *Werke*, VIII, 363.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XII, 277, 365–66, 500, 506–507; XIII, 121, 236–37, 301; XV, 448.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XII, 485–86.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, 365; see also 139–40, 283, 378–79, 419–20; XIII, 27, 37, 80, 94 ff., 112, 257, 266 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XII, 390.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XII, 285; also 143–44, 164, 362, 389, 419–20; XIII, 16–17, 377.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XII, 611.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XIII, 122, 268, 271–72, 289, 312, 368, 380, 555.

IV

The problem is not exhausted with the realization that Bismarck exploited the sentiment of nationalism for political purposes. It remains to be determined whether he too was warmed and animated by the fire he helped to kindle.

Although often designed for political effect, his frequent utterances of German national sentiment after 1866 cannot be disregarded as wholly insincere. To be sure, he was not averse to the necessary political lie, but it seems improbable that he deliberately faked for more than thirty years an emotion which he did not feel. Such an accusation is contradicted by too many other traits in his personality: his contempt for sham, his aristocratic sense of honor, and his strong religious faith. His most nationalistic statements, moreover, are contained in speeches which he delivered after his dismissal from office. Although Bismarck did not withdraw from politics in 1890 and sought from his retirement to influence governmental policy, he nevertheless made many public speeches in which no immediate political intent is apparent. They were delivered before assemblies of common citizens, frequently students and teachers, who gathered to do him honor on his birthdays in Friedrichsruh or on his travels through Germany. The following excerpts are typical:⁵²

May it be our holy duty to nourish a strong and proud national sentiment and also to impregnate [our] children with the doctrine that the German, as soon as he crosses his border, loses in prestige if he cannot say that fifty million Germans stand united behind him, ready to defend German interests and German honor.

The bond which holds us inseparably together was formed from a mixture of blood, wounds, and death on the battlefield of St. Privat, from deeds performed in common under the attack of the hereditary foe who threatened our nationality and had need to destroy our unity. . . . history reveals that unity is most firmly established by comradeship in war.

. . . our national future lies to a great extent in the hands of the German teachers. (Bravo!) The schools have a very healthy influence upon our national institutions. Like our German officers' corps, our schools—and in this even the smallest state is no exception—are a peculiarly German institution, which other nations will not be able to imitate easily and quickly. (Stormy applause!) In the course of the last century the seeds planted in our youth have borne fruit and have given us a national political consciousness and a political understanding which previously were not ours.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XIII: (1) 479–80, address to the citizens of Treptow a. R.; (2) 436, address to the Dresden Choral Society; (3) 508, address to a convention of the Society for Public School Teachers in Bavaria; (4) 557, address to students from German universities and technical high schools. The last two hundred pages of Volume XIII of the *Werke* are studded with similar expressions of national sentiment.

After forty or sixty years perhaps you will not retain the opinions which you now have, but the seed planted in your young hearts during the period of Kaiser Willam I will, nevertheless, always bear fruit. Whatever changes may occur in our political institutions between now and then, your outlook will always remain a German national one, even when you grow old, because it is so today. One does not give up willingly the inner cultivation of the national sentiment, nor does one lose it either, even when one emigrates.

From these statements and many more it seems undeniable that Bismarck's national feeling was sincere. They were spoken not in the heat of parliamentary debate but in a more relaxed atmosphere before assemblies composed of citizens from every shade of the political spectrum. In them we see a didactic Bismarck, the elder statesman anxious to impart the distilled wisdom of a lifetime. They represent Bismarck as he wished to be remembered.

The first chancellor of the Reich was a German nationalist, but our search is not ended with the affirmation of this fact. The idea of the nation has assumed a variety of forms in Western thought. It remains to be determined in which Bismarck believed.

Friedrich Meinecke found it convenient to establish a twofold classification: the political nation (*Staatsnation*) and the cultural nation (*Kulturnation*).⁵³ The chief influence upon the development of the political nation was the power of the state. Political centralization led to cultural assimilation and to the growth of a national consciousness whose frontier coincided with that of the state. In some instances this sense of national identity was intensified by the introduction of political democracy. Through the theory of the social contract nationality also became a matter of individual choice, "un plébiscite de tous les jours," to use Renan's famous phrase. The molding influences in the development of the cultural nation, on the other hand, were ethnic similarity, related folkways, and a common language, literature, and religion. By describing the individuality of national cultures, Herder helped to awaken the slumbering nations of central and eastern Europe to an awareness of self. Romantic thought interpreted the nation as a cultural organism, and nationality became a matter of cultural heritage rather than personal decision. After Darwinism penetrated social thought, it also became a matter of racial stock.

Those who reject the idea of Bismarck's nationalism tend to judge him from the cultural rather than the political standpoint.⁵⁴ Although the concept of the cultural nation ultimately captured the German mind, that of the politi-

⁵³ *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (Munich, 1908), pp. 1 ff.

⁵⁴ For this reason apparently Günther Franz stated the fundamental problem of his *Bismarck's Nationalgefühl* as 'one of irreconcilable alternatives, "state or nation?"' (p. 5), despite the fact that his own analysis of the evidence (pp. 93 ff.) indicates that "state and nation" is the correct statement of the proposition.

cal nation was common in the nineteenth century. It was one of the reasons for the virulence of particularism. A long period of political independence had produced among the peoples of the larger German states a local patriotism which often took precedence over their loyalty to Germany as a whole. The bonds of this spiritual unity were dynastic allegiance, political and military tradition, and in some cases a common religion and tribal stock. "Because of her material importance, her definite tribal individuality, and the talent of her rulers," Bismarck wrote in 1865, "Bavaria is perhaps the only German country [*Land*] which has succeeded in developing a real, harmonious national sentiment."⁵⁵ He recognized that because she had incorporated many alien (German and non-German) peoples Prussia had less spiritual cohesion than Bavaria. Nevertheless, he often referred to the "Prussian nationality," as we have seen in a previous quotation.⁵⁶ Before 1866, in fact, the Prussian nation commanded his primary emotional allegiance. Without a state to give it substance, the German nation was never for him more than a shadow.

Through the expansion of Prussian power, the new state came into existence and with it the possibility of a German political nation. In 1866-1867 Bismarck is said to have often remarked, "My highest ambition is to make the Germans into a nation."⁵⁷ Thereafter he used the phrase "establishment of the German nationality" to describe his life's work.⁵⁸ Dynastic loyalty and national sentiment were inseparable in his mind. The idea of German unity under popular sovereignty was as much an anathema to him in 1866 as it had been in 1848. Only the preservation of monarchical authority, aristocratic privilege, and the Prussian military tradition within a united Germany made it possible for him to give priority to his German over his Prussian national sentiment.⁵⁹ Clearly his nationalism was none the less genuine because its matrix was the state rather than the cultural community.

Another reason for the failure to recognize Bismarck's nationalism lies in the field of psychology rather than historical definition. To many writers the terms "state" and "nation" correspond to two opposed faculties of the

⁵⁵ *Werke*, V, 116. See also Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (2d ed.; Freiburg, 1949), II, 88.

⁵⁶ Another interesting illustration is to be found in an address delivered to the Prussian House of Representatives in 1886. Speaking of the failure of Frederick William IV to unify Germany in 1849-1850, he concluded, "At that time the German nationality disappeared without a trace, although it was supported by the highest representative of the Prussian nationality." *Werke*, XIII, 149.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 18. Johannes Ziekursch recognized the significance of this reference and those quoted below. *Politische Geschichte des neuen deutschen Kaiserreiches* (Frankfurt a. M., 1925-30), I, 80.

⁵⁸ *Werke*, XI, 119; XII, 551; XIII, 349.

⁵⁹ See his famous letter to Albrecht von Roon, August 27, 1869, in which Bismarck argued that it was a matter of no consequence that the navy be renamed "German" or "North German," instead of "Prussian," as long as it was the "royal navy." *Ibid.*, XIV (2), 755-56.

mind. The former elicits reason, while the latter excites emotion: attitudes presumed to be incompatible in statecraft. The calculation of the reason of state is within the reach of individual statesmen alone—preferably members of an aristocracy raised and educated for the task. The sentiment of nationalism, on the other hand, arises from the unreasoning mind of the mass, which can think of foreign affairs only in terms of idealistic crusades. That the two faculties of reason and sentiment could be harbored in the same personality has seemed an illusion, especially in the case of Bismarck. The wizard of the Wilhelmstrasse has long been celebrated as a complete realist, guided in his conduct of public affairs entirely by the head rather than the heart. His dedication to the monarchical and conservative cause has likewise seemed to isolate him from the possibility of nationalistic contamination. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that conservatism, reason of state, and national sentiment were woven harmoniously together in the complex fabric of Bismarck's mind.

The close association between dynastic loyalty and national feeling is especially apparent in the famous chapter of his memoirs entitled "Dynastien und Stämme." "In order to become active and effective," he wrote, "German patriotism needs as a rule the mediation of dynastic attachment." When expressed in any other way national patriotism has no real substance. To be sure, the Germans can be momentarily goaded by extreme anger into a great national effort. But they are incapable of any lasting cohesion without the cement provided by dynastic allegiance. If the German princes were suddenly deposed, the Reich would disintegrate amid the frictions of European politics. The German dynasties, on the other hand, cannot afford to ignore the national interest in the pursuit of their own particularistic ambitions. "Dynastic interests can only be justified in Germany insofar as they adapt themselves to the general national interest of the Reich. . . . So far as dynastic interests threaten us with fresh national disunion and impotence, they must be reduced to their proper measure. The German people and their national existence cannot be divided among princes like private property."⁶⁰

Bismarck wished to be known and remembered as a German nationalist. From 1866 until his death in 1898 he carefully cultivated the impression that he had been guided during most of his career by national motives. Following are typical quotations chosen at intervals from his speeches and conversations during these years:⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XV, 199–203.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*: (1) VII, 130, interview with Victor von Unruh; (2) XI, 178, address to the Reichstag; (3) XII, 122, address to the Reichstag; (4) XIII, 149, address to the Prussian House of Representatives; (5) XIII, 444, address to members of the municipal government in Dresden. For similar references, see: *ibid.*, VII, 233, 464, 498; XI, 44, 104, 106; XII, 144, 194–95, 386–87, 390–91; XIII, 209, 507.

He then returned to the German question and said that he had pursued the same goal [national unity] for sixteen years. [1866]

The task which I gave myself—or I should say, which hovered before me [*mir vorgeschwebt hat*—when I assumed the office of Prussian foreign minister has been accomplished: i.e., the establishment of the German Reich in any possible shape or form. [1871]

From the beginning of my career I have had but a single guiding purpose: to bring about the unity of Germany, whatever the means and whichever the way. When this was achieved my only aim was to promote and strengthen this unity and to give it such a form that it will endure by the common consent of all concerned. [1879]

The publications which have since appeared concerning my activity in Frankfurt a. M. will spare me the trouble of proving in greater detail that I came to this position with the intention of serving Germany in a national way [*auf nationalem Wege*] and that I have not let hostility divert me. [1886]

I have dedicated my entire life to the service of the German nation. [1892]

In his posthumous memoirs, the chief source from which the next generation was to obtain its political education, the national emphasis is once more evident. He deliberately exaggerated the degree of German patriotism which he had experienced as a youth.⁶² His rejection of the cause of national unity in 1848–1850 he seems to explain away as an interruption in the progress of this sentiment brought on by disgust over the liberal attack upon monarchical rule.⁶³ In relating the story of the subsequent period he left the impression that he had sought “to win the King of Prussia, consciously or unconsciously, and thereby the Prussian army for the national cause.”⁶⁴ Bismarck was himself the source, in other words, of that nationalistic interpretation of his career which some scholars now seek to refute.

In view of the evidence it seems impossible to discount Bismarck's profession of German national sentiment after 1866. Even if one is inclined to do so, however, this is not the end of the matter. The question must then be asked whether the problem of his sincerity is not beside the point. The effect of his constant avowals was the same whether true or false. One of the reasons why the German public thought of the Second Reich as a “national state” was that its founder educated them in this conception.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XV, 5 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XV, 31 ff., 44 ff. See Franz, *Nationalgefühl*, p. 22.

⁶⁴ *Werke*, XV, 198. At another point in the book (pp. 231–32) the author admitted that he would have been willing in 1862 to attempt a dual rather than a national solution to the German question, although inclined to doubt the permanence of such a settlement. The effect of the entire volume is such, however, that this admission was long ignored. Heinrich von Sybel had realized that Bismarck's primary motive before 1866 was to expand the Prussian state and that he did not consider war with Austria the only possible way to achieve this end. *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I* (Munich, 1889–94), II, 147–48, and IV, 260–62. After interviewing Bismarck in Friedrichsruh in 1890 (*Werke*, IX, 49–50) and later reading his memoirs, Friedjung, on the other hand, thought himself justified in correcting this thesis. *Kampf um die Vorherrschaft*, I, 141–42.

Bismarck's view of the nation was a limited one, more compatible with the reason of state than other forms of the national idea. Unlike the pan-German nationalists, he felt no moral compulsion to bring all Germans under a single roof. In his opinion the reason of the German state actually dictated a contrary policy. Following the tradition of classical diplomacy, Bismarck looked upon Europe as a multiple political system, composed of five major states balanced in an equilibrium of power. The destruction of Austria, or any other member, would have eliminated an important weight in the balance and hence upset the scale. Furthermore, Bismarck avoided the kind of bellicose speeches with which William II was later to mortgage German foreign policy. He had no sympathy for chauvinistic nationalism.

Likewise Bismarck never accepted the viewpoint of the racial nationalist. He was anti-Semitic, to be sure, but this prejudice was based more on the social and religious distaste common to his social class than upon racial bigotry. His racial beliefs, in fact, would hardly have gained him admission to the Nazi party. He was fond of observing that the Germans were a masculine, and the Slavs a feminine, people. Since the former quality gave rise to an incorrigible spirit of independence and the latter to an attitude of passive dependence, he considered neither capable of creating a cohesive state. Only the mixture of the two, as in the case of Prussia, could produce a people capable of strong government.⁶⁵ Although it bolstered his case for Prussian hegemony in Germany, his racial theory had no apparent influence upon his political decisions.

Bismarck was not a totalitarian. He was well aware that absolutism either by the monarch or the mass would endanger the privileged position of the Junker class. As we have seen, he sought to restrict the unitary pressure of German nationalism. It is questionable, however, whether the Second Reich was a truly federal system. The overbearing size of Prussia and her hegemonial position within the German political structure scarcely accorded with the principle of federal equality. Despite the system of checks and balances, moreover, the final lever of power lay with the Hohenzollern monarchy and its ministers. As long as the kaiser was in control of the executive and the armed forces, his was the decisive voice. Protected by the shield of the monarchy, Bismarck was able to exert great pressure upon the political parties to make them conform to his will. When pressed by the Reichstag, he threatened to reduce its power and transform its character by unilaterally revising the constitution. If he had not been dismissed from office in 1890, he

⁶⁵ *Werke*, VII, 223; XIII, 570-71.

would probably have done so.⁶⁶ In the last analysis Bismarck recognized no limits, other than expedience, to the degree of coercion he was justified in employing to gain what he thought was a necessary end.

The Second Reich was very different from the Third, and yet it did establish certain precedents which were to nurture the latter. By his career Bismarck fostered the tradition of the *Tatmensch*, the man of iron will and decision who manipulates the reins of power, responsible only to his own conscience for the results. He perpetuated the myth of the statesman above politics, interested only in the welfare of the whole rather than in personal power and the privileges of his social class. In the twentieth century the German conservatives from Ludendorff to Hugenberg continued Bismarck's tactic of using nationalism as a weapon with which to defeat and, if possible, destroy the liberals, socialists, and communists. They learned too late that nationalism could be anticonservative, as well as antiliberal and anti-Marxist. It is ironical that the German conservatives themselves ultimately fell victim to the monster they helped to create.

Bismarck's synthesis of nationalism, autocracy, and militarism also contributed to the milieu out of which the Nazi movement came. It contained none of the mitigating influences—such as pacifism and respect for the rights of the individual and the minority—which had tempered liberal nationalism in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, the three elements of the synthesis did not remain within the limits conceived by its creator. Under the impact of the First World War the flimsy obstacles which he erected against the growth of absolutism were swept away. By 1917 Germany was ruled by a military dictatorship whose expansionist policy was incompatible with the re-establishment of the European balance of power. Bismarck's narrow conception of the nation, moreover, was not widely shared. In his own lifetime the nationalistic phrases which he employed meant something different to his hearers than to himself. Cultural and racial nationalism had a stronger emotional appeal than dynastic patriotism and the reason of state.⁶⁷ With the substitution of these forms of the national idea Bismarck's synthesis became a revolutionary instrument. Combined with the Prussian traditions of autocracy and militarism, German cultural and racial nationalism became the most potent threat to the stability of the European order which Western civilization had yet produced.

If one line of German development runs from the Revolution of 1848

⁶⁶ See Egmont Zechlin, *Die Staatsreichspläne Bismarcks und Wilhelms II.* (Stuttgart, 1929).

⁶⁷ Bismarck was himself not immune to the appeal of cultural nationalism. In some of his speeches of the nineties he paid tribute to the national ties created by German art, science, and literature. *Werke*, XIII, 425–26, 436–37, 577.

through Treitschke to Hitler, another certainly goes from Bismarck through Ludendorff to Hitler. In both cases many of the restraining influences were lost along the way. Ideas which had once been integral became dissociated and were never effectively recombined. On the one hand, liberalism was jettisoned in pursuit of the chimera of national unity. The German conservatives, on the other hand, became themselves the prisoners of the nationalistic sentiment with which they sought to broaden their popular support. From opposite directions these lines of development (and others which cannot be analyzed here) converged upon the revolution of 1933. Out of this unfortunate chemistry of more than a century came the unstable compound of National Socialism. Many were the chemists who unknowingly had a hand in its creation. Bismarck was certainly one of them.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Woodrow Wilson, a Third Term, and the Solemn Referendum

WESLEY M. BAGBY

AS election year, 1920, neared there was more than the usual speculation as to whether the President would be a candidate. Political reporters wrote variously that two presidents, Roosevelt and Wilson, would campaign against each other for a third term; that Wilson would run in order to assure United States participation in the League of Nations; and even that he resisted compromise with Republicans in order to make the League the issue for a third term bid. The consensus of press and politicians, at least before his breakdown in September, 1919, was that Wilson would run again.¹

Wilson's position of leadership within his party was overshadowing; many Democrats were ready to cry "long live the king." According to the party chairman, Homer Cummings, the 1918 election had shown that Democrats could hope to win in 1920 only by adding Wilson's personal following to the normal party vote.² Attorney General Palmer proclaimed that Wilson could be elected, and national committeeman Norman E. Mack said he did not see how anyone else could be the nominee.³ Seibold, of the *New York World*, wrote that Democratic leaders hoped Wilson would run and, unless he indicated otherwise, would take his consent for granted.⁴

No statement came from Wilson, and through 1919 there is no consistent evidence concerning his attitude. His political theory opposed any arbitrary time limit on executive leadership, and, in February, 1919, the White House denied a report that Wilson had intimated he would not run.⁵ In Paris, House reported, Wilson was at one time on the brink of withdrawing. Wilson saw press comment that removal of his personal political fortunes from

¹ *Nation*, Jan. 31, 1918, p. 105; *New York Times*, June 20, 1918, p. 1; June 21, 1918, p. 12; July 20, 1919, p. 1; Aug. 1, 1919, p. 11; *New York Post*, May 28, 1919, p. 1; *New York Tribune*, Sept. 22, 1919, p. 13; R. W. Wooley to Tumulty, Aug. 19, 1919, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3, Library of Congress.

² Cummings, "Comments on the Recent Congressional Election," Nov. 7, 1918, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 155, Library of Congress.

³ *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1919, p. 8; *New York Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1919, p. 1.

⁴ *New York World*, July 7, 1919, p. 7.

⁵ *New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1919, p. 3.

the fight would facilitate passage of the League through the Senate and wired Presidential Secretary Tumulty for a consensus of his advisers. Tumulty replied against a third term but said that, because of Democratic discouragement at 1920 prospects, the time was not ripe for an announcement.⁶

Some thought that Wilson's September speaking tour was designed less to influence the Senate than to initiate his candidacy. His breakdown changed the picture sharply.⁷ There were still expressions of support, and South Dakota's state convention declared for him, but, in general, sentiment shifted. His staunch supporter, the New York *World*, now held that a third race was unthinkable, and his illness convinced his most loyal associates that he was "unavailable."⁸

Nevertheless, the possibility that Wilson might be the Democratic candidate played a part in the sparring of the parties preliminary to the 1920 contest. If Wilson could add to his reforms and war leadership the creation of an international organization, his prestige might become unbeatable at the polls. If Wilson sought to make the League the vehicle of Democratic victory, Republicans, perforce, must accept the issue and so amend the treaty as to give it a bipartisan character or defeat it.

Wilsonian Democrats, who wanted the League ratified and who generally felt Wilson was not able to fight, urged the President to compromise with the Republicans. Bernard Baruch, Joseph Tumulty, and Mrs. Wilson dared to suggest such a course to him; his strongest newspaper supporters, the New York *World* and the Springfield *Republican*, so expressed themselves insistently, a majority of Democratic senators broke away from him on the issue, and virtually the entire group of his cabinet and political advisers favored accepting the Lodge reservations.⁹

Wilson, however, maintained that the reservationists sought to nullify, though most pro-League leaders and "experts" did not think so; he identified his position with the nation's honor and asked that the election be made a "great and solemn referendum" on the treaty.¹⁰ He discouraged attempts at compromise in the Senate, vigorously prodded Democrats against any tend-

⁶ New York *Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1920, p. 1; David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1924), pp. 299-300; John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston, 1951), p. 190.

⁷ New York *Post*, Sept. 16, 1919, p. 9.

⁸ New York *Times*, Dec. 2, 1919, p. 1; New York *World*, Dec. 4, 1919, p. 14, editorial; Jan. 8, 1920, p. 1; *Literary Digest*, Dec. 27, 1919.

⁹ Edith B. Wilson, *My Memoir* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 296-97; Carter Field, *Bernard Baruch* (New York, 1944), pp. 180-90, 194; told by Baruch to Allan Nevins, Nevins to author, 1948; New York *World*, Dec. 18, 1919, p. 10, editorial; Jan. 10, 1920, p. 10, editorial; Springfield *Republican*, Jan. 9, 1920, p. 8, editorial.

¹⁰ New York *Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1920, p. 1; New York *World*, May 11, 1920, p. 14, editorial; Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York, 1945), pp. 383-84.

ency to evade the issue, and took care that the draft of the Democratic platform represented his ideas.¹¹

Senator Lodge, whom more than a few suspected of harboring ambition, was willing to accept the issue. Hoping that Wilson personally would carry the League into the campaign, because he would be the "worst beaten" man who ever lived, Lodge publicly called for a referendum on the difference between himself and the President. The *World* chided that only Lodge's shrinking modesty prevented him from mentioning the super-available Republican candidate on such an issue.¹²

Wilson's attitude of apparent receptivity had a dampening effect on Democratic preconvention activity. The leading figures produced by the administration were William Gibbs McAdoo, Herbert Hoover, and the red-hunting Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer. McAdoo was in a state of tortured indecision—probably he could get the nomination if he worked for it but he could not enter in apparent opposition to his chief and father-in-law even though Wilson was too sick to be nominated. McAdoo anxiously sought information about Wilson's intentions from Dr. Grayson and Tumulty and then adopted a policy of refusing openly to enter the race while allowing his supporters to work quietly for him.¹³ Later, when Wilson took steps that appeared as a bid for nomination, McAdoo announced that he would not allow his name to be presented to the convention.¹⁴

Although Mrs. Wilson told his manager that it might be necessary for Wilson to run, Palmer, less sensitive, wrote Wilson that unless the President asked him to support someone he would enter as a candidate and would resign from the cabinet if desired. When he received a somewhat testy reply that Wilson had no objection to his trying to get delegates but the convention must be left free to choose whom it pleased, he entered the primaries, though with slight success.¹⁵

In their attempts to fill the vacuum created by the lack of an administration candidate the Democrats thought of nominating Hoover. Hoover ap-

¹¹ See Wilson on Simmons compromise, *New York World*, Feb. 8, 1920, p. 1; Wilson to Hitchcock, *New York World*, Mar. 9, 1920, p. 1; Wilson to Kansas State Convention and Senator Underwood's reaction, *New York World*, May 10, 1920, p. 1; May 11, p. 2; Wilson's veto of the Knox resolution, *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1920, p. 1.

¹² Lodge to Root, Sept. 29, 1919, Root Papers, Box 231, Library of Congress. *New York World*, Nov. 22, 1919, p. 1; Nov. 24, 1919, p. 10, editorial.

¹³ McAdoo to Tumulty, Feb. 14, 1920; McAdoo to C. G. Bowers, Jan. 24, 1920; McAdoo to Thomas Love, Feb. 7, 1920; McAdoo to Jouett Shouse, May 3, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46, Library of Congress. (The donor, who under the conditions of his gift may control access to these papers until July 1, 1959, has now closed them to research until that date.)

¹⁴ *New York Times*, June 19, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁵ Josephus Daniels Diary, Feb. 20, 1920, Daniels Papers, Box 3, Library of Congress; Mrs. Funk to Roper, Feb. 27, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 445; Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), pp. 495-96.

peared receptive when approached by the party leadership but, as the movement was being organized, torpedoed it by announcing that he was a Republican.¹⁶ Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, unembarrassed by loyalty to Wilson, conducted an unpretentious "boom," relying on administrative disorganization, opposition of the political bosses to Wilson, and the strategic position of his own state. William Jennings Bryan, already something of a historical figure, opposed making the treaty the issue, tried to get it ratified despite Wilson, and favored a campaign on more "Bryanese" issues such as prohibition.

Wilson's own role in 1920 cannot be treated realistically without emphasizing that he was unwell. In Paris, in April, he became ill, and, although incapacitated at that time for only a few days, he never fully recovered. Close associates found him with new peculiarities: he had become suspicious, inconsiderate, physically less alert, less poised, and more emotional. On his September tour he suffered further attacks of illness and returned to Washington. Here he was stricken again, almost completely incapacitated for a month, and left partially paralyzed.¹⁷

Homer Cummings and George Creel thought that his mind had lost none of its clarity although he talked little and had less control over his feelings. Carter Glass, however, who found his interviews trying, thought that the President's mind had begun to cloud. He did not assume his customary initiative, seemed to have difficulty in following discussion at his cabinet meeting, and his private secretary said that, after his illness, he never dictated more than five minutes at a time. Ike Hoover and Starling, White House usher and guard, found him irascible and unreasonable. David Lawrence said that it was to his physical condition, his lapses of memory, irritability, and excessive emotion that many of his acts must be attributed.¹⁸

As the date of the convention drew near with Wilson still refusing to

¹⁶ New York *World*, Jan. 21, 1920, p. 10, editorial; Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era* (Chapel Hill, 1946), pp. 323-24; Homer Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

¹⁷ Wilson's illness was cerebral thrombosis—the blocking of an artery in the brain with consequent destruction of part of the brain. This illness may last for many years, punctuated by attacks as additional arteries close, and may have varying effects on personality and character. Usually the core personality remains and the patient at times may appear his old self. Some frequent (though not invariable) effects of the illness are that the patient becomes irascible, suspicious, morose, overemotional, loses physical and mental abilities, loses judgment and he may become somewhat psychopathic with moral changes. Walter C. Alvarez, "Cerebral Arteriosclerosis," *Geriatrics*, I (1946), 189-216.

¹⁸ Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; George Creel, *Rebel at Large* (New York, 1947), pp. 225-28; Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, *Carter Glass* (New York, 1939), p. 205; David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet* (New York, 1926), p. 70; Blum, *Tumulty*, p. 312; Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston, 1934), pp. 95-99; Edmund W. Starling as told to Thomas Sugrue, *Starling of the White House* (New York, 1946), pp. 137-57; David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1924), p. 283.

withdraw, sentiment among Democrats changed from regret to alarm and resentful hostility. Tumulty wrote Mrs. Wilson strongly urging a "dignified statement of withdrawal." Representative Humphreys, at the urging of Democratic leaders including Claude Kitchin, made an impassioned speech in the House against a third term, regretting that Wilson had allowed the country to believe he was willing.¹⁹ However, the *Literary Digest* poll showed Wilson to be second only to McAdoo as the popular choice for the Democratic nomination.²⁰

In a situation which made him the logical standard-bearer Wilson apparently began to promote positively his candidacy. In the Wilson Papers is a note in Wilson's handwriting headed "The Solemn Referendum and Accounting of Your Government." Here Wilson asks if the people wished to make use of his services for another four years as President.²¹ About the first of March, 1920, he summoned his political advisers to meet at the Chevy Chase Country Club to consider what part he should play in politics in the immediate future.²²

On June 18, six days after the nomination of Harding and ten days before the opening of the Democratic convention, the New York *World* created a sensation by publishing an interview with Wilson by Louis Seibold. The interview emphasized Wilson's recovery—Seibold had watched him transact important business with all his "old time decisiveness, method and keenness of intellectual appraisalment." Wilson was confident that the election would be a referendum on the League, that the Democratic convention would choose candidates who would command greater support than Harding and Coolidge, and was eager to appeal to the people directly.²³ Tumulty had wished to use the interview for platform ideas and a statement of withdrawal, but on his memorandum opposite "personal plans" Mrs. Wilson wrote that there was to be nothing but exaltation of Wilson.²⁴

On the afternoon of the same day the news broke that McAdoo would not allow his name to be presented to the convention. A New York *Tribune*

¹⁹ Tumulty to Mrs. Wilson, Mar. 23, 1920, Blum, *Tumulty*, p. 242; New York *Tribune*, Mar. 26, 1920, p. 1.

²⁰ *Literary Digest*, June 12, 1920, p. 20.

²¹ This item, undated, is found among October, 1920, papers but it is the writer's opinion that these notes were made in preparation for the January 8 Jackson Day address and were withdrawn from the files to aid in preparation of the October 3 appeal. Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 170.

²² Field, *Baruch*, p. 194; Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; Card of the Postmaster General, Burleson Papers, XXV, Library of Congress.

²³ New York *World*, June 18, 1920, p. 1.

²⁴ Blum, *Tumulty*, p. 243. Soon after this interview Wilson posed for George W. Harris and released pictures showing him at work at his desk. New York *Tribune*, June 21, 1920, p. 1. Seibold's subsequent reports from San Francisco seemed designed to promote Wilson as the Democratic nominee. New York *World*, June 24, 1920, p. 1; June 25, 1920, p. 2; June 28, 1920, p. 1; July 5, 1920, p. 1.

headline, "McAdoo Refuses to Enter Race, Wilson May Seek Third Term," was typical of newspaper reaction to the two events.²⁵ The Illinois boss, Brennan, told Murphy and Smith of New York that McAdoo's withdrawal appeared to be a certain indication that the President wanted the nomination, and neither contradicted him.²⁶ Wall Street odds, which had been 20 to 1 against Wilson, made him a 9 to 5 favorite by June 30.²⁷

Before leaving for San Francisco several administration leaders called at the White House. On May 31 Homer Cummings talked about everything but possible candidates, although Wilson apparently wanted him to broach that subject.²⁸ Wilson wrote, however, that Cummings, who was on record that the Democrats could win only with the help of Wilson's personal following, was to represent the President at San Francisco.²⁹ Carter Glass visited the White House on June 10, where Postmaster General Burleson told him he believed Wilson wanted a third term, and Glass found Tumulty and Grayson anxious about it. Glass discussed candidates and Wilson was negative toward all of them. When Glass told Grayson of his interview, Grayson implored him to prevent the nomination of Wilson in order to save the President's "life and fame."³⁰ Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby was the last of the leaders to see Wilson before the convention. We have no account of his conference, but subsequent events indicated that he was even more strongly impressed than Cummings and Glass of Wilson's desire for a third nomination.

On the eve of the convention much of the press regarded Wilson's nomination as a distinct possibility, though most of the delegates seemed to consider him unavailable. A conference at Salt Lake City, reportedly representing forty per cent of the delegates, formed a combination in restraint of Wilson.³¹ When, as the convention was called to order, the unveiling of a huge portrait signalized a demonstration for Wilson, some northern bosses sat tight fearing an attempt to stampede the convention.³²

The administration controlled the convention: it chose all important officials, had its representative deliver the keynote address, and dictated the platform. The Bryan forces and the bosses were outnumbered and split on

²⁵ New York *Tribune*, June 19, 1920, p. 1; Chicago *Tribune*, June 19, 1920, p. 2; Mark Sullivan in New York *Post*, July 1, 1920, p. 5.

²⁶ New York *Tribune*, June 20, 1920, p. 2; New York *World*, June 20, 1920, p. 2.

²⁷ New York *World*, June 23, 1920, p. 2; July 1, p. 1.

²⁸ Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

²⁹ Wilson to Meredith, June 14, 1920, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 168.

³⁰ Smith, *Glass*, pp. 205-206; Glass "Diary," June 19, 1920, Glass Papers, University of Virginia.

³¹ New York *Post*, June 19, 1920, p. 1; Chicago *Tribune*, June 22, 1920, p. 2; June 25, pp. 1, 2; Washington *Star*, June 23, p. 1.

³² New York *Post*, June 29, 1920, p. 1; Broun in New York *Tribune*, June 29, 1920, pp. 1, 2.

prohibition. But as to a candidate, administration forces were unorganized. McAdoo opened with the greatest strength despite his earlier statements, but he consistently maintained his role by holding Daniel C. Roper and Bernard Baruch out of San Francisco, thus leaving his supporters without a leader of authority to plan strategy or to bargain.³³ Anti-administration Democrats, except Bryan, grouped around Cox, but many favorite sons refused to give up. It was not until after thirty-eight ballots, taken over four days, that Palmer gave in and his supporters went to Cox, who was nominated on the forty-fourth ballot. Franklin D. Roosevelt as Vice-President was the administration's consolation prize. Wilson might have thrown the nomination to McAdoo, but, though he gave directions on all other matters, here he remained silent.³⁴

There was some suggestion in the press of a backstage move by administration leaders during the long deadlock to nominate Wilson, but the real story was unknown and not revealed fully for years—a remarkable political secret kept in a silence of embarrassment. Burleson, who with flattery had encouraged Wilson's third term thoughts, quickly discovered at San Francisco what he must have known before, that the delegates were not going to nominate the sick President; hence he came out openly for McAdoo.³⁵ Cummings, reporting by code, telegraphed that Palmer could not be nominated, Cox was badly managed, and McAdoo might be nominated, adding, "It is a Wilson convention in spirit and purpose."³⁶

Colby, known for his intense personal loyalty, tried to get the nomination for Wilson. He told a *New York Times* reporter that there had not been a moment when a motion to nominate Wilson by acclamation would not have carried.³⁷ On Friday, July 2, the day balloting began, Colby, without consulting the leaders in San Francisco but, perhaps, after a telephone call to the White House, sent Wilson a dramatic telegram. There was fervent unanimity of feeling for Wilson, he said, no candidate presented could be nominated, and Bryan was threatening. He proposed, unless definitely instructed otherwise, at the first opportune moment to move suspension of the rules and place Wilson's name in nomination.³⁸

³³ Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, July 6, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 448.

³⁴ Carter Glass carried the administration draft of the platform to San Francisco. Wilson sent a plank calling for liberalization of the Volstead Act by Cummings who gave it to Glass, who pocketed it. Cummings to author, July, 1953. The keynote address was submitted to Wilson for approval and Wilson even sent a list of names from which he suggested the vice-presidential nominee be taken. Wilson to Cummings, code telegram, June 12, 1920, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

³⁵ Burleson to D. C. Roper, July 12, 1920, Burleson Papers, XXVI.

³⁶ Cummings to Wilson, June 30, 1920, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 169.

³⁷ *New York Times*, July 1, 1920, p. 1.

³⁸ Cummings Memorandum, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; Colby to Wilson, July 2, 1920, Wilson Papers, Ser. II, Box 169.

Cummings, learning of the telegram, told Colby that this would place the President and his friends in an impossible position and that a nomination would sign his death warrant. He asked, furthermore, that Wilson's friends be taken into consultation. Cummings, Burleson, Daniels, and Robinson gathered in Colby's room Saturday morning. Colby's action aroused indignation and resentment in the group. Glass said the plan was utterly impossible and unthinkable. He felt like a criminal, said Colby, pathetically.³⁹

Reports that day from Cummings and Burleson seemed designed to let Wilson down easily. Cummings wired Saturday afternoon, after the seventeenth ballot, that the situation had not become static and that Cox had an advantageous strategic position. The delegates were apparently inflexible in their support of candidates already nominated. He was, he said, in touch with Wilson's loyal friends.⁴⁰ Burleson wired that indications pointed to a rapid nomination of McAdoo. A conference had canvassed the situation in the light of the telephone message to Colby, he said, and if an opportune moment arrived, action would be taken.⁴¹ In view of press reports of Burleson's activity for McAdoo this telegram must have been unwelcome. Wilson wired Cummings that the Postmaster General was not to be included in further intimate conferences.⁴²

The conference of administration leaders at San Francisco required Colby to send a sad "No" to Wilson. After exhaustive consideration, Colby wired, it was the opinion of all that opponents could block a motion to set aside the rules and that the lines of existing candidacies were drawn so tightly that Wilson's name would not command votes sufficient to nominate. A small vote for him might be taken as the real expression of the party on the League. The conference suggested that Wilson wire Cummings instructing him that such a course be pursued in the matter as seemed to them practicable and judicious.⁴³

Wilson's reply seemed to suggest another conference restricted to his closest political friends. He said that he hoped that such a course would be pursued as seemed practicable and judicious to Cummings, Colby, Robinson, Glass, Hull, McCormick, and to Baruch if they could reach him.⁴⁴ Baruch was not in San Francisco, but it was the unanimous opinion of the others that nothing further should be done.⁴⁵

³⁹ Cummings Memorandum; Colby to Wilson, July 4, 1920, code telegram, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3; Daniels, *Wilson Era*, pp. 555-56.

⁴⁰ Cummings to Wilson, July 3, 1920, code telegram, R. S. Baker Papers, Ser. I-A, Box 3.

⁴¹ Burleson to Wilson, July 3, 1920, code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴² Wilson to Cummings, (July 4?), code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴³ Colby to Wilson, code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Wilson to Cummings, code telegram, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Cummings Memorandum, *ibid.*

At the White House Wilson had sat on the back veranda coding and decoding by himself; not even Tumulty saw the messages.⁴⁶ Tumulty learned of the move to nominate Wilson by a telephone call from Ray Baker in San Francisco and sent a series of notes to Mrs. Wilson against it, suggesting that Wilson put in a word for one of the other candidates. His notes were not answered. When Cox telephoned requesting a denial of reports by Glass that Cox was unacceptable to Wilson, the President refused to break his silence and Tumulty, on his own initiative, denied that Wilson had expressed opinions about the candidates.⁴⁷

When Burleson returned from San Francisco Wilson sent for him and demanded to know just what had taken place there. Burleson sent him an account he had written but Wilson returned it with a note stating that he did not desire to read it and Burleson then sensed Wilson's feeling against him for what had occurred at San Francisco. Kerney reported that Wilson issued a demand for Burleson's resignation, and it took considerable strategy to get him to recall it.⁴⁸

If Wilson had remained in good health it is possible that he would have made a strong bid to shatter the third term tradition. Before his breakdown he was at least holding the door open for a third nomination. After he had been stricken by cerebral thrombosis and the Senate had defeated the treaty, he seemed little interested in compromise but pursued a policy of making the League the issue of the 1920 campaign. Despite urging, he refused to withdraw, preserved an inviting attitude toward the nomination, and privately opposed all other aspirants. As the convention approached he took a number of steps apparently designed to secure the nomination and fostered an abortive move to "draft" him at San Francisco. His illness and his receptivity to a third nomination not only frustrated compromise on the Treaty of Versailles; they help also to explain some of the obscure aspects of his last year in the Presidency.

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⁴⁶ Cummings Memorandum (under date of July 26, 1920), *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Blum, *Tumulty*, pp. 246-47, *Washington Star*, July 4, 1920, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Burleson to Josephus Daniels, Oct. 23, 1934, Daniels Papers, Box 704; James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1926), p. 457; Hoover, *Forty-two Years*, p. 107.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

TEACHERS OF HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF LAURENCE BRADFORD PACKARD. Edited by *H. Stuart Hughes* with the Collaboration of *Myron P. Gilmore* and *Edwin C. Rozwenc*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for Amherst College. 1954. Pp. vi, 372. \$5.00.)

THE exceptionally high level of style and scholarship maintained throughout these fifteen essays makes them a worthy tribute to Professor Packard and convincing proof of his remarkable influence as a teacher of history, first at the University of Rochester and (since 1925) at Amherst College. How broad, intense, and persistent that influence has been President Charles W. Cole of Amherst makes clear in his persuasive and perceptive introduction to these *Festschriften*. All the contributions are first-rate and all merit equal comment, but unfortunately space forbids a critical assessment of each. This review must be a catalogue rather than a criticism. Only so can it minimize a limitation inherent in a volume of discrete monographs: the risk that some may escape the attention of those who would be most eager to learn of them.

The essays are arranged under three heads: "Individual Figures," "Historiographic Traditions," and "Problems of Interpretation." Under the first Myron P. Gilmore discusses "Erasmus and the Study of History"; Ralph Bowen, "The Education of an Encyclopedist [Diderot]"; Paul Farmer, "The Social Theory of Frédéric Le Play"; Melvin Kranzberg, "Napoleon III's *Histoire de Jules César*"; Robert F. Byrnes, "Pobedonostsev as a Historian"; Edwin C. Rozwenc, "Henry Adams and the Federalists"; H. Stuart Hughes, "Gaetano Mosca and the Political Lessons of History"; and Paul L. Ward, "Huizinga's Approach to the Middle Ages."

Under "Historiographic Traditions" Burr C. Brundage offers "A Résumé and Interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern Historiography"; Robert Sidney Smith, "Spanish Population Thought before Malthus"; James F. Clarke, "Father Paisi and Bulgarian History"; and John Whitney Hall, "Historiography in Japan." Under "Problems of Interpretation" Allen Gilmore contributes "Trends, Periods and Classes"; John Bowditch, "War and the Historian"; and Frederick S. Allis, Jr., "The Dred Scott Labyrinth."

All the historians represented here graduated from Amherst between 1927 and 1942. All have gone on to do significant research and writing. All handle the tools of their craft expertly and command a luminous and disciplined prose. How much the ripening of their talents was stimulated by the master under whom all studied, how great a debt each owes to his guidance, none outside their group

can estimate. But this reviewer, who has known and profited by Laurence Packard's editorial acuity, can readily believe their debt is beyond computation.

Mount Holyoke College

GEOFFREY BRUUN

EVENTAIL DE L'HISTOIRE VIVANTE: HOMMAGE A LUCIEN FEBVRE OFFERT PAR L'AMITIÉ D'HISTORIENS, LINGUISTES, GÉOGRAPHES, ECONOMISTES, SOCIOLOGUES, ETHNOLOGUES. In two volumes. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1953. Pp. 452; 468.)

To commemorate his seventy-fifth birthday in 1953, Lucien Febvre's friends and students were happily inspired to pay tribute to the man who, by common accord, is considered the great renovator of historical studies in their country. In this embattled *chef d'école*, "vehement and fond of battle, always going straight to the goal," in the words of his close friend, the distinguished Fernand Braudel, ever "expressing strongly that which is strong," in his own, they see the dynamic and encyclopedic champion of the new history, whose unceasing advocacy of a broader and deeper conception of history and historical methodology has produced, to quote from Braudel again, "une révolution de l'esprit" in France. Their esteem for him has taken the form of this impressive two-volume collection of learned articles, totaling over 900 pages and comprising eighty-three separate contributions.

Overflowing with vitality and enthusiasm, writes Braudel in his revealing pen picture of the man, he is "attentive, charming, impassioned, discreet, dazzling, strewing ideas and recollections with prodigal hand, happy to see all, to discuss all." As professor, up to his recent retirement, at the Collège de France and, before his return to Paris, successively professor at Dijon and Strasbourg, he has fired generations of students whose subsequent brilliant careers as researchers and teachers attest the inspiration they received from him. But it is not his teaching alone, they maintain, nor even his distinguished writings in the sixteenth century that have given him his eminence and won him the admiration of his many associates and disciples. Those activities, notable as they are, were part of his larger crusade, which found expression in his work as editor—of the *Revue de synthèse* where, in 1907, he began his long association with Henri Berr; of the *Annales*, which he founded in 1929 and made one of the great vitalizing forces in French historiography; of the monumental *Encyclopédie française* of which he was an animating spirit and general editor for years.

The *Hommage à Lucien Febvre* then occasions no surprise for those who know his work. But how convey adequately and in fewer words than there are pages in this very work the extraordinary breadth and range of the contributions! To indicate its formal structure might be helpful. The first section deals with "History," its methods, points of view, definitions, and there one finds admirable articles, among others, by Georges Bourgin and Jean Fourastié. In a second section, entitled "Social Sciences," and concerned with questions of geography, psychology,

ethnology, demography, and economics, there are twenty-one articles, including those by R. Schnerb, A. Koyré, and I. Meyerson. A third section of the first volume, covering "The Present," has essays by such outstanding historians as Pierre Renouvin, André Monglond, and Franz van Kalken. In the four sections that make up the second volume, dealing with various historical problems from antiquity to the French Revolution, the reader will again recognize familiar names, Zeller, Meuvret, Renaudet, and Gernet.

But to take note of the formal structure (which at best is somewhat artificial) does little to indicate the astounding heterogeneity of the subject matter. By way of illustration, there are articles, ranging from four to twenty-five pages, on serfdom, slavery in the Middle Ages, the Entente Cordiale, Heidegger, the myth in ancient India, Gide's *Caves du Vatican*, Guicciardini, the contemporary cinema, land problems in Lombardy, social welfare in Spain. There is more than enough to satisfy the most eclectic interests, doubtless of M. Febvre himself.

Still for all their diversity, the contributions are linked together in a broad but real unity. Taken collectively, are they not a magnificent illustration of the impact that Febvre has made upon his age? For he has been no plowman working a single furrow, writes Bourgin in a moving eulogy both of Febvre and of the late Marc Bloch, with whom the former had worked so closely for many years; he has been opening the broadest possible horizons in time and space so that we may understand the least badly possible the most history possible. By his lifelong insistence upon the study of geography, ethnology, psychology, and the other disciplines of the social sciences, by making them in their interrelations the armature and the very stuff of history, he has been "the wise guide, lighting up the road to knowledge." And they also illustrate that aspect of Febvre's work to which Fourastié calls attention, a kind of Baconian conception of history as the search for the condition of human progress, of faith that history thus examined is the vindication of the possibilities of man's action transcending the limiting force of determinism.

University of California, Los Angeles

LEO GERSHOY

THE LEGACY OF PERSIA. Edited by A. J. Arberry. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 421. \$6.00.)

THE well-known "Legacy Series" of the Oxford University Press, which has produced such notable works as *The Legacy of Israel*, *The Legacy of Islam*, *The Legacy of India*, *The Legacy of Greece*, *The Legacy of Rome*, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, and *The Legacy of Egypt* has put in the reader's hand a new and impressive volume, *The Legacy of Persia*, edited by A. J. Arberry, with fifty-three plates and illustrations.

The work intends "to illustrate some of the many ways in which Persian culture has influenced Persia's neighbors and become a legacy to the whole world" (p. vi). This is unfolded in the following studies indicative of the color-

ful content of the work: "Persia and the Ancient World" (J. H. Iliffe), "Persia and Byzantium" (D. Talbot Rice), "Persia and the Arabs" (R. Levy), "Persia and India after the Conquest of Mahmud" (H. Goetz), "The Islamic Art of Persia" (D. Barrett), "Religion" (G. M. Wickens), "The Persian Language" (H. W. Bailey), "Persian Literature" (A. J. Arberry), "Persian Carpets" (A. C. Edwards), "Persian Gardens" (Hon. V. Sackville-West), "Persian Science" (C. Elgood), "Persia as Seen by the West" (L. Lockhart), "The Royame of Perse" (J. E. Heseltine).

Compared with other "Legacy" books this one seems to fall a bit short of expectations. In the treatment and choice of these subjects there is a considerable lack of proportion, co-ordination, and integration, and an unevenness of presentation which may be unavoidable in a symposium of this kind. There are also conspicuous omissions of important aspects of pre-Islamic Persia, the Zoroastrian religion, and of the Islamic period as well, which surely would constitute "a legacy" of Persia to the world. No mention is made of the important outpost of Achaemenid Persia in Elephantine. The role of the Old Testament in the thinking of the Persians and its influence on classical Persian poetry and art is not sufficiently stressed nor is the influence of classical Persian literature on German literature, on Goethe and his *Westöstlicher Divan* mentioned. G. Vechietti, the Italian traveler to Persia of the sixteenth century, who brought to Europe many Bible versions in Persian translation, should have been listed.

Some articles are penetrating and stimulating, others are too sweeping in their generalization and contain statements which would hardly stand the test of serious criticism. Although this book is not yet the last word as to the role of Persia in world culture, the general reader will derive great benefit from the various studies, most of them written in an easy and readable style by experts in the respective fields and all indicating the wide range of fields in which Persia has made an everlasting contribution.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHEL

SOCIALIST THOUGHT: MARXISM AND ANARCHISM, 1850-1890. By G. D. H. Cole. [A History of Socialist Thought, Volume II.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 482. \$6.00.)

This is the second of a series of four or five volumes in which Professor Cole proposes to treat the whole course of socialist thought (see review of Vol. I, *AHR*, January, 1954, p. 411). The work is based on a long and profound study of the sources, and it is unrivaled among accounts in English both in its fullness and in its depth. The center of interest in the present volume is the long struggle between Marxism and anarchism which culminated, in the 1890's, in the dominance of Marxism. The author, in this detailed study which includes all phases of socialism in both Europe and the United States, brings to life many an interesting though forgotten thinker. He has disregarded some of the limitations

he originally set for himself, and, in this second volume, has branched out to write a history not only of socialist thought but of the whole socialist movement. Of the difference in the treatment of the material in these first two volumes, the author himself says that before 1848 "there was no such thing as a Socialist movement possessing a central point of focus. Such a movement came into being only after 1848, and to a great extent after 1860 with the International Working Men's Association, and the struggles within it. These struggles were the birth-pangs of Socialism as an international force acting upon the working classes." In the 1860's, socialism became, for the first time, a working-class movement supported by workers in the factories, mines, and railroads. Theorists, like Fourier and the Saint-Simonians, no longer spun theories in a vacuum. At the same time, the socialist thinkers had now to take account of trade-unionism, and, with the great extensions of the suffrage that came after 1860, with the working-classes in politics.

The reviewer found most interesting the chapters on the First International and on the Paris Commune. There is, likewise, a fascinating analysis of the first volumes of Marx's *Das Kapital*, which includes a comparison of Marx's ideas with those of the laissez-faire economists. In his analysis, Professor Cole, also, shows how Marx failed to adopt his theories to the changing conditions of economic life after 1850. Throughout, the author is cool and detached with no special thesis to prove. That may be one reason why his history seems, at times, to bog down in details, and to lack clarity and force. On the other hand, the ground covered in Volume II is less familiar than that surveyed in the first volume, and, for that reason, Volume II seemed fresher and more informing to this reviewer. This volume, like its predecessor, is provided with an excellent, critical bibliography. Finally, it must be repeated, this work assumes an extended knowledge of nineteenth-century history, as well as general knowledge of both laissez-faire economics and of socialist thought. For such readers, it will prove a work of value and interest.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM. By *Louis L. Snyder*. Foreword by Hans Kohn. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 208. \$4.50.)

THIS book was made possible by a fellowship granted by the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford Foundation) "to enable him [the author] to broaden his qualifications for teaching" (preface). He devoted his time to "an appraisal from a multidisciplinary point of view of the meaning of nationalism," and to that end he supplemented his own historical knowledge of the subject by reading extensively in "the findings of the best recent research" by political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, philosophers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts, and also by discussing the problems personally

with a number of these scholars. "It is hoped that the material given here will provide a kind of extensive definition [of nationalism] such as might have been presented by the editors of Webster's unabridged dictionary if they had had several hundred pages at their disposal instead of a few inches of space." In a foreword, Professor Hans Kohn calls the book "the first introduction to such an interdisciplinary inquiry," and praises it as an "objective and clearly conceived survey of the results and problems of the different approaches" and states that it "may become the starting point for many further investigations leading to a better grasp of the nature of nationalism and its rôle in modern times."

The author has employed a uniform method in summarizing the views of scholars in the several disciplines about each of the following concepts: the nation, nationality, nationalism, economic nationalism, patriotism, national character, and the national soul. He includes in the index the names of over two hundred experts whose definitions or major ideas he reproduces in these two hundred pages. Sometimes he compresses the views of several authors in a single paragraph; occasionally he devotes several pages to a single book. Carleton J. H. Hayes and especially Hans Kohn receive the highest praise and the most extensive treatment of any historians, and Erich Fromm, Morris Ginsberg, Harold Lasswell, Otto Klineberg, Freud, Kurt Lewin, Ruth Benedict, and Harry Stack Sullivan stand out among the social scientists and psychologists. In the chapter on "Classifications of Nationalism" he discusses more than thirty kinds of nationalism. His concluding statement about George Orwell may be offered as one example. "This classification by Orwell is an ingenious one because it emphasizes the idea that nationalism, in its extended sense, includes such movements as Communism, political Catholicism, Zionism, and anti-Semitism. . . . From this broader and all-inclusive view, nationalism, in Orwell's words, becomes 'power-hunger tempered by self-deception'" (p. 130).

The reviewer fears that the statements about the views of each expert in non-historical fields are abbreviated beyond the point of comprehension. He further fears that the author's indiscriminate mixture of social scientific and psychological concepts that express wisdom and those that conceal trivia will confuse the reader, and he wishes that the author had weeded out the antiquated items from his otherwise useful bibliography.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

TOTALITARIANISM: PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE HELD AT THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. Edited with an Introduction by *Carl J. Friedrich*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 386. \$6.50.)

TOTALITARIANISM by definition includes everything, and, while two score experts could not take up everything in three days, they did discuss much more than a short review can even summarize. Moreover, the experts came to present

the results of their study, not to arrive at a consensus; therefore, despite Carl Friedrich's neat summary of the proceedings, no agreed conclusions emerge. That fact is important in itself: on the most pressing problem, and the most ominous historical development, of our day, there is wide divergence of opinion among those who have studied totalitarianism most intensively.

There is divergence on facts. Bertram Wolfe maintains that in the U.S.S.R. history "is once more a form of poetry in its primary sense of myth-making" and that "Operation Palimpsest" moves "outward in space, backward in time, ever more profound in depth and ever more attentive even to minuscule detail." Michael Karpovich, on the other hand, points out that "some good things are still being done," and doubts whether control over scientific labor can ever be completely effective. There is divergence on the significance of agreed facts. H. J. Muller, after reviewing the political interference with science in the U.S.S.R., concludes that "Soviet science is bound eventually to wither unless the Soviet political system becomes greatly moderated." George de Santillana, after reviewing the same evidence, concludes that "what this does to a man's character can be described only in terms of Dante's Hell, but it does not mean that scientific research cannot go on under the mask of new behaviors."

One problem recurs in the formal essays and the discussion: whether or not, once a totalitarian government is securely in power, ideology is of major importance, particularly as a factor shaping the judgment and affecting the actions of those at the top. George Kennan believes that, "what is essential is only the seizure, organization, and ruthless exercise of power." The rulers of the U.S.S.R. use "the myth and the scapegoat . . . in a rather half-hearted and routine way"; he apparently believes the rulers of the U.S.S.R. have themselves no faith in the myths they propagate. At the other extreme, Waldemar Gurian argued that "the ideology is the driving force." For him, nazism and communism were the "politico-social secularized religions, characteristic of our epoch."

This is not only a problem for scholars to scrutinize; it is the most pressing problem facing the policy-makers of the Western world today. If the rulers of the U.S.S.R. are cold political realists interested only in the preservation and, if possible, the extension of their power, then peace is assured if these realists can be confronted with power sufficient to make further aggression hazardous. If, however, as Hannah Arendt argues, these rulers believe that dialectical materialism has discovered the laws of social and political change, "that facts can be manipulated and that experience is irrelevant," then the most sober estimates of Soviet capabilities and intentions based on the balance of political and military power can be dangerously misleading. As Alex Inkeles warns, "there is no threat to others greater than the pursuit by rational means of an essentially irrational goal."

The historian, recalling Neville Chamberlain's vain efforts to convince Hitler that continued Nazi aggression would mean war, and that war could have no more successful outcome for Germany than engulfment in the common ruin

of Western civilization, must conclude that it would be hazardous to count on coldly rational decision by the rulers of the U.S.S.R.

Other momentous questions weave in and out of this discussion of totalitarianism. While the discussion reaches no agreed conclusions, it is a thought-provoking and invaluable contribution to an understanding of the problem which dominates our age.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

Ancient and Medieval History

GALEN OF PERGAMON. By *George Sarton*. [Logan Clendenning Lectures on the History and Philosophy of Medicine, Third Series.] (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1954. Pp. 112. \$2.50.)

ANCIENT SCIENCE AND MODERN CIVILIZATION. By *George Sarton*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1954. Pp. 111. \$2.50.)

IN his introduction to *Galen of Pergamon* Professor Sarton states: "In my opinion, the reading aloud of a written paper is a cardinal sin, as deplorable as meretricious writing; it is a wicked procedure, utterly contemptuous of the audience and unfair to it." This interesting, though perhaps not uniformly applicable, point of view is set forth in order to explain that the two books here reviewed served as a basis for two lecture series, but not as their text. Nevertheless, both books have a vivaciousness of expression, remindful of the spoken word, that is as refreshing to the reader as it is rare in works of this nature.

Although Galen has been the subject of numerous studies and although Professor Sarton himself has previously written about this great physician of antiquity, his most recent contribution is eminently valuable. In spite of its lightness and brevity, this book brings together all the information that is necessary for an understanding of Galen's life and his tremendous influence upon the medical thought of centuries. It describes the setting of Galen's life in the Roman world and in Pergamon; it presents Galen's biography and personality; it analyzes his numerous writings and fits them into the contemporary medical scene; it shows him as a worker in many medical specialties and in almost as many cultural and scholarly pursuits.

Of additional value are the three appendixes, which furnish a chronological summary of Galen's life and a glossary of Galen's contemporaries; the appendixes also contain a list of all Galenic treatises translated from the Arabic and of the texts available in English translation.

Most of Galen's life (A.D. 130-200) coincided with the Golden Age of the Roman Empire when ancient science was at its height and a man of Galen's stature, while rare, was not entirely unique. The place held by him in the history of medicine is equaled by that which was held by his somewhat older contem-

porary Ptolemy in the history of science. This personality, his scientific antecedents and successors are presented in Dr. Sarton's second lecture series.

Ancient Science and Modern Civilization is composed of three essays, dealing with the world of Hellenism as personified by Euclid and Ptolemy, and with the decline of Greek science and culture. Its thesis can perhaps be best expressed in Dr. Sarton's own words: "Modern civilization is focussed upon science and technology and modern science is but the continuation of ancient science; it would not exist without the latter." Like its modern extension, ancient science was fostered by a propitious intellectual climate, and it is this atmosphere of thought and culture as well as the specific contributions of the individual scientists that are here described with such clarity and distinction.

Thus, in addition to an analysis of Euclid's main work, the *Elements*, and its influence on present-day geometry, the author discusses Euclid's personality and the molding impact of the city of Alexandria, its library and museum and its cosmopolitan flavor which is compared to that of Hong Kong and New York. Similarly, the chapter dealing with Ptolemy is prefaced by a description of his cultural setting before his geographical, optical, and astrological works are discussed in some detail.

The third section of *Ancient Science* deals with a variety of scientific subjects and personalities, spanning the period of A.D. 300-529. This final date was chosen because it was then that Justinian closed the Academy of Athens because it had become a center of resistance to Christianity. Here a poignant discussion of the philosophical and religious background of this era and the intolerance generated by the "good Christians" leads Dr. Sarton to resume his comparison with the modern scene of science. The closing of the Athenian Academy and the persecution instigated by Byzantine orthodoxy driving into exile many Greek scientists bring to mind more recent events when refugees carrying ". . . wisdom and knowledge from one place to another . . . did cause a loss . . . not for humanity but for their own country."

University of Chicago

ILZA VEITH

ASTROLOGY IN ROMAN LAW AND POLITICS. By *Frederick H. Cramer*, Late Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XXXVII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1954. Pp. x, 291. \$5.00.)

THE tragic accidental death of Frederick H. Cramer, September 4, 1954, has cut short an able scholar's valuable and fruitful research in a special field, the importance of whose bearing on ancient life, literature, and history has by no means, as he rightly lamented, attracted due interest and appreciation.

This volume is of much greater magnitude than the above heading might perhaps suggest. For the format of the American Philosophical Society *Memoirs* is a medium quarto and the page carries two columns of text. As the subtitle

"Astrology in Rome until the End of the Principate" (that is, for Cramer, through Alexander Severus), indicates, there was projected a sequel volume to continue the story through Justinian. The work lays the student of ancient Rome under heavy debt. For the author has sifted through an imposing mass of evidence, much of it very *recherché*. But some caution in the use is advisable, especially if one is not reading consecutively, for what is with perfect candor labeled conjecture on one page sometimes appears on the next as assumed fact.

Part I, "The Rise and Triumph of Astrology in the Latin World," comprises four chapters: "The Rise of Astrology in the Hellenistic World"; "The Conversion of Republican Rome to Astrology (250-44 B.C.)," narrating the struggle of the "science" against reasoned skepticism in Roman intellectual circles; at considerable length, "Astrologers—the Power Behind the Throne from Augustus to Domitian"; and, still more lengthy, "Astrology in Rome from Nerva to the Death of Severus Alexander (96-235)." There is here much of fascinating interest and great value which the student of Roman literature, of Roman social life and culture, of Roman political history, will do well not to neglect.

Part II is devoted to the legal aspect of the subject. Chapter v, "Expulsion of Astrologers from Rome and Italy," embodies "except for minor changes" the author's article in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XII (1951), 9-50. Chapter vi, "Empire Wide Legal Restrictions of Astrology and Other Divination during the Principate," similarly "is essentially based" on the article "The Caesars and the Stars," in *Seminar*, IX (1951), 1-35; X (1952), 1-52. In this area the author and the present reviewer found mutual interest in common problems, and, generally in agreement, occasionally in amicable disagreement, carried on an intermittent correspondence, which the reviewer will desiderate.

The restricted compass of this notice hardly admits of any detail. But two prosopographical items may be mentioned. It is probably a mistake to identify the Ptolemaeus of Tac. *Hist.* 1.22 and Plut. *Galb.* 23, whom Suetonius, *Otho* 4.6, calls Seleucus, with the Seleucus of Tac. *Hist.* 2.78. That is, Otho's astrologer and Vespasian's were not the same person. Better to consider that Suetonius has erred in the former's name. So, Hirschfeld *apud* *PIR*¹, P, 766. And whatever may be the final decision on the very controversial identification (p. 95 and notes 118, 119) of the astrologer Balbillus (*PIR*², B, 38) with Tī, Claudius Balbillus (*PIR*², C, 813 with addenda), the prefect of Egypt, the latter must, surely, not be identified also with the homonymous (*PIR*², C, 812) Alexandrian envoy to Claudius in 41 (pp. 113 f.).

There are nice illustrations of Babylonian horoscopal tablets, of Hellenistic and Roman coins bearing astrological types, of sculptured portraits of several emperors and empresses, of Hadrian's horoscope; a most unbeautiful map; and an eight-page index of ancient proper names.

THE PAINTED MEN. By T. C. Lethbridge, Hon. Keeper of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. 208. \$6.00.)

It is regrettable that a scholar so thoroughly steeped in early British history, as is the author of this book, has not chosen to divulge more of the rich information about the Picts that he has acquired from years of digging and exploration in Scotland. When Mr. Lethbridge describes the Pictish dwellings—the brochs and wheel-houses—and when he takes you on one of his expeditions and shows you how the mind of the archaeologist works, he writes a fresh and fascinating story. But unfortunately, too much of this book, whose purpose would seem to be an explanation of the settlement of northern Britain by the Picts and of their culture, is devoted to themes often repeated and but slightly connected with the subject. The author does not like the Romans, thinks little of their occupation of Britain, and glories in the fact that they never conquered the “Painted Men,” the name they gave to the Picts. Surely anyone familiar with English history would find it difficult to agree with Mr. Lethbridge’s statement concerning British resistance to Roman rule: “Roman rule was an alien thing enforced by the sword. The same independent spirit, which caused the Peasants’ Revolt against the monasteries in 1381, or the Tudor’s break with the Pope, was alive in Britain all through the long years of Roman rule.” He has a point, however, when he says that the Anglo-Saxons did not so much conquer Britain as settle it by invitation and that they did not wipe out the British population (Celtic or Gaulish in origin). But certainly he cannot be serious when, after declaring that the British of today have more of the Celtic than of the German in them, he argues that this explains the great difference between the British and the Germans and then draws the moral that if this difference had “been realized by statesmen on both sides of the North Sea, two great wars could probably have been avoided.” Possibly when Mr. Lethbridge writes that the “Norman Conquest was the last wave of barbarian invaders,” he is using the word “barbarian” as Herodotus used it when referring to the Persians and other peoples whose cultures were non-Greek, but, if so, he ought to tell us. The reviewer is aware that this book was written more for the general reader than for the specialist and that it was meant to stimulate interest in a period of British history too much neglected, but such statements as the above cannot fail to blunt the author’s argument. It might also be pointed out that even if the author thinks references “can be found in reports,” he has included a number too meager to help those of us who would like to pursue further the history of these mysterious Picts.

If the author had been content to limit himself to his subject, *The Painted Men*, a result of years of archaeological experience and expert knowledge, could have been a real contribution to the early history of Britain and the Picts.

Harvard University

BRYCE D. LYON

MEDIAEVAL INSTITUTIONS: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Carl Stephenson*, Cornell University. Edited by *Bryce D. Lyon*, Harvard University. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 289. \$5.00.)

Most teachers of early European history in this country were so grateful to Carl Stephenson for his clear and stimulating essay on feudalism, his excellent textbook, and his remarkably usable collection of documents on English constitutional history that they tended to forget his other contributions to medieval history. This collection of his articles will remind us that he could write clearly for the many because he had mastered documents known only to the few, that behind those deceptively simple pages of the *Mediaeval History* or *Mediaeval Feudalism* lay the solid and scholarly studies which appeared, decade after decade, in the historical periodicals of France, Belgium, England, and the United States.

Stephenson was one of the first of a new generation of American medievalists, a generation no longer dependent on European masters, trained in American universities by American scholars. Early in his career he saw that American remoteness from European documents was compensated, to some extent, by remoteness from European national quarrels and prejudices. As he pointed out again and again, the development of towns, taxation, representative assemblies, and feudalism cannot be understood if studied exclusively within the limits of a single modern nation. The comparative method was especially fruitful for the area within which he worked—north France, the Low Countries, west Germany, and England—where institutions spread from one province to another with little regard to national or linguistic boundaries.

Basing his work solidly on the documents, Stephenson had little patience with those who tried to fill in the gaps in the evidence by reconstructions based on later materials or modern preconceptions. He distrusted explanations which were too complicated; his own approach was simple, straightforward, based on common sense. This sometimes led him to rather sweeping judgments: it is hard to believe, in the face of Saxon evidence, that the warrior-farmer never existed, or to accept his view that the menial flavor of the words used to describe early vassals in all languages has no significance. But in many other cases—for example, in his article on the *taille*—his method of relying on the obvious and literal meaning of the documents terminated some fine-spun and rather unrealistic scholarly distinctions.

This volume contains Stephenson's articles on the aids of French towns, the *taille*, representation, Domesday problems, feudalism, and the common man in the early Middle Ages. The articles on urban institutions were omitted since their substance was included in Stephenson's *Borough and Town*. Except for correction of minor errors the essays are unrevised; it is a tribute to Stephenson that they need little revision. It is sad that the author did not live to see the publication of this book and to enjoy the praise which it will receive. The thanks

of all medievalists are due to the editor, Mr. Lyon, and to the Cornell University Press for presenting such important essays in such a useful and attractive form.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

WINFRID-BONIFATIUS UND DIE CHRISTLICHE GRUNDLEGUNG
EUROPAS. By *Theodor Schieffer*. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1954. Pp. x,
326. DM 15.80.)

THIS monograph by the professor of medieval history at the University of Bonn, well known from his earlier study *Angelsachsen und Franken* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1950), is more than a biography of St. Boniface. The book is a convincing object lesson in the truth that a man and his work must be genetically explained from his times. The first two chapters describe the political and religious condition of Europe (including Byzantium) about 700, and the pre-Bonifatian missions in the Frankish kingdom. The three remaining parts deal with Winfrid-Bonifatius' Anglo-Saxon monastic background and his frustrated attempts to convert the Frisians; then, with his conversion of Hessians and Thuringians and his efforts to reform and reorganize the Frankish church in the unfavorable atmosphere of Charles Martel's reign; finally, with his successful reformatory and organizational work under Carloman and Pepin the Short, followed only too soon by the eclipse of his personal influence and his martyr's death in still pagan Frisia but, nevertheless, carried on by that whole development of "church-state relations" which resulted in the renewal of the *Imperium Christianum* in the West under Charlemagne.

Rightly, then, Professor Schieffer sees in Boniface the crucial figure in the decisively formative phase of the Roman-Germanic, or more concretely, the Carolingian-papal, relationship. At the same time, Professor Schieffer dispels several narrow or anachronistic preconceptions which are found in many earlier evaluations of St. Boniface and his times. So he considers the epithet "Apostle of the Germans" misleading as it does not do full justice to the much wider scope of Boniface's life work—even apart from the fact that one can hardly speak of Germany before the tenth century. Boniface's Roman orientation on the other hand, his energetic and largely effective linking of the Frankish church reform to the authority of the papacy must not be seen as exclusive. Boniface could never have achieved anything without the assistance of Carloman and Pepin, who did not intend to relinquish their political control of the Frankish church.

Professor Schieffer, who uses the descriptive term *Romverbundene Landeskirche* for the ecclesiastical situation of Francia in Boniface's time, holds with good reason that one should not inject the much later categories of the Hildebrandian church reform into the eighth century, although one might perhaps wish that he had indicated also how the unsolved problems of early Carolingian "church-state relations" manifested their virulence already in the later Carolingian

period. In this connection, the author's discussion of the reasons for the slowing up of the Bonifatian reform work itself soon after its culmination in 744 is extremely interesting. During the last years of Boniface's life Pepin seems to have withdrawn much of his support from the Anglo-Saxon reformer, because he had to reckon with the antagonism of the "vested interests" of the Frankish secular and ecclesiastical magnates. Boniface's disillusionment is movingly reflected in his letters. Yet, Pepin and a younger generation of Frankish ecclesiastics did not abandon all that which had been achieved by Boniface and his Anglo-Saxon helpers. They rather kept a middle course along which they anticipated the far-reaching identification of ecclesiastical and "political" concerns which is characteristic for the age of Charlemagne.

Fordham University

GERHART B. LADNER

COMMERCE ET MARCHANDS DE TOULOUSE (VERS 1350-VERS 1450).

By *Philippe Wolff*, Professeur à l'Université de Toulouse. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1954. Pp. xxxi, 710. 2400 fr.)

IN France until recently economic history was a rather neglected field, but a great change has occurred since World War II and it is now much better cultivated. This result is largely due to the unrelenting campaign waged by the editors of *Annales*, the late Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre. There has appeared a group of remarkable studies devoted to the trade of regional centers during the medieval period: the collective work in three volumes on the commerce of Marseilles, Jean Schneider's book on Metz, and that of Michel Mollat on Rouen and the revival of Norman trade so badly disrupted by the Hundred Years' War. Now Philippe Wolff adds to this series an excellent study on Toulouse from about 1350 to about 1450.

During this period Toulouse never rose to the rank of an important trading and banking center with world-wide connections, but it acted as the market town for the surrounding district and revolved in the orbit of Barcelona and Montpellier. Toulouse also maintained active relations with Bordeaux and, rather surprisingly, with the distant fairs of Geneva, which became exceedingly important after the eclipse of Paris around 1410.

Most of the period was one of demographic and economic decline, a result of the Black Death and a succession of calamities including war, famine, and pestilence. Toulouse produced no Jacques Coeur, no large fortunes, no great banking houses; occasionally a successful merchant became a gentleman and founded an unglamorous dynasty of country squires. Only the university gave some luster to the town. Forms of business organization remained simple, as compared with the level reached contemporaneously by the Italians, and still forced the Toulouse merchants or their factors to travel a great deal and to make regular trips to Montpellier and Barcelona, in order to fetch foreign wares, mainly spices and cloth. Of course, there was no specialization, in Toulouse no more

than anywhere else: medieval merchants, as a rule, took advantage of all opportunities that came along. Bookkeeping was still in a rudimentary stage—far less advanced than in Italy.

Because of the lack of currency, the granting of credit was a common practice, but bills of exchange, although not entirely unknown, were little used and then only to transfer funds to other places. Presumably there was no regular market for bills, since Toulouse, unlike Montpellier or Barcelona, was not a banking center.

The general picture is far from rosy, but it is true to life. All medieval towns were not rivals of Florence or Venice, and Professor Wolff has performed a real service by reminding us that merchant-princes were the exception and that medieval business was predominantly conducted on a small scale. His book on Toulouse is a valuable contribution precisely because it gives us a realistic view of trade in a provincial town.

Boston College

RAYMOND DE ROOVER

THE NAUTICAL CHART OF 1424 AND THE EARLY DISCOVERY AND CARTOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF AMERICA: A STUDY ON THE HISTORY OF EARLY NAVIGATION AND CARTOGRAPHY. By *Armando Cortesão*. Foreword by Maximino Correia. (Coimbra, Portugal: University of Coimbra; distrib. by J. F. Arnaldo, c/o Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa, Coimbra. 1954. Pp. xix, 123. \$25.00.)

Conimbricenses is a citation frequently encountered in learned works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and refers to a group of schoolmen, famous for their commentaries upon the books of Aristotle and taking their name from the University of Coimbra in Portugal. Now that university sponsors and issues the handsome folio volume which is before us for review, with a foreword by "the Rector Magnificus of the nearly seven centuries old University."

Besides large folding reproductions of the Nautical Chart of 1424, there are eighteen full-page plates, mostly of other maps before and after it, seven other figures and four tables. Pages 12-18 are occupied by lists of the place names on the chart of 1424 and their identification. Table II is double-page, comparing the Atlantic islands named on successive maps from 1325 to 1430. Except for such foreign names, the text, although printed in Portugal, is in English, and some slips in spelling, for which the author apologizes but which even his list of errata does not fully cover, slightly mar what is otherwise a very attractive piece of printing.

The main contention of this volume is that the name Antilia is found for the first time in this map of 1424, that Antilia is a word of Portuguese origin, although the cartographer was a Venetian, and that the islands so designated and located west of the Azores are evidence that the Portuguese mariners had already by this time reached the outskirts of the American continent. We may accept the

first part of this contention, and further add that those islands continue to be represented in subsequent charts with the same unnatural rectangular shape as in the chart of 1424. A secondary thesis, that the ancient Phoenicians reached America, is admittedly based on no sufficient documentary or other positive evidence.

The author quotes my account of the *terra incognita* mentioned by Giovanni da Fontana in the first half of the fifteenth century, which I showed was thought to lie south of the Indian Ocean in the Southern Hemisphere. I pointed out also that, as a consequence of the then generally held view that not more than a quarter of the earth's surface was raised above the enclosing sphere of water, this supposition of a continent in the Southern Hemisphere would tend to the inference that there was no land in the Western Hemisphere, except possibly a few islands, and so would discourage voyages of discovery in that direction. Of this Cortesão says nothing. He does say, "Lynn Thorndike thinks, however, that 'the *terra incognita* to which Fontana refers was neither South nor North America'" (p. 99). Yet on the very next page he speaks of "Fontana's reference to the unknown lands bounding the Atlantic in the west." Fontana made no such reference. What he referred to was a *terra incognita* which he supposed landlocked the Indian Ocean to the south.

Cortesão cites some of the grants to Portuguese of islands they had seen or expected to discover in the Atlantic, which constitute evidence of westward voyages later in the century than 1424; and he lists in his bibliography *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo . . .*, edited by José Ramos-Coelho (Lisbon, 1892). But, like other recent writers on the age of discovery, he fails to note the interesting account of such royal grants in F. de Almeida, *La découverte de l'Amérique*, although it too was printed at Coimbra, in 1913.

It may be further noted that Cortesão would date the famous Laurentian Portolano about 1370 rather than about 1351, as it has hitherto usually been dated.

The Nautical Chart of 1424 was once in the famous collection of manuscripts made by Sir Thomas Phillipps. Since the volume under review appeared, the chart has been acquired by the James Ford Bell Collection at the University of Minnesota, ". . . farther West / Than your sires' Islands of the Blest."

Columbia University

LYNN THORNDIKE

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. Volume III, THE KINGDOM OF ACRE AND THE LATER CRUSADES. By Steven Runciman. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 530. \$6.50.)

THE appearance of the third, the final, volume of Runciman's *History of the Crusades* invites appraisal of the work as a whole. With the exception of three chapters near the end of this volume, particularly the last one, the work fulfills the promise implied in the first volume. It affords English readers a comprehensive narrative of the Crusades from 1095 to 1463 comparable to the best by a single author in any language. The author's lively style, his vivid portrayal of

personalities, his positive judgments on men and events, interspersed as they are with pertinent wit, sustain the reader's interest throughout the three volumes. The work deserves all the encomiums it has received in literary circles.

In this third volume, as in the second, the author has had to rely chiefly upon the works of other scholars. Though he appears to have verified many of their findings by citing the primary sources from which they drew, his own original contributions are most marked in the first and early chapters of the second volume. Nevertheless the scholarly quality of the whole work is maintained at a high level, thanks to the author's wide acquaintance with recent writings in this field which he has used with discrimination. This is the more remarkable, since British scholars with the brilliant exception of T. A. Archer have displayed only an incidental interest in the Crusades, and the author has therefore had to draw upon the contributions of scholars of other lands, most of them in foreign languages. It is somewhat regrettable that he seems to have become aware of American contributions to the subject rather late in his work, which accounts for his haphazard appropriation of their findings.

Runciman's deep interest in and good knowledge of the Near East, which enhances the value of all three volumes, has rendered him definitely biased in favor of the Byzantine Empire, whose fortunes appear to serve him as the yardstick by which to measure the net results of the crusading movement. But, were the Byzantine Greeks quite as blameless for the calamities which befell them as he would have us believe? Could the Venetians, least of all Doge Enrico Dandolo, have completely forgotten in 1202 the wholesale massacre of thousands of their kinsmen in Constantinople in 1182, just twenty years before?

It is when the author leaves his political-ecclesiastical narrative and ventures into the analytical summary of effects that he loses the admiration of this reviewer. He is here dependent upon others, and his usual good judgment fails. His discussion of "The Commerce of *Outremer*" is too limited and quite inadequate; that of architecture and the arts somewhat better, though not sufficiently comprehensive.

The last chapter, "The Summing Up," struck this reviewer as an unfortunate anticlimax, however well written. Viewed purely as a military enterprise, the author's judgment "that the whole movement was a vast fiasco" flies in the face of the fact, so well described earlier by himself, that it established and maintained a large bridgehead in the Near East for nearly two centuries. Bearing in mind that the establishment and maintenance of this bridgehead was the common enterprise of all Latin Christendom from the British Isles and Ireland to Hungary, from Scandinavia to Italy, the author's assertion that "the Crusades had nothing to do with the new security which enabled merchants and scholars to travel as they pleased" has a very hollow sound. His further assertion that "intellectually *Outremer* added next to nothing," supporting this conclusion with the statement that St. Louis spent "several years there without the slightest effect on his cultural outlook" raises an interesting question. How stupid does he think

the millions of our forebears who as crusaders, pilgrims, merchants, and scholars too made the long journey to Jerusalem and the Near East, some of them several times, could have been?

Finally, to conclude that "the Crusades were a tragic and destructive episode" and that "the Holy War itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God which is a sin against the Holy Ghost" may be appropriate in rounding out a literary tragedy, but is it history?

It is, however, asking quite too much of any individual to have mastered all aspects of a movement that involved all Christendom and much of Islam over a period of more than four centuries. I fear that Runciman has left a major task for the editors of the collaborative work on the *History of the Crusades*, now being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press: the establishment of the true significance of the crusading movement.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

THE ENGLISH TRAVELER TO ITALY. Volume I, THE MIDDLE AGES (TO 1525). By *George B. Parks*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 669. \$10.00.)

THIS stout volume presents a large amount of information about medieval English travel to Italy: the travelers, the routes, their experiences, and the impressions made by them and upon them. This first attempt was difficult because of lack of monographic material and the scattered character of the sources. It is good to have the information collected (although more will be found) and a solid beginning achieved in the problem of interpretation and classification.

In time the amount of information becomes progressively more, yet ninety-seven pages are devoted to travel in Roman and Anglo-Saxon times, mostly about royalty and higher churchmen going to Rome. From 1066 the closer connections between England and the papacy drew many more to Italy to attend councils, continue litigation, and secure papal approval or consecration. Between 1066 and 1300 such new interests as the Crusades and advanced study, notably at Bologna, attracted numbers of the English. The several routes can be defined more accurately (as in the map by Matthew Paris), the dangers described more vividly (as by Gerald of Wales), and the sights in Italy outlined for sightseers (as by Master Gregory).

The third period (1300-1530) sees more regular and permanent connections between the two lands, notably by the diplomatic representatives of the countries. Some quantitative estimates of numbers of clerks and pilgrims can be secured from English government records and the English hospice archives at Rome. Much is known about the presence of the English military companies (such as that of the well-known John Hawkwood, whose name must have baffled the Italian tongue) and of numerous merchants. Italy became even more attractive

as a student center when the Hundred Years' War made attendance at French universities more difficult.

The author emphasizes that "for our medieval traveler the south was not an attraction but a peril, and palms have not yet been mentioned in the travel literature. Our travelers went for a purpose, on the business of trade or diplomacy or religious duty. They were expected to derive edification, not pleasure, and they looked at the works of man, not knowing yet that they were to be pleased by the works of nature." The results of the travel are given only tentatively: the evidence is not easy to interpret. Probably Renaissance and medieval specialists will agree that the travelers did bring back an interest in Greek. The book illustrates the international character of medieval civilization by failing to show much borrowing from one by the other.

The author translates at length several interesting accounts of travel, rendering some rather inaccessible information available. In an appendix there is a valuable list of Englishmen at Italian universities before 1525. The printing was done, appropriately, at Rome, with so few typographical errors that other scholars faced by the high cost of printing might consider foreign publication.

University of New Mexico

JOSIAH C. RUSSELL

DIE LETZTEN TAGE VON KONSTANTINOPEL: DER AUF DEN FALL
KONSTANTINOPELS 1453 BEZÜGLICHE TEIL DES DEM GEOR-
GIOS SPHRANTZES ZUGESCHRIEBENEN "CHRONICON MAIUS."
Edited by *Endre von Ivánka*. [Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Volume I.]
(Graz: Styria. 1954. Pp. 101. S. 25.80.)

EUROPA IM XV. JAHRHUNDERT VON BYZANTINERN GESEHEN.
[Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Volume II.] (Graz: Styria. 1954. Pp. 191.
S. 36.60.)

THESE two paperbound volumes, printed in clear type on good paper, are the beginning of a new series of German translations from Byzantine historians. The editor, Professor Endre von Ivánka, explains in his preface that the series will contain historical sources of literary merit. Accordingly he expresses the hope that it will appeal to historians who do not read Greek as well as to the general public.

The two books contain texts distinguished by their liveliness and closeness to the events. The first volume consists of excerpts from the *Chronicum Maius* attributed (perhaps wrongly) to Georgios Sphrantzes. They describe the journey of Emperor John VIII to the Council of Florence (1439), the battle of Varna (1444), and the abortive marriage projects of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI. Yet the high point of the volume is the report on the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453. Just prior to the final attack emperor and sultan admonish their troops in a pair of speeches, late specimens of a venerable historiographical tradition. Constantine's oration is touching: the defenders are reminded that they

are the descendants of Hellenes and Romans and that Constantinople had once ruled "almost the entire earth."

The second volume, prepared by Franz Grabler and Günther Stökl, contains the extensive geographical and ethnological digressions in Laonicus Chalcocondyles' history; Lascaris Cananus' brief diary of a journey through Scandinavia, along the Baltic coast of Germany and to Iceland; two epistles written by the famous scholar Manuel Chrysoloras in praise of Rome; and finally an Old Russian travelogue of Isidore of Kiev's journey to the Council of Florence. It is curious to read in a Byzantine source of Roland (p. 23) and of Joan of Arc (p. 26), of English wool (p. 28) and of Flemish trade (p. 22), of the Hundred Years' War (pp. 24 f.), of the Teutonic Knights (p. 34) and of the constitutional and business life of Italian cities in the Renaissance (pp. 40-60). Nothing else gives so clear an idea of the abyss separating western Europe and the Near East as these descriptions in which fact and fiction appear in a strange blend. This abyss is bridged only occasionally, as for instance in Chrysoloras' epistles on Rome where the sight of pagan and Christian relics reminds the learned author of his own native Constantinople and her ancient traditions. The Russian traveler on the other hand is overwhelmed by the sight of Western cities like Hanseatic Lübeck (pp. 156 f.) or Renaissance Florence (pp. 164 f.).

The translations are readable and, to judge from spot checks, accurate. The introductions are adequate and up-to-date. A similar series of *English* translations from Byzantine texts would render a real service to historical scholarship and instruction in this country.

Brandeis University

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

Modern European History

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE ON THE EVE OF COLONIZATION, 1603-1630.

By *Wallace Notestein*. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xvii, 302. \$5.00.)

THIS book gives ample evidence that it has been written by an authority with great erudition. On every hand are signs of extensive knowledge of a wide range of sources. The supporting data are well chosen. The style is easy and the various chapters leave a very clear impression. The illustrations are extremely valuable and will be new to most readers. Whether the later portraits of James I show any "self-satisfaction" is disputable. The bibliography should be most useful. It contains not a mere list of titles but a learned discussion of the best sources and later works.

In the preface is the statement that "some account was also needed of the political institutions which affected the colonists." The question at once arises whether the choice of subjects in general was not dictated by the same principle. There are, for example, no chapters devoted to the court, Church of England, or

literature, though many apt citations prove how well Dr. Notestein knows the plays, poetry, and prose of the period. Except for a brief allusion under universities, next to nothing is said about sports and pastimes. One short chapter covers the clergy but two longer ones the Puritans. The most dubious statement in the whole book occurs at the beginning of chapter xiv—that a small degree of toleration would have kept the Puritans within the Anglican church. In view of what happened from 1640 to 1660 this is a hard saying. The decision not to deal with London separately may be wise, but, even so, space might have been found for the growth of the London season, especially as room is provided for its provincial imitations (p. 114). The rise of prices which affected all classes deserved more than a few passing references. Whether the rack rents (p. 72) did more than offset the decreasing value of money was worth discussion. Though recognizing with Dr. Notestein that the generation he describes was not static “and therefore not easy to picture,” the reader sometimes wonders in what directions society was then moving. That the House of Commons was advancing new claims is clearly discernible in the excellent chapter on parliamentary history, but progress is harder to perceive in other places. Sometimes the author seems uncertain what the change was. “A lack of compassion was characteristic of many. . . . But already there was a humaneness of outlook and pity for the poor” (pp. 14, 24). Two differing estimates are provided for the petty constables. In one place they are said to have kept the village going. Later occurs the verdict: “A few proved something like leaders in the village, but most of them were little more than servants of the justice” (pp. 228, 235). The chapters on local government give a lively picture of the many and manifold duties of the J.P.’s and officials like the constables and parish officers. Perhaps not enough attention has been paid to the difference between practice and precept. More importance might have been allotted to the problem how to keep the peace and prevent local disputes from expanding. The fear that unrest might spread and become a general rising was responsible for much of the preoccupation with vagrancy, unemployment, destitution, and inns or ale-houses, possible foci of discontent. The amateur and more or less voluntary character of local government might have been stressed as well as the absence of a direct chain of command. Curiously enough, the informer is never mentioned, though both manuals and quarter session records show how much law enforcement depended on him, especially in cases involving the Roman Catholic and the middleman.

Notwithstanding these criticisms and certain trivial errors, this is a book that all interested in the England of the Virginia and New England plantations should “read, mark, learn and inwardly digest.”

Huntington Library

GODFREY DAVIES

THE GREAT WAR FOR THE EMPIRE: THE CULMINATION, 1760-1763.

By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*, Research Professor of History Emeritus, Lehigh University, and One Time Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American

History, the University of Oxford. [The British Empire before the American Revolution, Volume VIII.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1954. Pp. xxxii, 313, xlix. \$7.50.)

In his eighth volume, in which Gipson deals with the war outside America, in the Far East, in Europe, in Africa, in the West Indies, and on the high seas, and concludes with a discriminating chapter on the Peace of Paris, he reveals himself at his best. The canvas which a great historian paints shows detail in its every part, so that the onlooker coming close can see the individual figures, smell the gun smoke, understand why a decision was reached and why it succeeded or failed, at the same time that, when he steps back, the broad lines of the picture, which are the ones he will remember, emerge clear and unconfused. Gipson does the small scenes, for this particular part of the war, better than they have ever been done before. He uses as much source material as he needs, without pretending to exhaust it all. He chooses for emphasis in the account of each action the factors or incidents or personnel which made for success. Though by temperament as by philosophy reluctant to place blame on an individual, he bestows credit for success judiciously. He is concise without sacrifice of significant detail.

The broad lines of Gipson's canvas emerge also, in this volume, more clearly than in previous ones. Gipson's phrase, "The Great War for the Empire," sums up his position. He holds that England fought France to save the American colonies from French encroachments and not to gain a new empire, and that this interpretation of the war was the one in which the British nation, unlike Pitt, believed. The nation, as represented by men like Shelburne, Bedford, and George III, was suspicious of the continental alliance and England's involvement in the Seven Years' War, and saw no connection, as did Pitt, between the two wars. The conquests that England made were for the sake of trade and for a strong bargaining position in peace negotiations, Gipson says. Pitt was imperialistic; England was not. Canada was not won on the battlefields of Germany, as Pitt affirmed; it was won primarily by the British navy. The Peace of Paris, a lenient and just peace, represented prevailing English sentiment throughout the war, however much that sentiment may have been intoxicated and therefore occasionally diverted by Pitt's ambition and successes. Put in these simple terms, Gipson's thesis is obviously open to the criticism that personalities and accidents, when the issue is in doubt, play a decisive part. What would have happened had George II lived three years longer, and the Pitt-Newcastle combination carried on? We have no poll to test the opinion of the nation, only a rain of gold boxes upon Pitt in his heyday. Nonetheless, there is evidence, much more than Gipson had space to cite, in his favor. In general, this reviewer agrees with his interpretation.

The outlines of the volumes to come are not wholly clear. Gipson has indicated, by what he has written in the past, that he believes there is something to be said for the typical nineteenth-century British interpretation of the Revolution—when the British took the French off the backs of the Americans and tried to make them pay their share of the expense, they rebelled. He will not subscribe

to so blunt a thesis. But what he must do, and in more chapters than one, is to bring together the intangibles as well as the tangibles for the colonial position: British arrogance, for instance, in individual personal matters as in administrative; colonial fears about British troops, commanders-in-chief, and Anglican episcopates, as a succession of British ministries failed to deal with the problem of western settlement; mounting and unpayable debts to British merchants; and the revolutionary spirit which found in England supporters by which it was partly nourished. Thus far Gipson has left this essential part of the story, even that which was discernible in the 1750's, untold.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE LIFE OF JOHN STUART MILL. By *Michael St. John Packe*. With a Preface by F. A. Hayek. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xvi, 567. \$6.50.)

It seems curious, considering the host of less eminent Victorians who have been well served, that it has taken more than three quarters of a century to get an adequate biography of John Stuart Mill. This is not wholly the result of changing intellectual fashions nor of the fact that his genius appears less transcendent than it did to his immediate successors. Some of the blame must be laid at the door of Mill himself. For the *Autobiography*, incontestably one of the classics of the century, has seemed almost to warn off those who would re-examine its author's life and thought. But, as both Mr. Packe and Professor Hayek have noted, the *Autobiography*, ruthlessly honest as was its intent, in fact creates a distorted and untrustworthy picture of its subject. By focusing on his intellectual development to the exclusion of his other interests, Mill was responsible for a legend which does less than justice to himself.

Mr. Packe's aim is broader than that of the author of the *Autobiography*. His concern is with the man rather than with the ideas. As an expositor of the thought, indeed, he is less happy than as a chronicler of the life. There will be other studies of Mill the thinker, but Mr. Packe's volume, well-documented and generally readable, will hold its place for some time to come as the standard account.

For this biographer the central problem of John Stuart Mill has less to do with his father's influence than with his relationship with Harriet Taylor. It was an extraordinary affair, carried on platonically, though with scant regard for the stricter Victorian conventions. For over fifteen years before the death of the good-natured husband opened the way for their marriage, the two were regularly in each other's company, at the Taylor home (James tactfully dining out), in the country, or on the Continent.

Mill's estimate of Harriet's gifts may have been extravagant. Their contemporaries, few of whom knew her well, were inclined to question it. As Goldwin Smith waspishly remarked, "Mill's hallucination as to his wife's genius deprived

him of all authority wherever that came in." But there can no longer be substantial doubt of the range of her influence. Mr. Packe corroborates the conclusion reached by Professor Hayek in his introduction to the Mill-Taylor correspondence—that Mill was stating only sober fact when he credited Mrs. Taylor with a large share in the work published under his name. Nor was it a matter of feminine flattery or, as Carlyle imagined, of "those great dark eyes, that were flashing unutterable things while he was discoursin' the 'unutterable.'" Mr. Packe insists that, except for the *Logic*, "the principles underlying the more important works of John Stuart Mill were defined, although not actually composed by Harriet Taylor," and that every major work after the *Political Economy* was drafted or planned during their first few years of married life. This is not necessarily to accept Mill's view of his wife's mental endowments. She was obviously a woman of lively mind and exceptional charm, to whom Mill responded intellectually as well as emotionally. But we may still suspect that her ascendancy over him was, at bottom, one of those mysterious functions of personality rather than of intellect.

In dealing with Mill as a political and social thinker, Mr. Packe gives little comfort to those who have discovered in him a proto-socialist. Notwithstanding his abjuring of the wage fund and his interest in land reform, Mill remained solidly liberal to the end, a free trader and a believer in the sovereign virtues of economic competition. The notion of a socialized society lay quite outside his comprehension. In political fundamentals he was a slightly wayward Gladstonian, and the famous accolade bestowed upon him by the original Gladstonian, "Saint of Rationalism," was intended as a mark of affection and genuine respect, tinged, no doubt, with regret.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: FROM MONTESQUIEU TO LESSING. By *Paul Hazard*, Member of the French Academy. Translated by *J. Lewis May*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 477. \$6.00.)

ALL too frequently the author of a brilliant work suffers from a sort of negative reflex on the part of reviewers when he produces its sequel. Thus the publication in 1935 of the late Paul Hazard's *Crise de la conscience européenne (1680-1715)* heightened, in advance, the critical pressure on anything he might subsequently write about the ensuing period. Such a study did appear in 1946 and, like the *Crise* (*AHR*, January, 1954, p. 410), has now been translated by J. Lewis May. Since the French original seems never to have been reviewed in this journal, it is appropriate here to comment briefly not only on the translation, but also on the study itself, as Hazard conceived and executed it.

Despite a few errors, such as the substitution of "seventeenth-" for "eighteenth-century" on page 199, the work of translation has been carefully done. Like its predecessor, this volume lacks most of the scholarly apparatus comprised in

Tome III of the French edition, offering instead only a few scattered footnotes. If the style seems chatty and at times even a bit cute, this is, I think, simply because Professor Hazard's swift, often excited mode of expression does not make for quite such good English as it does French.

To this, as to his other works, Hazard brought a matchless familiarity with the literary sources. He brought as well his great gift for finding the apt, the amusing, the persuasive quotation to characterize his man or to exemplify his point. His thesis is developed with erudite vigor. The eighteenth century, he tells us, put the God of the Christians on trial, proposing in place of traditional concepts a whole new world to be fashioned in accordance with nature's laws. But nature betrayed her devotees, confusing their logic, shaking their optimism, mocking their political dreams. With the embarrassment of the rationalists came the resurgence, at first timid, then increasingly confident, of spokesmen for the emotions.

There are several questions which can be asked without caviling. Why the subtitle (in both the French and the English), "From Montesquieu to Lessing," when the discussion ranges from well before even the *Persian Letters* and really terminates, chronologically at least, with Kant? And can one really personify a period so confidently, using the "arid, matter-of-fact spirits" the author admits to having selected? Certain men said this or replied that, but the "voice of the age" or "the opinion of Europe" is surely not so simple.

The book seems to me at once too verbose and too one-sided to rank as a great intellectual history. If it be added at this point that the whole thesis is less stimulating and less convincing than that of its author's previous study, this will be accepted, I hope, as introducing comparison where it belongs, i.e., after consideration of the work itself.

Harvard University

FRANKLIN L. FORD

L'ESPAGNE ÉCLAIRÉE DE LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE.

By *Jean Sarrailh*, Recteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1954. Pp. vi, 779. 2,900 fr.)

DR. SARRAILH incorporates in this volume a wealth of materials, some of it not previously published or little known, on the Enlightenment in Spain. The first of the three parts into which the work is divided presents a survey of the contrast between the misery, ignorance, and superstition of the rural masses in Spain of the period and the attitudes and ideas of the "elite," both as individuals and as organized societies. The second part is devoted to the principles and the weapons of the crusade for enlightenment. Citing copiously from Spanish leaders, he stresses their appeal for better educational objectives based on the natural sciences. Another common demand called for a "new" culture based on reason rather than authority, one which represented efficiency and progress and would create and promote universal happiness.

The last part deals with the diffusion of the new sciences in Spain, of ideas for

a new economy, and of solutions for social problems. The "enlightened" Spaniard was primarily preoccupied with the Spanish people, especially the poor. He was more concerned with the treatment of the Indian than with slaves or minority groups such as the gypsies and the Jews. He supported the monarchy, believing that the new culture should emanate from the throne, and manifested relatively little interest in the American Revolution.

In a brief conclusion Dr. Sarrailh takes a middle of the road course, following Marañón. He agrees neither with Ortega y Gasset, who deplores the failure of the evolution during this "educating" century, nor with Eugenio D'Ors, who praises the great upheaval that Spain experienced during the period. The volume closes with an extensive bibliography of 530 items and an excellent index of proper names.

Dr. Sarrailh, an enthusiastic admirer of the Enlightenment, bases most of his ideas on hundreds of citations varying in length from a word or two to a page. All of these are translated into French. Since he also translates freely in a running commentary other ideas of the person cited, the reader is not always sure whether the opinions are those of the latter or of the author himself. Moreover, since the volume is directed apparently to the reader already familiar with the period, one may question the desirability of translating the quotations.

Among well-known "enlightened" Spaniards, Jovellanos, "the great voice of the century," is cited most frequently. In the author's opinion he is the great precursor of the generation of 1798 rather than Cadalso. Among foreigners frequently cited are Rousseau, B. Ward, D. G. Bowles, and Voltaire. Most of the opponents cited are not significant figures. Among modern critics the author attacks frequently the ideas of Menéndez y Pelayo ("cruel," "unjust," "irascible").

Scholars will be grateful for the rich mine of information that Dr. Sarrailh has assembled on a multitude of subjects, i.e., capital punishment, medicine, civil liberties, land use, interior worship, processions, honor, public welfare, many of which are rooted in the sixteenth century. Pedro Laín Entralgo, rector of the University of Madrid, searching for the causes of the Civil War in Spain, points out that the division of Spain into two parties, the liberals and the conservatives, harks back to the Renaissance. However it is in the eighteenth century that lines are sharply drawn. Dr. Sarrailh hews to the line and presents only one side of the controversy. Those who participate in the Enlightenment are white; the few cited who oppose are black. As the author states in the foreword, the book is a guide and an aid to historians who will formulate syntheses in the future.

University of Wisconsin

J. HOMER HERRIOTT

LA SOCIÉTÉ MILITAIRE DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE,
1815-1939. By *Raoul Girardet*. [Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] (Paris:
Librairie Plon. 1953. Pp. 329.)

THIS is a unique and highly successful attempt to write not the history but the collective biography of the French army. Raoul Girardet concerns himself

only incidentally with such conventional military topics as conscription policies, army organization, or strategic doctrines. His intention is to analyze the role which the army has played as one of the principal social institutions of French life during the years from the fall of Napoleon to the outbreak of World War II. His book, therefore, develops two major themes: first of all, the daily life of French officers and men, their social origins, the conditions of their recruitment, and, particularly, the army's sense of its own role in French society; secondly, the varying opinions which different groups of Frenchmen have held about their army in the years since 1815. His book, in short, is a venture not so much into military as into social history.

In 1815 it was the conservatives who held the army suspect for its Jacobin-Napoleonic heritage, while the Left regarded it as friend and ally. But as the century wore on, the army—both by virtue of its own concept of its duty and of the tasks assigned it by the state—became the symbol of order. There was thus a striking reversal of popular attitudes, particularly after 1848. Conservatives began to revere the army as the guardian of social tranquillity; republicans viewed it as the enemy of all political reform. But this split in French opinion was interrupted by the disasters of 1870-71. For almost two decades thereafter the army was "the great common denominator" of French hopes, and "its resurrection was a symbol of national renaissance." The old fissures reopened after 1890. The Right, disaffected by the evolution of the Third Republic, now exalted the army as the only remaining institution capable of preventing national disintegration—in conservative eyes it was "untouchable." But the Left, increasingly distrustful of the military hierarchy and its aristocratic-clerical allies, became broadly antimilitaristic and set out to "republicanize" the army root and branch. By the time of the Dreyfus affair the army had become a symbol, not of the forces for unity but of all the internal discords which divided Frenchmen.

Not the least of the many merits of this book is the fact that, unlike so many French military historians, Girardet is balanced, subtle, and discerning. He continually destroys the half truths and legends of both Right and Left. He demonstrates convincingly, for instance, that the republican charge of the army's intervention in politics is distorted. On the other hand, the author indicates that the antimilitarism of the Left was not indiscriminate wrecking.

Despite its title, however, this book really ends with the outbreak of war in 1914. There is a sketchy, highly generalized epilogue of less than twenty pages on the two decades between the world wars, and the author maintains that military events in these years were only a continuation of previous trends. This is no doubt true enough, but Girardet's concluding chapter will be small consolation for the contemporary historian who might appreciate specific information on such topics as the attitude of the French public toward the army during the Popular Front era.

Princeton University

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE SECOND EMPIRE. By J. M. Thompson, Honorary Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954. Pp. xii, 342. 32s.6d.)

ONCE again J. M. Thompson has given us a colorful, arresting, and interpretative account of a period of French history—this time of the Second Empire. In this instance, as in previous works, the author makes the biography of a man (Louis Napoleon) the vehicle for a history of a period, thereby infusing the warmth of a very human personality throughout the history of a complex and fateful era. Thus we follow the life of a man who followed his star of fate from youthful refugee to insurrectionist, prisoner, president, emperor, economic reformer, arbiter of a continent, prisoner-of-war, and, alas, to refugee again until death.

Nothing of the romance, the contrasts, the shaded significances is lost by the author's telling. Those who have read his *French Revolution* and *Napoleon Bonaparte* cannot fail to discern and appreciate the same trenchant pen and deft brush which restore life and color to a much-told tale of the past. While Mr. Thompson does not attempt to conceal the faults and mistakes of the man, in the main he joins with some current revisionists in understanding (not justifying) the "crime of December 2nd" and crediting Napoleon III with constructive policies at home and abroad and exonerating him of the major responsibility for the outbreak of the war of 1870. The author rightly blames Bismarck and French public opinion of all classes for pushing Louis Napoleon into the war (p. 272) rather than just a small war party and the empress.

Yet, despite the prevailing merits of this book, one cannot help sensing that the author is less familiar with the period of the Second Empire than he is with the periods of the Revolution and the First Empire. He elects to use memoirs and private letters, a form of source material stronger in its colorfulness than in its accuracy and balance; and on the contrary he neglects to use well-known French, English, Prussian, and Italian printed documentary collections. In his treatment of the outbreak of the war of 1870 it is astonishing to see his omission of Lord's *Origins*, Ollivier's *Empire libéral*, Fester's *Thronkandidatur*, and Sorel's *Histoire diplomatique*. Readers who would wish to treat this work with the seriousness it deserves are themselves treated rather cavalierly by the denial of a bibliography and the inadequacy of the footnotes. For example, a footnote (p. 323) reads "Nabonne; De la Fuye"; yet one does not know which work by Nabonne or what pages in these works are referred to. No first names or initials are given in the designation of any authors. Besides, the index is woefully inadequate, a frequent American complaint about British publications.

Thompson's attempts at explanation also sometimes cause more confusion than clarification. At first (pp. 145, 146) he says flatly that the Crimean War broke out because of Napoleon III's desire for revenge and "the megalomania of an aging autocrat," Nicholas I; yet later (p. 147) he explains the "real issue"

and fundamental causes and finally contradicts himself (p. 148) by saying "Louis was indeed as hopeful as Nicholas of a peaceful solution." On another occasion (p. 159) the author tells us positively that Napoleon III's decision not to go to the Crimea in person was "the happy result" of two war councils in London. In the very next sentence he shifts his explanation with "Perhaps what really decided him was . . ." and alludes to several other factors. His critique of the bad condition of the French army (pp. 228-29) is sound in its facts but misleading in its implications of danger. Before 1862 the British, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian armies were nearly as inadequate as the French; and therefore, relatively, France was not handicapped. The seriousness of the military situation after 1862 was that Prussia did something about it, while the French public blocked its government's efforts at army reform.

To explain a few flaws requires more space than the praise which the work deserves. As a "life and times" of Louis Napoleon this volume will stand as one of the best and one of the most readable in many years.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

GERMAN PROTESTANTS FACE THE SOCIAL QUESTION. Volume I, THE CONSERVATIVE PHASE, 1815-1871. By *William O. Shanahan*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 434. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Shanahan, in the volume under review, directs his attention to the attitudes of German Protestants toward the problems created by modern industrialism. The present volume covers the period 1815-1871; a companion volume is promised which will deal with the period from 1871 to 1933. In two essays on Friedrich Naumann, previously published, the author has already shown his keen interest in this problem. It is a field which badly needed investigation and synthesis. Troeltsch's great work on *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* is more sociological than historical and concentrates primarily upon the period before the nineteenth century. The fourth volume of Schnabel's *Deutsche Geschichte* contains a masterful account of German Protestantism (and Professor Shanahan acknowledges his indebtedness to Schnabel) but it only goes up to 1848. Most of the other literature is either monographic or strictly theological.

One of the chief difficulties involved in dealing with German Protestantism (as distinguished from the treatment of the Social Catholic movement) is to define precisely the religious limits of the term Protestantism. Too often what is called Protestantism is really the secular manifestations of the national state. This difficulty Professor Shanahan well appreciates, but he does not help clarify the situation by dealing *in extenso* with movements and currents quite obviously

outside the limits of Protestantism proper. The main threads of the narrative and of the issues are often lost sight of amidst the too extended "background" or "related" problems.

German social Protestantism of the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by the figure of J. H. Wichern. Shanahan's treatment of Wichern is the best available in the English language. But he also deals in detail with other lesser known figures. He rightly stresses the alliance between the Protestant leaders of this period and the Conservative tradition. The prevailing view in these circles was that poverty and social ills were the product of sin and that the proper ways for dealing with these issues was to be "charitable and evangelical rather than legislative or technical." One does not find in Germany at this time, as Shanahan ably demonstrates, the equivalent of the British Charles Kingsley or F. D. Maurice. This too was one of the chief reasons why the masses of the Protestant German proletariat flocked to the banner of the "materialist" and "free-thinking" Social Democratic party.

The author's detailed bibliographical footnotes combined with a twelve-page "Select Bibliography" not only give concrete evidence of his intimate familiarity with the literature but also provide a useful guide for the further study of these problems. Of course the most important phase of Protestant Social Christianity in Germany comes after 1871, with the movements of Stoecker, Naumann, the Christian economists and the new attitudes toward religion in the Social Democratic party. We shall look forward with interest to the second volume of Professor Shanahan's study, which will deal with these currents.

Queens College

KOPPEL S. PINSON

METTERNICH: DER STAATSMANN UND DER MENSCH. Volume III, QUELLENVERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN UND LITERATUR EINE AUSWAHLÜBERSICHT VON 1925-1952. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1954. Pp. 235. DM 23.50.)

THE third volume of Srbik's work on Prince Metternich, published after the author's death, fulfills a double purpose: it reviews critically the literature on the Austrian chancellor that has appeared since Srbik's two-volume monumental biography of 1925 and, in doing so, retraces the history of Metternich and his age. In the opinion of this reviewer it is especially the latter accomplishment that brings the genius of the author to its full unfolding. I know of no other work which presents the problems of the epoch and the man with such maturity, serenity, and competence. Ranke's demand that a biography should finally become universal history has been fulfilled here in little more than two hundred pages.

The reader may assume that Srbik's plan was first to concentrate on the critical review because he wanted to answer his critics. His defense is perhaps unnecessarily detailed, however, particularly as the reputations of such opponents as Wertheimer and Bibl have hardly survived the twenty-five years since their attacks.

But Srbik's wide reading results in a critical survey of much monographic literature that otherwise would be difficult to trace.

On the whole Srbik finds the main lines drawn in his biography of 1925 unshaken, even corroborated, and the reviewer thinks that he is fully justified in this assumption. New emphases are added here and there, however, and the author admits (e.g., pp. 123, 135) that some changes in his original text have become necessary through recent research; for example, he underlines here more than in the first narrative the limitations of the mind and the character of Metternich (cf. in this respect the discussion of the originality of the chancellor's "system" [p. 97]).

Srbik refers quite frequently to contributions made to his topic by historians living on this side of the Atlantic, such as K. R. Greenfield, Arthur May, V. J. Puryear, Peter Viereck, and the reviewer. It is to be regretted, however, that publications of such importance as *Francis the Good* by W. C. Langsam and the Gentz biography by P. R. Sweet have escaped the author's attention; nor is R. J. Rath's *Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, 1814* mentioned. Reference to R. A. Kann's *Multinational Empire* could also have been expected, as the editor claims to have continued the critical bibliography to 1952. In view of the extraordinary breadth of Srbik's reading already referred to, a problem of a general nature might be suggested: the desirability of compiling a truly comprehensive international bibliography in modern European history.

Metternich research, of course, did not stop with 1952. As G. de Bertier de Sauvigny remarks in his interesting discussion of the correspondence of Metternich and Decazes (*Etudes d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Paris, 1953, pp. 60-115), the archives in Vienna still contain many unknown and relevant documents on the age of the chancellor. As for the family archives of Plass, explored only to a small extent and important also for the period of the activity of Richard Metternich as ambassador to Paris, this reviewer's latest information is that they have been transferred to Prague.

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH AND PEOPLE UNDER TURKISH DOMINATION.

By *Theodore H. Papadopoulos*. [Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris, Number 1.] (Brussels: Librairie Scaldis. 1952. Pp. xxiv, 507.)

THERE are three great periods in the historiography of the Balkan peninsula. The first covers the Byzantine or Middle Ages, the second the era of Ottoman domination, and the third the emergence of the national states. Of these, the first and third have been investigated extensively and with gratifying results. When compared with these two epochs, the Turkish period, the so-called "Dark Ages" of Balkan history, has been almost totally disregarded. Various reasons are responsible for this condition—lack of interest, scarcity of material, etc. Yet this period,

covering almost four centuries, had a decisive effect on the future development of the modern Balkan states. Mr. Papadopoulos' book is, therefore, a welcome contribution in a neglected field, particularly since it deals with the most important Christian institution of the time, the Ecumenical patriarchate.

Mr. Papadopoulos has divided his book into three parts. The first is entitled "Prolegomena to the History of the Greek Church under Turkish Domination (1453-1800)," the second, "Critical Introduction to the Patriarchate of Cyril V and the Controversy about Rebaptization (1748-1757)," and the third, "ΠΑΛΑΝΟΣΠΑΡΑΚΤΗΣ, a Document in Political Verse." Although the last two sections are the principal part of the work, they are of interest primarily to the specialist in post-Byzantine history. It is the first chapter which should be called to the attention of the student of Balkan and Near Eastern history. Here can be found one of the best accounts in English of the background, organization, and significance of the Greek church in the period of Turkish rule. Mr. Papadopoulos correctly concludes that the history of the Balkan Christians at this time "cannot be separated from the history of the eastern church." He also points out that Turkish rule was not as oppressive as it has usually been pictured. For instance, the Greek literary output, which was chiefly ecclesiastical, was impressive in quantity, and in quality was "not very inferior to the Byzantine products of the same category." With regard to the question of Greek nationalism, Mr. Papadopoulos states that although the church through its "Orthodox conscience" contributed to the preservation of Hellenism, this same conscience conflicted with "the national conscience of the modern Greek nation." Hence the church did not foster nor did it guide the national revolution of 1821.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES JELAVICH

THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM, 1917-1923. By *Richard Pipes*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 13.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 355. \$6.50.)

Mr. Pipes has written the first comprehensive study on the role of the national movements in the history of the Russian Revolution from 1917 to 1923. He has concentrated on the chief territorial nationalities, the Ukrainians and Belorussians in the west, the Moslem borderlands in the east and southeast, and the Caucasus, omitting the nationalities who succeeded at least temporarily in throwing off Russian domination, the Poles, the Finns, and the Baltic peoples. Though the Russian Empire before 1917 contained only little more than 40 per cent of Great Russians, it was treated constitutionally and administratively as a nationally homogeneous unit. Lenin recognized the reality of the anti-Russian national movements of liberation throughout the empire and wished to utilize them for the revolution; on the other hand, as a Marxist, he regarded nationalism as a passing phenomenon of the capitalist era. Like the Russian nationalists, he wished ultimately for the

Russification of the non-Russian nationalities, but he hoped that this goal might be brought about voluntarily. "Underestimating the power of nationalism and convinced of the inevitable triumph of class loyalties over national loyalties, Lenin looked upon national problems as something to exploit, and not as something to solve. But as a psychological weapon in the struggle for power, first in Russia and then abroad, the slogan of self-determination in Lenin's interpretation was to prove enormously successful."

Mr. Pipes's narrative of Bolshevik Russia's reconquest of the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and the Moslem lands is well documented, objective, and of pertinent interest even today and in the near future, when the freedom of the non-Russian nationalities from Moscow's control will present one of the most serious problems. The Soviet offensive against the national republics was carried out in 1920 by the same methods of internal and external pressure used twenty years later against the Baltic republics and the peoples of central-eastern Europe. Pressed by the Polish armies, Soviet Russia signed on May 7, 1920, a treaty with the Georgian Republic pledging the most unqualified recognition of Georgian independence. This meant, however, only a postponement of the conquest of Georgia. In November, 1920, Stalin wrote that Georgia "had transformed itself into the principal base of imperialist operation of England"; the truth was that against the wishes of the Georgians the British had withdrawn their troops in 1919 and declined to accept a League of Nations mandate over Georgia.

With the conquest of Georgia the first stage in the reconquest of Russia's imperial territories and territorial goals was accomplished. The Soviet Union which emerged as a result was a centralized and unitary state, but, as Mr. Pipes rightly points out, "by granting the minorities extensive linguistic autonomy and by placing the national-territorial principle at the base of the state's political administration, the Communists gave constitutional recognition to the multi-national structure of the Soviet population." Though this feature of the Soviet constitution was purely formal, nevertheless language and territorial administration have always strongly enhanced a nascent national consciousness, and thus this feature of the constitution "may well prove to have been historically one of the most consequential aspects of the formation of the Soviet Union."

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE INTERREGNUM, 1923-1924. By *Edward Hallet Carr*. [A History of Soviet Russia, Volume IV.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. vii, 392. \$5.00.)

The Interregnum is a continuation of Professor Carr's imposing study of Soviet Russia, for the period when Lenin lay dying and was succeeded by the "troika" of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin, in opposition to Trotsky. It will be followed by a two-volume set, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926*. In the present installment, the most intensive yet, Professor Carr treats, with characteristic

thoroughness and a formidable command of the sources, the areas of economics, diplomacy and Comintern activity, and internal politics. The one serious gap concerns the development of the party secretariat and its control over the organization, which Professor Carr does not discuss in any detail; the rich documentation in *Izvestiia TsK* (News of the Central Committee) is not used. In particular there is no treatment of Stalin's signal success in 1923-24 at packing the Central Committee.

The questions of method which Professor Carr's three-volume *Bolshevik Revolution* evokes are two: the limitations of a topical approach, and the problem of maintaining objectivity without the use of a personal conceptual scheme as a check when the subject matter is replete with implicit bias. (See the discussion of this problem in the Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 64, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*, esp. p. 142.) In both respects *The Interregnum* offers much less to take issue with. Between Volume I and the present installment Professor Carr's point of view appears to have changed considerably. This is illustrated especially in the tone with which opposition factions are treated. Professor Carr's pages reflect the *Weltanschauung* of the Bolshevik leadership as long as the focus is the contest between the Soviet regime and its antagonists. With Lenin's passing, Carr becomes more detached, and when the scene shifts to the area of factional controversy within the party, he treats the protagonists with the utmost impartiality. *The Interregnum* is the best of the series to date, and augurs well for what is to come.

According to the philosophy implicit in Professor Carr's work, history embodies a dichotomy between heroic leadership and the tug of circumstances. The man—Lenin—who by sheer force of will is able to take the course of events into his own hands evokes irrepressible admiration. He who, following, fails, or worse, succeeds by adapting himself to circumstances, is contemptible: thus both Trotsky and Stalin. "The failure of the opposition," Carr observes, "was one more tragic illustration of the practical dilemma of the attempt to build socialism in a country which still lacked both the economic and the political presuppositions of democracy."

Indiana University

ROBERT V. DANIELS

BALTISCHE GESCHICHTE: DIE OSTSEELAND, LIVLAND, ESTLAND, KURLAND, 1180-1918. By *Reinhard Wittram*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1954. Pp. 323. DM 26.)

THIS volume written by the author of *Geschichte der Baltischen Deutschen, Drei Generationen (Deutschland-Livland-Russland)* and other works is one in the series "Geschichte der Völker und Staaten" undertaken by R. Oldenbourg Verlag. As might be guessed from the subtitle, the *Baltische Geschichte* is not a national history of the Letts and Estonians. Rather, it is a history of the most eastern area of German penetration, conquest, and colonization, also an area where in spite

of historical vicissitudes the Germans left an indelible imprint. The Danes, Poles, Swedes, and Russians had much to do with the Baltic provinces but could not erase an essentially German civilization introduced by missionaries, merchants, and knights of the Middle Ages and strengthened and deepened by successive waves of German colonists. Throughout the book it is evident that Professor Wittram is chiefly interested in the historical role of the German element in what began as, and for a long time remained, a German colony.

The book is divided into three main parts. Following a short introduction, the first part covers the history of "old Livonia" during the period 1180-1561; the second part gives an account of the role of Livonia and Estonia in the struggle among the northern powers for the control of the Baltic Sea during the period 1561-1710 and the history of Kurland from 1561 to 1795; the third part, comprising more than half the text, relates the history of the Russian Baltic provinces from 1710 to 1918. Among the topics included in this most important section of the book are: the administrative organization of the Baltic provinces under Russian rule, the new influx of German colonists, the peasant question, agrarian legislation, the history and role of the University of Dorpat, the national awakening among the Letts and Estonians, Russification policies of the Russian government, social changes, rise of the revolutionary movement, and the outbreak of the First World War. This section is of particular interest to students of Russian history because through acquisition of the Baltic provinces Russia gained an "enclave" of Western civilization within its empire. From this "Germanized" corner of Russia came many statesmen, generals, governors, and scholars who played a significant role in the political and cultural history of Russia.

Following the text there are thirty-eight pages in small print containing bibliographies, general works of reference, and detailed page references in half a dozen languages. Taken as a whole the bibliographical material of Professor Wittram is so extensive that it would be a valuable contribution to the history of the Baltic provinces even in the absence of the informative and well-written text.

University of California, Berkeley

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF

Far Eastern History

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA. Volume I, INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATIONS. By *Joseph Needham*, Sir William Dunn Reader in Biochemistry in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Foreign Member of Academia Sinica. With the Research Assistance of *Wang Ling*, Academia Sinica and Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xxxviii, 318. \$10.00.)

THE late Professor Paul Pelliot, eminent authority on Chinese history and language, once observed that the history of science would gain immeasurably if a Western scientist of wide outlook were to collaborate with Chinese scientists who,

in addition to some knowledge of science, had a good command of their own great literature. Many hints, he thought, might be brought to light which could profitably be subjects of further research. Though the volume now published is only the first of six others to come, the information it yields is so rich that one may well regard Professor Pelliot's prophecy fulfilled. It remained for an eminent biochemist, versed in many other branches of science, and one who has traveled widely in China, to place the scientific contributions of that civilization in truer perspective. Numerous recorded observations and practices whose significance escaped the notice of routine students of Chinese language and history are here set forth in a new and fascinating light. "It is my conviction," writes Dr. Needham, "that the Chinese proved themselves able to speculate about Nature as well as the Greeks in their earlier period." They maintained, moreover, "between the 3rd and 13th centuries a level of scientific knowledge unapproached in the West."

Dr. Needham is not unaware of the factors which, after the sixteenth century, inhibited the growth of science in China—though it must be granted that, beginning about 1600, scientific techniques were successfully employed in such fields as textual, philological, and historical criticism. Though he enumerates important factors, he seems to give, in this volume at least, too little weight to one philosophical concept that pervaded the entire East: the conviction that happiness and truth are to be sought for within the mind. This being so, knowing and controlling oneself became in the Orient a more urgent matter than knowing and controlling the outer world. Furthermore, when commenting on "the extraordinary integrative and absorptive power of Chinese civilization" it is hardly enough to say that it is "connected with the highly characteristic nature of Chinese agriculture and administration." Surely much of China's absorptive power was due also to her humane and highly reasonable attitude to life. Again, one could wish that less use had been made of the disparaging words "bureaucrat" and "bureaucratism"—words so tarnished of late that they impute to an ancient and on the whole well-conducted civil service an opprobrious connotation it hardly deserves.

It is remarkable with what accuracy and power of selectivity the general history of China, the geographical background, and the characteristics of the language are depicted. The scene is thus laid for understanding the part that men of scientific temper played in that land. More remarkable still are the numerous parallelisms showing the actual or implied cultural contacts between China and the West. A prodigious amount of reading in several languages was necessary to achieve such results. Subsequent volumes, now in manuscript, will treat in order the following topics: the history of scientific thought; mathematics and the sciences of heaven and earth; physics, engineering, and technology; chemistry and industrial chemistry; biology, agriculture, and medicine; the social background. The introductory volume has thirty-six illustrations and maps, and nine very useful tables of Chinese sounds, place-names, dynasties, etc. The final volume will contain unified indexes and bibliographies of all the preceding volumes. The work as

a whole is brilliantly conceived, promising to be one of the bold efforts at synthesis that our new world—geographically united but mentally divided—so urgently needs. It is addressed, moreover, “not to sinologists, nor to the widest circle of the general public, but to all educated people, whether themselves scientists or not . . . who are interested in the general history of civilization, and especially the comparative development of Europe and Asia.”

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA UNDER THE COMPANY AND THE CROWN. By *P. E. Roberts*, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. Third edition completed by *T. G. P. Spear*, Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. v, 707.)

THIS durable work first appeared (as *Historical Geography of India*, in two parts) in 1916 and 1920, when British power in India, if no longer at its zenith, was still unquestionably pre-eminent. Under the present title two editions and several reprintings were published from 1921 onward to the final year of British rule over India. It is testimony to Roberts' scholarship that after 1947, when the British Indian episode could be viewed as a whole, final chapters should be added and the volume reissued with the first 579 pages of the original work unchanged.

In completing the third edition after Roberts' death in 1949, Dr. Spear had the double task of carrying the account forward from 1935, where it was left in the second edition, and of rounding out the interpretation of British Indian history with rather greater emphasis on developments within Indian society than had appeared necessary to Roberts. In an unusually effective summation of the crowded latter years before 1947 Spear has skillfully woven in the strands that make the denouement intelligible, from Ram Mohan Roy to the rise of Muslim separatism.

Nevertheless, this remains a British account of British dominion over India. As such it is valuable. Indian historians may now rewrite the history of their country for the past 250 years with different emphases, and certainly with some different adjectives. Here the march of history is seen in terms of the struggles among the early European contenders in the East, the ascendancy of the British, and the records of the successive governors general, with emphasis on “each man's characteristic contribution to the building up of British dominion in India” (p. 225). It is a carefully told tale. From Clive and Hastings to Curzon, major figures are treated to a more judicious examination than has sometimes been the fashion. Despite the condensation that is inevitable in a one-volume history of British India, Roberts retains a keen eye for the complexity of interests involved in a situation and writes always with clarity.

The volume has sufficient value so that it is a pity new plates were not made of most of the book for the third edition. For a reader in 1954 it is a distracting and possibly misleading anachronism to read in the present tense of British authority over India and to find that a reference to “the past forty years” refers to the

period from 1880 to 1920. Some more substantive observations are also outdated, such as a reference to Bengal as the province that is "the wealthiest and most flourishing in India" (p. 229). These are irritations, but they need not put off the wary reader.

American Universities Field Staff

PHILLIPS TALBOT

JAPAN'S DECISION TO SURRENDER. By *Robert J. C. Butow*. Foreword by Edwin O. Reischauer. [Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. Publication No. 24.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 259. \$4.00.)

AN unforeseen by-product of the decision to bring to justice the Axis leaders of World War II was the vast collection of records and testimony assembled as a result of the war crimes trials. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East alone took enough evidence to fill fifty packing crates. Together with personal memoirs and interviews, these records provide the student of contemporary events a rare and hitherto unexploited opportunity to follow the tortuous path of Japanese policy and to probe deeply the motives of those who guided the destiny of Japan in time of crisis.

Dr. Butow has made the most of this opportunity. Choosing for his theme Japan's decision to surrender, Butow traces the steps by which a small but extremely influential group of men close to the emperor sought to end a war that was already lost. The story is a drama of intrigue, of contending forces, played against the curtain of the most destructive war in history. On one side were the military fanatics and their adherents, preferring annihilation to surrender; on the other the handful of elder statesmen and former premiers, loyally avowing support for the war effort but secretly conspiring to rescue Japan from atomic disaster and certain chaos.

Above both stood the emperor, the supreme symbol of Japanese life and thought. Limited by tradition to approval of his ministers' decisions, he kept silent when they could not agree. But at this critical moment in history, with a cabinet split by deep irreconcilable differences, the emperor chose to abandon his traditional neutrality. By speaking out clearly for peace he resolved the conflict and sealed the doom of the military extremists. Had he not taken this unprecedented and extraordinary step the course of Japanese history and the postwar world might well have taken a different turn.

The emperor's decision crowded closely the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. These great events, says Dr. Butow, have obscured the real reasons for that decision. Japan had been defeated many months before and probably would have capitulated earlier had the Allies defined the "unconditional surrender" formula and agreed to preserve the imperial system. By refusing to do so, Butow believes the Allies strengthened the extremists and lengthened the war.

If that is so, it is fair to ask how much the leaders in Washington actually knew about conditions inside Japan and about the struggle between the peace party and the military clique. If they had such information, when did they acquire it and how much of it could they believe? Was it reliable enough to justify the hope that an invasion of Japan would prove unnecessary, or that Russia's help would not be needed in the final stages of the war? How much weight could they give it in their decision to pay the price of Soviet aid against Japan? Or to use the atom bomb? These are questions that a reading of the Japanese record raises but cannot answer. It is unlikely they will be answered soon.

In telling the story of one of the fateful decisions of our time, Dr. Butow has made a valuable contribution to the history of World War II. He has illuminated the intricate devices by which Japan is governed and described in detail the problems facing a nation making its painful way from war to peace.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS MORTON

American History

THE COMING OF THE REVOLUTION, 1763-1775. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. xiv, 287. \$5.00.)

DURING the past fifty years the Whig interpretation of the American Revolution has been undermined by the work of Sir Lewis Namier and his disciples in England and outflanked by that of the "imperial" school of historians in America. Professor Gipson is the leading spokesman of the latter group, and he now gives us a brief account of the events leading to American independence as they appear to him after a lifetime devoted to study of the empire. The emphasis is not on narration of events—the crowded years from 1767 onward are covered in seventy-two pages—but on the imperial setting within which the events took place.

The result of this emphasis, though the author scrupulously refrains from taking sides, is to make the actions of the British appear more reasonable and those of the Americans less so than has been the case in conventional accounts of these years. Perhaps the most effective chapters are those which show that the Americans had a much lower tax burden and a much lower public indebtedness per capita than Englishmen. Though one would like to know something of the comparative incomes of the two groups, the conclusion seems inescapable that the Americans could have borne without undue hardship the taxes imposed by parliament. In spite of the spirit of tolerance in which Professor Gipson presents his facts, the facts themselves suggest a certain churlishness on the part of a people who refused in the mother country's hour of need to pay the comparatively small sums demanded of them.

Without denying the facts or the force of the inference to be drawn from them, it may be fair to point out that another set of facts might help to redeem the

Americans from the unenviable position in which Professor Gipson places them. He, I am sure, would be the first to acknowledge that the ability of one party to pay does not necessarily confer on another the right to demand payment. The colonists, of course, denied the right of parliament's demand; but Professor Gipson, viewing this denial from the imperial perspective, finds it less consistent, and thus by implication less sincere, than it might have seemed at closer range. In interpreting the American position at the time of the Stamp Act he relies heavily on Franklin's statements in London and on a pamphlet printed in Connecticut, treating these as characteristic or representative, though they were actually exceptional. He thus accepts as true, what some of the masters of empire may well have thought was true—that the colonies at the time of the Stamp Act claimed an exemption from internal taxes only—though the notion was belied by other pamphlets and by dozens of petitions and resolutions reaching parliament from colonial assemblies.

Likewise the emphasis on the imperial perspective eclipses another set of facts that would make colonial resistance appear less reprehensible. Though there is a citation to Professor Dickerson's work in a footnote, there is no description of the outrageous behavior of the customs officers, especially of the American Board of Commissioners, which provoked so many of the incidents leading to the Revolutionary impasse.

Perhaps there will be more room for the author's view of these matters in the coming volume of his larger work. No book as strictly limited in length as the present one could deal even in passing with all the episodes that helped to bring on the Revolution. What Professor Gipson has done, and done with grace and style, is to give us the side of the picture that many Americans still need to be reminded of.

Brown University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume VI, PATRIOT AND PRESIDENT. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. With a Foreword by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. xlv, 529. \$7.50.)

COMPLETING the present volume on the very day of his death, the author carried Washington to the end of his first term as President. But the work as it emerged from the press owed much of its perfection to the very loyal staff, whose devotion to their task represents an impressive monument to their departed chief. For Dr. Freeman, even as Lee and Washington whom he so laboriously and lovingly portrayed, possessed that precious quality of leadership which evokes unstinting service and devoted loyalty. An innate greatness first drove him to the companionship of the illustrious dead. And they in turn provided inspiration to their sculptor. Thus in a form somewhat modified, the dictum of Polybius that the historian must have participated personally in great events is vindicated, for if Dr. Freeman's actual life was the quiet one of author, editor, and commentator,

remote from cabinets and battlefields, the subjects who chiefly engaged his hours of thought and his creative pen were the loftiest of men. The living and the dead were mutually dependent.

The story, for it is a story and not a series of essays, proceeds with a day-to-day minuteness that is almost glacial in its majesty. Washington develops so gradually that one almost regrets the virtues of a possibly less scientific but more interpretative method. The reader's judgments are his own. Freeman has provided their basis but rarely the verdicts. According to Mary Wells Ashworth, "Historical Associate to Douglas Southall Freeman," it was the biographer's intention to summarize his personal conclusions in the unwritten Volume VII (p. xlv). For the unity of his work, it is perhaps as well that this chapter is left to the imagination. That it would have been laudatory is implicit throughout. Unlike Rupert Hughes, who came to scoff but remained to pray, Freeman required no conversion. Intensely Virginian, he needed no introduction to Washington but rather to his century, for colonial Virginia was far more remote in its folkways than the post-Civil War Virginia of Freeman's youth, with its numerous survivors of a heroic epoch.

Accuracy, minuteness, and comprehensiveness being the salient characteristics of Freeman's work, one does not anticipate much novelty. Washington was great in life; he is great in this biography. In so far as it differs from some recent interpretations, it is gentler in depicting his relations with Mary Ball, his mother, with Alexander Hamilton, and with Arthur St. Clair; and on the whole more censorious in attributing much of the general's hesitation over attending the Constitutional Convention to vanity and the fear of undermining his well-earned position. There is complete understanding of Washington's problems of etiquette and protocol, in happy contrast with the woodenness of Woodrow Wilson's *Washington*. Martha Washington, it may be added, is portrayed as a happy wife and a true helpmeet.

Thus Volume VI of Freeman's magnum opus closes in the mellow glow of a great man interpreted in a great biography.

Purdue University

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

AMERICAN PAINTING: THE LIGHT OF DISTANT SKIES, 1760-1835.

By *James Thomas Flexner*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1954. Pp. 306, 102 plates. \$10.00.)

WITH *The Light of Distant Skies*, James Thomas Flexner continues his chronicle of American painting in the same sprightly fashion that characterized his *First Flowers of the Wilderness*. The present volume covers the years 1760 to 1835, opening with Benjamin West's arrival in England and concluding with John Trumbull's enthusiastic discovery in a New York shop window of some landscapes by the then unknown painter Thomas Cole. This last episode will doubtless serve as the springboard for Flexner's next volume in his series. Let

us hope so, for his series, reminiscent of Van Wyck Brooks's parallel study of our literary heritage, promises to provide the best single introduction to American painting for the nonspecialist. Even the specialist will admire the adroitness with which Flexner weaves the career of one artist into another, while relating their paintings to the social context of their creation.

On the other hand, the pace of the narrative seems to make aesthetic analysis something of an incubus. Flexner tends to characterize an artist's work by reference to one or two paintings, slighting the treatment of stylistic development even when this is essential as in the English work of West or (even more meagerly discussed) of Copley. There is but the sketchiest discussion of European developments. A typical specimen: "Although the English artists never lost sight of individuality, they emphasized the most admired aspects of a sitter's character and features. Like Copley, Reynolds looked at reality, but he wore much rosier glasses" (p. 57). Such commentary only tantalizes; it certainly does not analyze differences requiring photographic evidence, all of which is American. The bibliography, even as a basic list (which Flexner does not assert that it is), lacks foreign sources completely, save for a few of the most obvious general studies by English scholars. In respect to history painting alone, for example, where is Jean Locquin's basic *La peinture d'histoire en France 1747 à 1785*, which relates West's work to European developments? Where are Edgar Wind's important article on "The Revolution of History Painting" and Charles Mitchell's discussion of West's "Death of General Wolfe"? (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, II, 116 ff.; VII, 20 ff.)

Since the central theme of the present volume is the uncertainty which ensued when artists like West, Copley, Trumbull, Allston, Morse, and Vanderlyn attempted to absorb the "grand style" of European history painting, the social historian will find here new insights into the age-old problem of the validity of European experience for American culture. In general, Flexner maintains that the painters of the early national period failed because they did not concentrate on American themes; but Flexner wavers in his assertion. On the one hand, he states that the European influence on West and Copley did result in significant (if not perhaps in "great") works of art. On the other, he finds that Trumbull, Allston, Morse, and Vanderlyn failed because they became infected with the "grand style" and with the psychology of creation implicit in history painting. At some places he very interestingly argues that these last four artists unfairly blamed their unproductivity on the cloddish lack of sympathy of a native audience which, according to Flexner, stormed exhibitions, asking only for subject matter of deep popular interest to furnish the kind of patronage requisite for vital creativity. Elsewhere he confesses that Americans were not particularly discriminating; that they were as excited by the prospect of Allston's unfortunate "Belshazzar's Feast" as the artist himself; that although they did patronize portraitists as lavishly as their colonial forebears had done, the results (except for certain Stuarts) were mediocre. Finally, Flexner repeatedly bemoans the lack of a "great tradition,"

but neglects to tell us whether such a tradition could be wrought solely of frontier materials, or whether it might not also require certain European ingredients too. In short, Flexner contributes new information on the problem of an "American" culture, but leaves the problem unresolved largely because the social circumstances of the work of art fascinate him so much more than the formal.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. JORDY

THE PROTESTANT CLERGY AND PUBLIC ISSUES, 1812-1848. By *John R. Bodo*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 291. \$5.00.)

THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF THE NORTHERN EVANGELISTS, 1826-1860. By *Charles C. Cole, Jr.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 580.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. 268. \$4.25.)

THESE two books on the part played by religion and the authorized spokesmen of religious groups in the period between the War of 1812 and the Civil War are valuable contributions to American social and cultural history. As their titles indicate, they offer a contrast in subject matter and in the center of interest of the two authors. It is equally obvious that the two accounts must inevitably overlap, for the terms "orthodox" and "evangelical" are not fixed, and the members of the clergy both authors deal with did not remain, true to form, all of the time in one or the other category. The terms "social ideas" and "public issues" offer another opportunity—almost necessity—for overlapping, for the problems presented by Negro slavery, the temperance movement, reform in the field of education, and, in fact, almost every phase of the life of the American citizen were of interest to both the "theocracy" of Mr. Bodo and the "Northern evangelists" of Mr. Cole.

By a careful reading of the introductory chapters of the two books it is possible, through the authors' definitions of the terms used in their titles and the limitations they set for their works, to understand both the contrast between "theocrat" and "evangelist" and the fact that they at times agree and at times disagree in the selection as well as in the treatment of problems of public and/or social concern.

A Presbyterian clergyman, himself, Mr. Bodo has carefully limited his Protestant clergy to the "educated ministry of New England and the middle states, whose theology was largely Calvinistic." Those were the areas in which the Calvinistic tradition was strong, but there was a very orthodox Presbyterian church in the South, and New England settlers carried Calvinism to the West. It may seem to a non-New Englander, or a non-Presbyterian, or a non-Calvinist in tradition—or to all these in one—that this is an arbitrary and narrow limitation of the term American Protestant clergy and that the title of the book is not well chosen. It may seem strange, also, to write of "theocrats" and "theocracy" as dominant in such a group in a country in which separation of church and state was a cardinal dogma. It is clear, however, that the author intended to limit his discussion to

the orthodox, conservative clergymen of the better-educated and conservative congregations.

Professor Cole, on the other hand, makes it quite plain why he treats only the Northern evangelists, but it is difficult at times to determine the reasons for the inclusion of some men and the exclusion of others. Perhaps it is hard to define an evangelist. There were, moreover, many clergymen who were Puritan and Calvinist in tradition and thus obviously belong on Mr. Bodo's list but whose attitudes on revivals and social reforms contradict their conservative opinions and make them proper subjects for inclusion among Mr. Cole's evangelists. Contemporaries, for example, could not agree, and apparently modern historians cannot, as to the place of Lyman Beecher. Was Beecher a great evangelical "human force" as one writer has stated, or was he a champion of orthodoxy as the Lane Seminary rebels must have thought? Justin Edwards, also, is claimed by both authors; Albert Barnes is called a "theocrat" by Mr. Bodo and rates a brief biography among the Northern evangelists; but Charles Grandison Finney and Peter Cartwright belong definitely to Professor Cole while Leonard Bacon and Theodore Dwight are in the other camp.

This seeming confusion is, on the surface, repeated in the discussion of the many movements and voluntary associations of the first half of the nineteenth century in which both Calvinistic and revivalistic clergy were interested. Ministers and laymen of all denominations worked for all the reform movements and were interested in the missionary, Sunday school, tract, Bible, and other societies. The confusion, if such it is, is lessened when one considers the fundamental difference between the attitudes of the two groups toward the nature of man and society. The evangelical clergy were touched by perfectionism and millennialism and had the optimism so characteristic of the frontier and of the American spirit of that period. The "theocrats" retained the Calvinist view of the depravity of man while they endeavored to bring the nation into conformity with their interpretation of God's will and design. Their belief in the perfectibility of man and society made the evangelists, in revivals and reform movement at least, radicals, while the theocrats were natural conservatives made more cautious by the extravagance of the revivalists. They were still struggling with the problems of faith and theology that had plagued Jonathan Edwards and the Calvinists of the mid-eighteenth-century Great Awakening.

Another difference between the two groups lay in the constant emphasis by the conservative group upon education and reason while the evangelists displayed a certain anti-intellectualism and emphasized emotion rather than reason in religious experience. And yet even here it is not always clear because men were not always consistent and neither heart nor head dominated at all times or under all circumstances. In short, both groups were composed of very human individuals, interesting in their strength, appealing in their weaknesses and often delightful in their inconsistencies. The same may be said for the lay associates of these clergymen!

Both books are interesting from start to finish, well written, and for both of them the university presses have done their usual competent job of publication. All students of American cultural history will find them useful and will be grateful that able scholars have performed for them the burdensome task of working over masses of source material buried in the sermons, letters, and diaries of the clergy of a century ago and in the voluminous and tedious records of the voluntary associations and reform organizations of that day.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

AMERICAN BUSINESS CORPORATIONS UNTIL 1860: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MASSACHUSETTS. By *Edwin Merrick Dodd*; Late Fessenden Professor of Law, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 524. \$7.50.)

FOLLOWING the tragic death of Professor Dodd and his wife in 1951, his classmate and colleague, Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., completed the preparation of this volume. Judicial decisions on corporation law (subdivided into problems of public law and private law) for the periods ending in 1830 and 1860 are first treated. Familiar opinions by Chief Justice John Marshall keep company with obscure cases from state courts. The author points out that American corporation law, more than any other branch of judge-made law, is "an indigenous product," developing independently of English decisions. English law prior to the American Revolution dealt chiefly with colleges, guilds, and other nonprofit organizations. The business corporation is predominantly an American device (p. 13).

Massachusetts statutes dealing with incorporation are then analyzed for the same chronological periods. Here the discussion is subdivided according to the type of business (banking, insurance, public utilities, manufacturing). Concluding chapters discuss the evolution of limited liability in Massachusetts and in other New England states.

To the lawyer and businessman today limited liability is one of the characteristic consequences of doing business as a corporation. Yet until 1830 the policy of Massachusetts was to impose personal liability on shareholders for unpaid debts of the corporation. Rhode Island retained unlimited liability until 1847. Not until 1851 did Massachusetts authorize incorporation under a general statute; and until 1893 in Rhode Island it was necessary to obtain a special act from the legislature every time a corporation was formed (pp. 366, 433).

Governor Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, who had been Attorney General of the United States under Jefferson, played a prominent part in the elimination of unlimited liability. In 1826, less than a month before Jefferson's death, Lincoln recognized that the number of corporations already created, and their immense capital, made successful competition by an individual impossible (pp. 232, 414-15). But the depression of 1829 was largely responsible for the legislation of 1830.

Jacksonian Democracy (represented in Massachusetts by Governor Marcus

Morton in 1840) clung tenaciously to the earlier view that incorporation was a special privilege and should be limited to activities involving extensive enterprises of important public concern, "beyond the ability of individual efforts," and requiring exercise of the sovereign power of eminent domain. But if incorporation were to be permitted at all for ordinary types of business, it should be effected pursuant to general laws, available to all applicants on equal terms, without the political influence necessary to procure passage of a special act by the legislature (pp. 311-12, 394-95). The latter form of anticorporation sentiment prevailed, since it "found allies among those who cared nothing for the Jacksonian principle of equality but were eager to encourage the growth of business" (p. 436). The waning power of merchants and shipowners engaged in the import trade facilitated passage of laws to encourage domestic manufacturing corporations (p. 394). In 1851 Massachusetts enacted a general incorporation law, but in 1853 the voters rejected a provision (found in the constitutions of many states) prohibiting incorporation by special act, so that Massachusetts is now one of the few states where incorporation by special act is still possible (pp. 287, 449).

Besides scrutinizing the statutes, Dodd familiarized himself "with the economic and political history of the state, and with such contemporary records as committee reports and newspaper accounts of legislative debates" (p. 4). His thorough and detailed research has produced a volume which will be more useful to historians concerned with the rise of industrialism in America before the Civil War than to practicing corporation lawyers of the present day. For the author wrote as a historian rather than with utilitarian purpose.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE JACKSONIANS: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, 1829-1861. By *Leonard D. White*, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xii, 593. \$8.00.)

THIS third volume of Leonard D. White's pioneering history of public administration in the United States covers the period from the inauguration of Jackson to the outbreak of the Civil War. During these years the national government had withdrawn from the task of directing and controlling the development and growth of the society that it had first assumed under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, and was operating in accordance with the dictum that that government is best which governs least. This fundamental change in political theory and practice was initiated by Jackson, not by his party or any interested group, and was a return to the principles advocated by Jefferson, the political theorist and organizer of the opposition party in the 1790's. But it also was in essential conflict with the practices of Jefferson as President and with those of his successors, Madison, Monroe, and Adams.

There were, as a consequence, many changes in administration, but since they were essentially withdrawals from areas previously occupied rather than entries

into new fields, they have been obscured by Professor White's essentially positive description of departmental and bureau activities. A few innovations were made during this Jacksonian period. Most of these were brought about by the development of real needs that had to be met such as the inspection of steamship boilers and the encouragement of scientific research in oceanography and related matters. The author has given an adequate and interesting account of these developments, but he has ignored completely the short-lived experiment with a national bankruptcy act in the early 1840's.

He has, however, rectified one serious omission in his earlier studies of the Federalists and Jeffersonians by including a short description of the administrative relations between the national Treasury and both national banks. Adequate attention has been paid to the joint relations between the two national financial agencies in handling government receipts, deposits, transfers, and payments, but he passes over in silence the other public activities of the Banks of the United States in providing a national currency, regulating domestic and foreign exchange, and controlling and sustaining the state banks.

Another omission in the preceding studies, an account of the use of mixed companies for the construction of internal improvements, has been remedied by a brief discussion of the beginnings of this movement with the subscription to the stock of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company during the Monroe administration and of its ending by Jackson's Maysville road veto. But not enough attention has been paid to the reasons for the use of this device, its accomplishments, and the effects of its discontinuance.

Professor White's principal interest throughout the book is not administration but personnel, and it is in this area that he has made his most important and interesting contributions. The individual actions of numerous officeholders of all ranks are described in detail because it is here that the author believes that the Jacksonian changes had their greatest influence. The Federalists and Jeffersonians, he says, had a preference for administration by the "well-born and well-to-do," but the Jacksonians instilled a democratic character into the American administrative system, which, in spite of its confusion and waste, "brought endless sources of vitality into the body administrative directly from the body politic."

The basis for this contention was the introduction of the principle of rotation into administrative offices, the substituting of one set of political partisans for another whenever the presidency changed hands, but the author, in making this distinction, has not adequately defined his terms or sustained his interpretation with evidence. He has not established any connection between birth, economic status, and officeholding, nor why rotation is more democratic than the older system of continuance in clerkships, but, of even more importance, he has not explained how the changes in personnel brought vitality or strength into administration.

A WHIG EMBATTLED: THE PRESIDENCY UNDER JOHN TYLER. By Robert J. Morgan. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 199. \$3.50.)

"ENERGY in the Executive," said Alexander Hamilton, "is a leading character in the definition of good government." John Tyler's enemies criticized him on many counts during his forty-seven presidential months, but lack of energy was never a conspicuous charge. If the annexation of Texas may be considered the principal event of his administration, Tyler also signed the Pre-emption Act of 1841 and left his impress upon Dorr's Rebellion, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, the McLeod case, the mildly protective tariff of 1842, and the numerous measures he vetoed on constitutional or other grounds.

A gentleman of parts and polish, a statesman of determination and forcefulness—such is the Tyler reassessed here by a political scientist who thinks clearly and writes well. Incompatible nationalist and state-rights Whigs, the 1840 campaign humbuggery, and frail William Henry Harrison's fatal illness provided the setting for Tyler's accession. Then the erstwhile foe of Andrew Jackson's "executive usurpation" became Henry Clay's new nemesis. Not only did Tyler kill the Bank, twice veto Clay-promoted tariffs, and thrice defeat distribution of proceeds from the public lands, but he also helped Jackson's lieutenant James K. Polk beat Clay in the 1844 election.

Mr. Morgan's topical treatment supplements the findings of Chitwood, Fraser, Fuess, Poage, Reeves, Smith, Van Deusen, and Wiltse. The author puts Tyler's principles in focus from 1787, 1954, and especially 1841-45 viewpoints. He also relates Tyler's theory to his practice, demonstrating that the Virginian was not a merely obdurate man of commonplace mind. The slender aristocrat is always in the center of the stage. Many of his ten vetoes are stressed, together with ironies and incongruities of partisan and factional warfare. If Clay was a sadly disillusioned figure at the hour of Polk's triumph, the Whig weak executive theory must have seemed more passé than Harry of the West.

Shortcomings include an inadequate index and signs of careless proofreading. Mr. Morgan should have consulted Charles M. Wiltse's *John C. Calhoun: Sectionalist*, in connection with Tyler's appointment of Calhoun to the cabinet. But occasional slips are not nearly so significant as the book's solid and attractive features. Balance, compactness, and judicious interpretation make *A Whig Embattled* one of the most useful studies of a presidential quadrennium between Jefferson's day and Lincoln's.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

LINCOLN & THE PARTY DIVIDED. By William Frank Zornow. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. Pp. xi, 264. \$4.00.)

THE presidential campaign of 1864 is a familiar story. Using a larger perspective than any previous historian or biographer, Dr. Zornow retells it in greater

detail but without startlingly new interpretations or conclusions. The study has solid worth, however; its merit rests chiefly upon thorough research and skill in presenting data in readable style and meaningful arrangement. Judicious handling of evidence does not obscure the author's sympathies, which are consistently with the President and his problems.

The central theme in this study of a divided Republican party and the no less divided Democracy is the opposition of politicians to Lincoln's renomination and re-election and his support by the people. Chase and Frémont and Butler, rivals among the Unconditionals, as the author renames the Radicals, each failed to enlist strong men unreservedly behind their candidacies and each failed to arouse popular imagination. Inability of Lincoln's opponents in the party to unite on a candidate assured the President's renomination. Had the Democrats united with the "Cleveland movement," the author believes, "they could have ruined Lincoln's hope of re-election."

Dr. Zornow makes his greatest contribution in evaluating the issues in the campaign and in analyzing election returns. Unionists stressed Democratic disloyalty and the clear-cut issue of emancipation. Democrats endeavored to capitalize upon violation of civil liberties, unnecessary prolongation of the war, and reconstruction of the Union "solely on the basis of the Constitution." But Unionists skillfully evaded the reconstruction issue, on which there was intraparty conflict. Because of this evasion, the author says, the Unconditionals' subsequent justification of their reconstruction program "as the fruit of a popular mandate" is incredible. The only mandate was emancipation; beyond it "the voters were deciding merely on two personalities."

In analyzing the election returns, Dr. Zornow accepts the standard conclusion that soldier participation, while preponderantly for Lincoln, did not affect the outcome; that the immigrant vote was decidedly for the Democratic candidate; and that the urban proletariat, except skilled laborers, also strongly supported McClellan. Lincoln's greatest strength, he says, came from "agricultural areas inhabited largely by native-born citizens," and he was also supported by professional men, Constitutional Unionists of 1860, and most of the Protestant groups. Rural areas dominated by the foreign element, Breckinridge men of 1860, and Irish Catholics voted the Democratic ticket.

The metaphor is an effective form of rhetoric if used with proper restraint. The following example seems too irrisuous: "The current flowed on, however, and the spring freshet became an irresistible flood; the tidelands were overflowed, Chase's dykes were breached, Butler's hopes smothered in the turbid waters, and the Unconditionals struggled in vain for a pilot or a rudder to keep them from being swept under by the Lincoln tide, but it was of no avail. The current was too strong" (p. 69). No one would accuse Dr. Zornow of writing dry-as-dust history. In the latter half of the book he is less metaphorically inclined, happily without sacrifice of reader interest.

University of Oregon

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

MAIN STREET ON THE MIDDLE BORDER. By *Lewis Atherton*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 423. \$6.00.)

THE last century of American history owes much to midwestern towns of less than five thousand inhabitants, largely through the contributions of the young people who have gone from them to the great metropolitan centers. Yet they have received only incidental attention from American historians until the appearance of this thoughtful, well-organized, detailed, and well-illustrated study. It exploits census records, small town newspapers, manuscript collections, and most notably, the impressions and recollections of literary figures, from Mark Twain and Hamlin Garland to August Derleth and the earlier Louis Bromfield, who came out of this background. (William Holmes McGuffey sets the underlying themes.) It begins with the railway construction and related land speculation after 1865 that created or guaranteed the survival of these towns. It follows the evolution of such institutions as retail stores, livery stables, homes, and recreational facilities and of the various professions, employments, and resulting social classes.

From first to last the bankers stood at the apex of a hierarchy devoted to "the immediately useful and practical"—Dr. Atherton's reiterated key phrase. Preachers and teachers had a certain niche in the scheme of practicality, but as individuals they were rarely permitted to sink permanent roots. Artists were exiled as superfluous or at least premature. There was always a dream that this materialism might some day serve as the foundation for the arts and for an era of human betterment, but, not surprisingly, the means tended to become an end in itself. Faced by the challenge offered by the automobile, the radio, and standardized merchandising, such towns must now undertake self-reappraisal or decline into stagnant, fished-out pools. There are some signs of promise, and the average town continues rather slowly to grow in size.

The author comes from a small town background (as does the reviewer and perhaps a disproportionate number of the members of the profession) and he has a wonderful ability to evoke the sights, the sounds, and above all the smells of by-gone days. But he has produced neither an autobiography nor a subjective work. His confession that he both loves and hates what he himself remembers is confined to the book's jacket. The result is an outstanding example of solid and highly readable historical scholarship. It makes much less use of comparison with other periods, areas, and population levels than one might expect from the author's previous work and from that of such scholars as Thomas D. Clark and Everett N. Dick dealing with other sections. But many more such studies, including the increasingly exploited field of urban history, will be needed before such comparisons can be fully made.

YANKEE REFORMERS IN THE URBAN AGE. By *Arthur Mann*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 314. \$5.00.)

THE Enlightenment had had its day in Boston, and the New England conscience at the close of the nineteenth century was tired. The genteel tradition, long a New England disease, had swept over the Hub of the universe. Such was the judgment of that Kansas firebrand of liberalism, Vernon Louis Parrington, in his *Main Currents in American Thought*, and such is the judgment that Arthur Mann has proved false with an impressive marshaling of evidence.

It is not that Mann makes out a one-sided case. He points wryly to Boston's law of 1880 that, for the first time, allowed people to smoke in public. He shows the paradox that has always been Boston and New England and Puritanism, the passion at one and the same time to restrict and to enhance human freedom. He demonstrates that Boston's wealthy were not numbered in the ranks of the reformers; that many men of culture were pessimists rather than crusaders; that such Irish Catholic liberals as John Boyle O'Reilly were none too successful in attempting to square their democratic liberalism with their Catholic faith. But with all due account to the debit side of the ledger, there was still a goodly company on the credit side of liberalism.

The company was not only goodly, but diverse in character. It ranged from representatives of the earlier reformers, such as Wendell Phillips, who praised the Nihilists, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who felt pity for those "likely to have no convictions for which they can honestly be mobbed," on to members of the post-Civil War generation. Boston was the home of Rabbi Solomon Schindler, enemy of Jewish exclusiveness and proponent of the social welfare state, a position in which he was joined by more than one of the Boston clergy, Catholic and Protestant; of academicians like Robert A. Woods, leader in settlement work, and Frank Parsons, trust buster and advocate of public ownership of public utilities; of feminists who fought for women's rights; of a working class that added yeast to the intellectual ferment by joining the Knights of Labor and organizing trade unions. These men and women attest the fact that Boston's conscience was very far from tired as the nineteenth century drew to its close.

The reforming Bostonian of Arthur Mann's book was neither very new nor very numerous, but he was vocal enough and influential enough to give late nineteenth-century Boston an important place in the forward surge of that democratic impulse which, for many of us, is the best possible proof of the right of the United States to her position in the modern world.

University of Rochester

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

THE JEWS IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. By *Rufus Lears*. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1954. Pp. xiv, 382. \$6.00.)

THE American Jewish Tercentenary year now being celebrated has seen the publication of a number of volumes devoted to a study of the history of Jews in

this country. By far the most practical and useful for the average reader is Rufus Learsi's one-volume work *The Jews in America*. Scholars, however, will find its chief virtue to be its major defect. It is, after all, a fleetingly brief catalogue of a three-hundred-year episode and aims to encompass the social, religious, economic, cultural, and demographic history of American Jews. This means that Learsi's work can be a worth-while textbook for the subject under study but certainly not the definitive work the jacket inscription heralds.

Nor is the author at fault. There are other reasons why this book cannot be definitive. Learsi is obviously familiar with the monographic literature in the field of American Jewish history. But the paucity of reliable *Vorarbeiten* and the dearth of good local Jewish community studies makes the writing of a one-volume "history" of American Jews an impossible task, at this date. In every field the author touches he is walking on virgin ground. He is without much benefit from prior scholarly spadework.

As a description, within the covers of a single book, of the major personalities, events, organizations, and statistics of American Jewish life, Learsi's work is excellent. He is careful, too, to relate his story to the Old World background of the immigrant, as well as to the important and determining aspects of the new American environment. But there is little historical analysis. Whenever the author goes beyond pure description he tends to become opinionated. Instead of analyzing developments and interactions from a socio-historical point of view, he editorializes. His ardor and convictions are admirable and movingly portrayed. But they are no substitute for straightforward reporting and objective interpretation.

One misses, too, an insight into the changing social structure of the American Jewish community as seen from the "inside out"—the Jewish communities outside of New York City. As with earlier attempts at such histories, the reader sometimes gets the feeling that the American Jewish community is coterminous with the national Jewish organizations whose offices are located in New York City. Little attention is paid to the patterns of community behavior which have developed in the social, religious, and cultural life of the Jewish community on the local level throughout America. The author sees too much in the national movements and as a result he misses the real community which exists in actuality and not as the projection of heads of national organizations. Thus it is that we get no real insight into questions dealing with acculturation; Christian-Jewish relations on a practical level; the socio-religious problems; the impact of economic factors on community life; the role of anti-Semitism as a force for community unity; the reasons for social and population mobility. These and a variety of other crucial factors go into the making of a history of American Jews. We will not find them discussed with any real insight in this book.

For all these necessary and obvious gaps the author has nevertheless produced a highly readable and moving book, which is popular and yet authentic. We now

have easy access to a volume that will serve for a long time to come as a useful textbook in the field of American Jewish history.

Rochester, New York

STUART E. ROSENBERG

PRELUDE TO POINT FOUR: AMERICAN TECHNICAL MISSIONS OVERSEAS, 1838-1938. By *Merle Curti* and *Kendall Birr*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 284. \$5.00.)

IN several recent articles Merle Curti has explored the images of America that foreigners established in the last century and that Americans tried to establish for them. A next step may be a more comprehensive study of acculturation and of ideas of national culture. *Prelude to Point Four*, however, concerns administration more than ideas; it is as instrumentalist in scope and orientation as some of Curti's earlier writing has been instrumentalist in philosophy. It tests assumptions of those who have advocated recent technical assistance programs (pp. 6-7), and calls on policy-makers of the present to witness principles adduced from the past (p. 218). While it does not extend beyond 1938, it concentrates in the main on the problems of "official missions which were designed to export useful knowledge to other countries" (p. 7).

Where the authors move outside their chosen task, it is more often to consider other official missions than to explore backgrounds domestic or foreign. "For over a century," they say, "Americans have been going abroad to help foreign governments solve their problems" (p. 204), and apparently they selected the years named in the title to include the Wilkes expedition of 1838-42, though they describe no official missions sent to help foreign governments before the Civil War, and few before the Spanish-American War. The story of twentieth-century missions is short enough to appear in considerable detail, some hitherto unpublished and much drawn from diverse sources.

As the authors are careful to say (p. 9), this study is in large part exploratory, leaving much to other hands. Their canvass is a legitimate one, and it is useful (to take their criterion) to have accounts of the forms and successes of various missions brought together at this time. Yet whatever the immediate tasks of the present, and the value of the present book in their context, one may hope that we will also soon have accounts of technical assistance and cultural exchange that will tell more of the attitudes, interests, and policies that inspired them at home, more of their impact on cultures abroad. It would be illuminating (and even useful) also to consider the American experience in possessions such as Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam; or in European areas under military administration; or in private concessions; or among the American Indian nations that President Washington undertook to instruct in the arts of civilization.

The bibliography and footnotes will be useful to those who wish to inquire further, and they attest to diligent research. The style is less distinguished and

occasionally stumbles noticeably even in a normally pedestrian pace, but it does not vitiate a solid and dispassionate contribution to knowledge and public policy.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

SICILY—SALERNO—ANZIO, JANUARY 1943—JUNE 1944. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume IX.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. xxix, 413. \$6.00.)

SEVEN years ago Rear Admiral Morison published *Operations in North African Waters, October 1942—June 1943*, the first to appear of his fourteen-volume *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. Now, after seven other volumes covering the defensive phase in the Atlantic and the Pacific war through August, 1944, he resumes the story of the Mediterranean at the point where he left it in 1947. Granted the size of the panels and the van Eyck-esque style in which Admiral Morison paints, it is a tribute to his extraordinary industry that almost two thirds of his picture is already completed; that nine volumes of the naval history have appeared in eight years, as well as *The Ropemakers of Plymouth, By Land and By Sea*, and the admirable new edition of William Bradford.

This ninth volume, opening with the Casablanca Conference of January, 1943, when the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff successfully pressed for long-range strategic decisions, describes the assault upon Sicily in July, 1943, the occupation of that island, its successful evacuation by German troops, the landings at Salerno immediately following the shift of Italy to the Allied side, and finally the extended amphibious stalemate at Anzio during the late winter and spring of 1944. Although these events, closely related in time and space, all involved the United States Navy, they are of less specifically naval interest than the majority of Pacific operations previously described in the series. The invasion of Sicily, determined at Casablanca, was primarily a means of doing *something* in 1943 that would—in Sir Winston Churchill's words—make North Africa "a springboard and not a sofa" for the Anglo-American army assembled there, while preparations for a 1944 cross-channel operation were maturing. Salerno and Anzio were, likewise, operations hit upon in terms of supposed advantage in land fighting. Consequently to make the United States Navy's role in them intelligible, Admiral Morison has had to devote more than the usual space to the general political and military scene, to the land fighting following amphibious landings, and to the operations of the Royal Navy. In referring to the complication of these campaigns, he remarks that "in contrast to those in the Pacific, where the United States Navy called the tunes to which a single enemy had to dance, here in the 'Med' we had a very important ally, and two major enemies." Although complicated in its pattern, this ninth volume is as readable as those that have preceded it. From it comes the clear evidence that during the Mediterranean operations of 1943 naval gunfire both proved its value in the support of troops ashore and disproved the

ancient doctrine that naval vessels should not expose themselves to fixed coastal batteries. Other points worthy of particular attention concern the distressingly successful German evacuation of Sicily, and the Air Force's desire to fight its own war—indicated succinctly by General Patton's exasperated remark to Admiral Hewitt, "You can get your Navy planes to do anything you want, but we can't get the Air Force to do a goddam thing."

Boston Athenæum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

MACARTHUR, 1941-1951. By Major General *Charles A. Willoughby* and *John Chamberlain*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 441. \$5.75.)

THOSE who wish may learn from this book that General MacArthur was right, eternally right, and that Roosevelt, Hopkins, Truman, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the British, the Navy, and almost anyone else they care to name were wrong. They may also discover to what astonishing degree the defense of Luzon, the campaign in New Guinea, the reconquest of the Philippines, the occupation of Japan, the victories in Korea, and the triumph over malaria depended upon this single man, comparable as strategist with such figures as Napoleon, Hannibal, Robert E. Lee, and (oddly) Homer Lea.

On historical fact the work is not always reliable; in strategic argument it is disingenuous. An example is the implication (p. 206) that the low casualties incurred in the reconquest of New Guinea, "not much above those" paid for the single Central Pacific island of Saipan, demonstrate the general's tactical genius and validate his strategic theory. "Not much" turns out to be 30 per cent on the figures given; using those of the official history it is 41 per cent; there is no hint that real estate costs reflect value, or that the seizure of strategic Saipan had political effects in Japan which no amount of marching through New Guinea could have produced.

This is, as stated in the introduction, a "headquarters story." Generals Eichelberger and Krueger, who did the work, are rarely mentioned. But despite frequent and lengthy quotations from staff estimates and records (not always identified or dated) no very solid picture of headquarters operations emerges. What does emerge is a history of a state of mind, the product of tension in a time of crisis, which compensates for frustration by a comforting belief in devils. This phenomenon, not unprecedented in our military history, can be seen today in books like this and like Admiral Theobald's *Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, and in the spectacle of certain retired officers mobilizing "for justice." Happily the condition is not widespread.

Naval War College

JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Oscar Handlin*. [Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 244. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Handlin's new handbook on the composition of our people is full of valuable substance artfully presented, but its title is somewhat misleading. The ten chapters describe in chronological sequence three periods within the past half century—those before and immediately after the First World War and the last twenty years, from the Great Depression to 1952. In this description one finds what the Americans thought about themselves as a nation, what groups formed the nation, what conflicts arose among those groups, and what changes in alignments and in feelings occurred as a result of great events, foreign and domestic. Throughout, the leading theme is ethnic and cultural variety and its political or social consequences. Professor Handlin's previous studies have obviously prepared him to treat it, as he does, with sympathy and judgment. But this treatment is only a part of what the title seems to promise.

If the book may be said to have a thesis as against a theme, it is that the old melting-pot idea is contrary to fact. The nation keeps bubbling and sometimes boils over, but the ingredients in the cauldron retain their identity. Hence the impression of earlier travelers that Americans were monotonously alike is simply not true, nor is there any danger that standardization is now a mere matter of time. "In 1940, still," says Professor Handlin, "young men born in America would refer to themselves as Polish or Italian, without knowing at all the language or country with which they thus identified themselves." And he adds: "Such differences survived, but not as the result of adherence to any theory of American life."

The corollary proposed is that neither the melting pot nor the ideal of the cultural pluralists is really at work among us. Observation undoubtedly bears this out, but one may ask whether this betwixt-and-between situation is not what was meant by the original melting-pot analogy. All national descriptions are relative, and no sensible man ever imagined that out of a hundred peoples from Europe, Asia, and Africa, the United States could fashion a perfectly homogeneous citizenry. In Great Britain the Scotch and Welsh are still clamoring for autonomy. In France the Bretons want independence and after 600 years the inhabitants of Dauphiné still mean "over there" when they use the phrase "in France." As for eastern Europe, it is still a crazy quilt of languages, religions and allegiances to imaginary pedigrees. Surely, compared with this the American diversity of national memories is a very feeble thing indeed. And since the cause has acted on those same powerful passions we see still active abroad, it seems reasonable to say that they have been melted out of us.

If not melted then ground out. For the change is progressive, as appears from the present inconceivability of such a statement as the one Professor Handlin quotes from the late Walter H. Page: "We Americans have got to . . . hang our

Irish agitators and shoot our hyphenates and bring up our children with reverence for English history and in the awe of English literature." By 1942, the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who was then Attorney General of California, asserted apropos of the Japanese problem that only the loyalty of Caucasians could be trusted. But, as our author shows, there was quick revulsion, and today the Supreme Court has got as far as ruling against segregation *überhaupt*.

Professor Handlin's book is so rich in detail that he inspires us with the wish for more. An example or two of "anti-German" persecution during the First World War—say, that of Karl Muck or Hugo Munsterberg in super-civilized Boston—would have been edifying. And in connection with the emancipation of the Negro, John Jay Chapman's amazing "act of atonement" at Coatesville deserved mention. As it stands, the volume deserves the interested reader's full gratitude for a task well done.

Columbia University

JACQUES BARZUN

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES: TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Reinhard H. Luthin*. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 368. \$5.00.)

WHILE the demagogue is an age-old historical figure, he is of special importance and interest to the historians of modern democratic nations because demagoguery, unfortunately, appears most frequently as a perversion of mass participation in the responsibilities of governing. Reinhard Luthin, who has written previously about the parallel emergence of the American demagogue with democratic political activity at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, here turns to an analysis of the contemporary examples of the species.

It is an analysis, however, which, in many ways, becomes a joyful obituary. As Mr. Luthin develops his interpretation of a series of the more sensational demagogues of our century, a definite pattern, with two major aspects, is made clear. On one side, there are the rural masters of the masses in the South, represented in the book by Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma, "Pa" and "Ma" Ferguson of Texas, Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, and Huey Long of Louisiana. These men are linked by Mr. Luthin to the conditions of the South that were the legacy of Reconstruction: a South of rural poverty and ignorance, of economic and social and political frustration, and of abiding distrusts and dislikes—conditions which gave rise to Southern demagogues of the 1890's who forged a tradition of race and class antagonism followed assiduously by their spiritual descendants in the succeeding decades. The other side of the pattern is drawn around the portrait of the city boss, a portrait which Mr. Luthin shifts from James Curley of Boston to William Thompson of Chicago, then to Frank Hague of Jersey City, and, finally, to Vito Marcantonio of New York. Here again are demagogues who stand in direct line of

descent from the city bosses of the nineteenth century and who gained their power from the same kind of social confusions and economic frustrations which were the inevitable outcome of the rapid growth of the large urban centers peopled with recent immigrants, unable to adjust easily to a new world which seemed to refuse to stabilize. Mr. Luthin then points out that it is the basis of the demagogue's strength to appear to provide a panacea for these frustrations but also, and equally important, to identify himself closely with the people so that they, in turn, can vicariously share the power of their leader. This has meant that the demagogue has been successful almost in direct ratio to the number of people that he could call by their first name. And this, in turn, has been responsible for the fact that the demagogue has traditionally been a local figure, operating in the South on a statewide level, circumscribed in the North by his city domain. These figures, so intimately linked to the American past, are also soon to be merely historical curiosities, according to Mr. Luthin. An expanding economy and great educational advances are obliterating the breeding ground of the Southern demagogue. The same economic progress, the integration of the immigrant into American life, the increasing of understanding of the needs of city life are having an equally salutary effect in the North.

But treated in the volume are one Southern demagogue, Huey Long, who began to break through the historical tradition of local power, and one Northern, Joseph McCarthy, who seems to stand completely outside of Luthin's pattern. In concluding with McCarthy, Mr. Luthin gives the somewhat awkward impression of suggesting a new kind of American demagogue, a subject for another book, without real connection to his predecessors. It is a weakness which stems from the organization of the book. Mr. Luthin has written about ten men, each given a brief biographical chapter based on a rich bibliography. As long as Mr. Luthin's demagogues can be placed against a clear-cut nineteenth-century pattern, a short biography makes them understandable. But the world of 1900 cannot be used as a backdrop to explain McCarthy or, in some ways, Huey Long.

University of Minnesota

DAVID NOBLE

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE IDEA: ITS RISE AND DECLINE. By Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 194. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Whitaker's eight essays outlining the Western Hemisphere idea and then sketching its rise and decline from the eighteenth century to the present constitute a provocative foray into intellectual history. At the same time, his treatment provides a balanced interpretation of familiar materials bearing on inter-American affairs by placing them in broad historical context, a happy practice at some variance with the parochial squint generally characterizing so much of the vast literature on international relations in the Western Hemisphere.

The basic distinction between "the Western Hemisphere idea" and its expres-

sions in political terms like the Monroe Doctrine, the Drago Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, and the Organization of American States divides the work into contrapuntal themes, analysis of the interplay of which gives this particular work its principal value. "The core of the Western Hemisphere idea," Whitaker notes in his opening sentence, "has been the proposition that the peoples of this Hemisphere stand in special relationship to one another which sets them apart from the rest of the world." Presumed geographical unity, common experiences of adaption to a New World environment, struggles for independence from Europe, common institutions and ideas—especially the idea of the antithesis of Europe versus America—attracted a cluster of ideas and mystical sentiments that have for at least a century and a half brought forward important political expressions from United States and Latin-American statesmen.

The body of Whitaker's work traces in broad chronological periods the status and expressions of the idea, after outlining its formulation during the Enlightenment. Emphasizing the European origins of the idea complex, Whitaker stresses the crucial role played by the United States in its development and applications. He contends that probably words and deeds most nearly reached congruence in the period of World War II, but, for reasons which he adduces, the Western Hemisphere idea lost its grip on the mind of the United States even before that conflict and here has fallen into rapid decline since. Reorientation of the world, first on a globalist theme, then as "Free Nations" versus "Iron Curtain" nations, destroyed much of the rational basis for the idea, now leaving chiefly its *mystique* as a residue. Current expressions of the idea lie largely in the hands of Latin Americans.

Although the whole approach is novel and stimulating, one of the most important reinterpretations which emerges touches the Drago Doctrine, or what Professor Whitaker prefers to call "Drago's Economic Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine," treated as a separate chapter. There are many even in this country who will register dissent on his treatment of the past decade, where his factual underpinning is slimmer.

This attractively made volume is the published version of lectures presented in England in 1953. It makes no pretense at finality but rather is a pioneering statement of an intricate and significant problem, "the development of an idea which has played an important part in the history of the Western World for the past century and a half but is now in a state of crisis." Clearly written, and with a helpful bibliography, the work should be of utility to nonspecialists in related fields as well as required reading for Latin Americanists and the historians of ideas.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

THIS NEW WORLD: THE CIVILIZATION OF LATIN AMERICA. By William Lytle Schurz. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1954. Pp. xii, 429. \$6.00.)

THIS latest product of one of the outstanding experts on the Latin-American area is distinctly *sui generis*. It does not fall into any of the familiar categories of general works about a region. Neither a survey of the history of Latin America, an analysis of contemporary civilization there, a travel book, nor a collection of interpretative essays, it has elements of each. Primarily, however, it is an analysis and commentary on certain important aspects of colonial Latin-American society which are treated in chapters on the conqueror, the Negro, the foreigner, the church, the woman, and the city. Into this core of the book the distinguished author has distilled the fruits of his very extensive reading in the published narrative sources relating to colonial Latin-American society and of some documentary material. Footnotes (often including extensive quotations) to these sources, ranging from the early chroniclers through accounts of many later foreign observers of the colonial scene, provide the reader with a useful guide to the first-hand study of the subjects covered. The author also refers frequently to modern studies in this field. The use of first-hand material gives a freshness and a ring of authenticity to these chapters that is usually lacking in general works. Around this core other chapters are arranged. Those on the environment, the Indian, and the Spaniard, are more conventional but compare well with those provided in other general books. At the end of the volume there is a chapter on the Brazilian and a brief epilogue.

The mass of the material presented relates to the colonial period, but each chapter has been brought up to date by summary remarks on the subject for the subsequent era. These sections, though they reflect the author's good judgment and wide experience, are thin except for the treatment of cities which is a high point in the book. The full and interesting discussion of the role of women in Latin-American civilization neglects the modern period as does that on the foreigner. Bits of history from the conquest on are brought in here and there in connection with topics as they arise, but there is not enough of this to give a general view or to give continuity. In this reviewer's opinion the book might well have been limited to the topics which form its core. If chapters had been added on other topics which affected colonial society—rural life and problems, education and the arts, foreign contacts (commercial and intellectual), etc.—this book could well have been an excellent study of basic factors in colonial society. As it is, treatment is too selective to provide a comprehensive introduction. In conjunction with the author's previous *Latin America*, however, it comes close to the goal. On the subjects to which it addresses itself and for the period from which its data are mainly drawn the book goes far beyond the usual general work and brings together information not easily to be found in any one volume. There are—almost inevitably in this kind of book—a number of general statements which informed readers will hesitate to accept literally, or which such readers may wish had been more fully stated, supported, or qualified, but these are more than balanced by the urbanity and discretion which characterize the tone of the book as a whole, its sympathetic attitude toward its theme, and the lively sense of

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

HISTORIANS, BOOKS, AND LIBRARIES: A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN RELATION TO LIBRARY RESOURCES, ORGANIZATION, AND SERVICES. By *Jesse Hawk Shera*, Dean of the School of Library Science, Western Reserve University. (Cleveland, Press of Western Reserve University, 1953, pp. xvi, 126, index.) Although Dr. Shera is a librarian rather than a historian, this work should be useful to all research scholars and instructors of graduate students in the field of history. As Carl Wittke says in his foreword: "Though primarily designed to make librarians more aware of the world of historical scholarship and the historian's demands upon the resources and services of a well-administered library, this study will prove of value also to students of history who need to realize the importance of the most essential tool of their craft, and learn to use it to greater advantage." The exercises in the section headed "To the Student" in the author's introduction might well be used in the training of graduate students in history. After another introduction discussing "The Library and History," the work gets under way with a chapter on "The Scholar and History," which deals with "The Scope and Problems of History" and "The Methods of the Historian." The chapters that follow deal with the "History of Historical Writing" in general and with "American Historiography" and are followed by chapters on the "Social and Intellectual Organization of the Work of the Historian," "The Educator and History," and "The General Reader and History." Useful bibliographies and footnote references to pertinent literature are scattered throughout the work, but the index is far from adequate. The reviewer regrets that the book was not in existence when he was attempting to teach methodology and bibliography to graduate students in history.

SOLON J. BUCK, *Washington, D. C.*

ARCHIVKUNDE: EIN BEITRAG ZUR THEORIE UND GESCHICHTE DES EUROPÄISCHEN ARCHIVWESENS. By *Adolf Brenneke*. Edited by *Wolfgang Leesch*. (Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1953, pp. xix, 542, DM 22.50.) In spite of its many shortcomings, this book represents an accomplishment that deserves the attention and appreciation of historians as well as archivists. Its origins go back to a course of lectures on *Archivkunde* given before the war by Adolf Brenneke as a member of the teaching staff of the Institute for Archival Science and Advanced Historical Studies in Berlin-Dahlem. Outstanding archivist, distinguished scholar in the field of the history of Lower Saxony, director of the Berlin Archives, and staunch supporter of human decency in the hopeless fight against Nazi oppression, Brenneke will be remembered gratefully and respectfully by all those who, like the present reviewer, had the privilege of serving with him and under him. Brenneke himself had planned to organize his lectures into a major book on *Archivkunde*, which term covers the theory as well as the history of archives administration. After his death on January 20, 1946, Wolfgang Leesch, one of his former students in the institute, undertook the most difficult task of preparing a complete set of lecture notes for publication, using in the process certain papers of Brenneke, rewriting a number of chapters on the basis of recently published literature, and contributing some chapters of his own. The first part of the book deals with the theory of archives administration treating topics such as archival terminology, archival "typology," and the development of archival theory

through the acceptance of the famous "principle of provenance." Of more interest to the historian is part two, entitled "Outline [*Grundzüge*] of a General History of Archives Administration." A relatively short chapter covers the archives of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. The evolution of the German territorial archives to 1815 is dealt with in detail in a second chapter, wherein archives administration in the modern period is treated country by country with half of the space devoted to the organization of German archives during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In fact, the historical part of the book should be particularly valuable to the scholar interested in the source material of German history. Archival developments in other countries are dealt with less adequately and frequently on the basis of incomplete or outdated information. Similarly, the extensive bibliography is especially useful for material pertaining to the archives of Germany and adjacent countries. Nevertheless, every scholar expecting to use archival records would do well to study the relevant sections of this book. He will gain an excellent understanding of the growth and workings of archival institutions, which after all administer one of the most important classes of historical source material.

ERNST POSNER, *American University*

GOTEN UND WANDALEN: WANDLUNG DER HISTORISCHEN REALITÄT.

By *Hanno Helbling*. (Zurich, Fretz & Wasmuth, 1954, pp. 95, 9 S. fr.) This essay was prepared in 1952 to compete for a prize offered by the University of Zurich on the subject of the "Geschichtliche und literarische Bedingungen der traditionellen Vorstellung von Goten und Wandalen." The author remarks that he is concerned with the relationship between the immediate experience of a historical event and its subsequent evaluation. This relationship he pursues in two chapters: I, "Goten und Wandalen im geschichtlichen Bild der Spätantike," and II, "Goten und Wandalen im Spiegel der neueren Literatur." The first considers the reactions of such contemporaries as Rutilius Namatianus, Sidonius Apollinaris, Orosius, Salvian, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, and Procopius (to mention the more important), and the second the estimations of a very special group of writers, not necessarily historians, beginning with the seventeenth century. Among these the attitudes of Johann Jacob Mascou, Gibbon, Felix Dahn, and Eduard von Wietersheim are emphasized. If there is any unusual relationship, aside from a chronological one, between these two chapters the author does not bring it out. Obviously what Salvian has to say about these particular invasions would not be what Madame de Staël has to say about them. Among modern movements determining the interpretation of the *Völkerwanderung* the author stresses German nationalism, and among the more insane opinions of men of this stamp on this subject were those of Eduard von Wietersheim (*Zur Vorgeschichte deutscher Nation*). For him the German invasions were *das grösste universal-historische Weltereignis seit der Schöpfung* and brought about no less than *eine Transsubstantiation des Geistes der Menschheit* (pp. 74-75). The citations in the footnotes will be found useful to those interested in the subject.

EDGAR N. JOHNSON, *University of Nebraska*

GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND PSYCHOLOGIE. By *Hans W. Gruhle*, Professor der Psychiatrie und Psychologie. (Bonn, H. Bouvier, 1953, pp. 183, DM 8.50.) The concluding passage states the author's purpose and the high hopes he has for this book: "It would be excellent if acquaintance with this book would induce many historians to cultivate greater insight into motivation. . . . Historians have indeed accumulated a tremendous amount of material on factual relations, causes, and events; but the essential clarification of origins is everywhere lacking." Professor Gruhle's encyclopedic undertaking is compressed to an essay of 183 pages. Perhaps because of the complexity of the subject, the 34 pages devoted to Part I seem the most confusing.

Here, where Gruhle could have made his most original contribution as a psychologist, he has confined himself to scrambling together various traditional approaches to the problem of historical understanding and motivation; on the latter, for the most part, he repeats the well-known propositions from Max Weber's essays on the sociology of knowledge. This is the more regrettable because it seems that Gruhle does see clearly where psychology really challenges the historian: "Psychology is the science of the data and laws of psychic life. It has as little in common with practical estimation of character as the history of art has with the actual painting of pictures" (p. 37). But Gruhle does not instruct us in his science or tell how the historian could use it in his work to best advantage. The distinction that has just been cited is completely forgotten throughout the discussion of autobiographies and biographies. Instead, Gruhle offers as the quintessence of psychological insight a six-point prescription. Two of these six points may suffice to demonstrate that they are not remarkably original. Autobiographies are a rough source for events, data, and social relationships (in other words for facts), regardless of the evaluations expressed therein . . . they are a source for understanding of the attitude of the author and the group he represents toward arts and sciences." In his discussion of the methods of biographical writings, Gruhle remarks: "One could compare the task of the biographer with that of the psychotherapist. The aim of both is to understand the personality of a human being. The psychotherapist has the distinct advantage of knowing the person and of being able to compare his view of the person with the person's self-interpretation. The historian has the advantage of being able to survey the whole life of his hero, of knowing his letters, and knowing how he has been interpreted by contemporaries and by later biographers. . . . But, while the therapist has learned his trade professionally, the historian lacks psychological knowledge . . . his is the predicament of the amateur or dilettante" (p. 127). Again Gruhle the expert has whetted our appetite to learn from him; but, instead of being instructed, we are left with quotations from Dilthey. Indeed, it is because Gruhle has told us nothing about his psychology that this book will be of little use to students of history.

WALTER GROSSMANN, *Harvard College Library*

THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM, 1660-1815. By *Max Beloff*, Nuffield Reader in the Comparative Study of Institutions in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford. [Hutchinson's University Library: History Section.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. 191, trade \$2.40, text \$1.80.) This tightly organized little volume is packed to the brim with facts, with shrewd analyses and brilliant generalizations. Something, to be sure, has been sacrificed in the process of rigorous condensation. Thus, Italy and the Scandinavian states are barely mentioned, Poland and Portugal receive somewhat less than their meed, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era comes off thinly. These omissions, however regrettable, are more than justified by the attention devoted to each of the major European powers, to their political, social, and economic structure, to their external relations. The author, whose approach is institutional and sociological, has thoroughly mastered his subject, and the respective chapters on France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia under the Old Regime are notable for their realism, their penetration, and their striking comparisons and contrasts. No less admirable is the treatment of the maritime powers, England and Holland, and the competition for empire in the eighteenth century which, in the end, endowed Britain with world leadership. France, the author sagely observes, lost out in the struggle for overseas dominion because of the inability of its institutions to adapt themselves to imperial tasks. The author seems less convincing when he discusses the causes of the American Revolution: he questions the traditional explanations, yet can offer nothing in their place. Occasional errors have crept into the text, such as the designation of

Lord North as "British Prime Minister" (p. 154), or the statement that Louisiana was ceded to France in 1783 (p. 166). But these are minor flaws in this stimulating, informative book.

BRUCE T. McCULLY, *College of William and Mary*

FORGOTTEN LEADERS IN MODERN MEDICINE: VALENTIN, GRUBY, REMAK, AUERBACH. By *Bruno Kisch*, M.D., Professor of Philosophy and History of Science, Yeshiva University, New York. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLIV, Part 2.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1954, pp. 139-317, \$2.00.) In presenting the results of his careful, detailed research on the careers of these four Jewish contributors to modern medicine, Professor Kisch has completed a twofold task: he has graphically portrayed the maddening frustrations of brilliant investigators barred from academic positions and adequate recognition, and he has skillfully analyzed their work in its historical setting so that the complex skein of nineteenth-century medical investigation becomes more intelligible. He has, moreover, demonstrated convincingly that historical justice demands a reassessment of credit for important discoveries or concepts. For example, the recognition usually given to Rudolf Virchow as the creator of the contemporary cell theory based upon the continuity of cell life really belongs to Robert Remak, and David Gruby's important physiological experiments on ether and chloroform narcosis are generally overlooked. The sketches, which are supplemented by complete bibliographies of Remak and Leopold Auerbach, incorporate a history of Jewish emancipation from the intellectual ghettos of central Europe. The 1812 edict of the Prussian government granting citizenship had originally permitted unbaptized Jews to teach in Prussian universities, but the university clause was soon revoked. Consequently the physiologist Valentin, barred from an academic career in Prussia in 1836, migrated to Switzerland to the liberal University of Bern, and David Gruby, a pioneer microscopist and founder of modern medical mycology, found a congenial environment in Paris. In spite of outstanding work in neurophysiology, cytology, and embryology Robert Remak became the first Jewish privatdozent of the medical faculty of the University of Berlin in 1847 only after a long struggle aided by the venerated Alexander von Humboldt. Likewise Leopold Auerbach's fertile microscopical research in Breslau was crippled by lack of adequate equipment and time, as he was forced to live by his private medical practice. The usefulness and value of these excellent accounts are increased by an index of names and interesting illustrations.

GENEVIEVE MILLER, *Western Reserve University*

DE KARL MARX A LÉON BLUM: LA CRISE DE LA SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATIE. By *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. Preface by Hendrik Brugmans. [Etudes d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, VII.] (Geneva, E. Droz, 1954, pp. 180, 12 fr.) Milorad Drachkovitch, a native Yugoslav who now lives and teaches in Belgium, is already well known for a valuable monographic work on the attitudes of pre-1914 European socialism toward the problem of war. Here he has set himself the task of exploring on a larger scale the reasons for the general disappointments and frustrations of democratic socialism since the time of the Second International, dividing his work fairly evenly between the pre-1914 era and the years after 1917. It is not by any means a history of European social democracy that he has written but rather an exploratory essay; but it is a very stimulating and rewarding one. He makes clear at the outset that he attributes the weaknesses and failures of democratic socialism to the fundamental internal inconsistencies of Marxian doctrine, which he analyzes at some length. He then scores the failure of Marxian socialism, even of the revisionist school, to keep pace with the changes in European society since the last quarter of the nineteenth

century, criticizing the stubborn retention of anachronistic shibboleths and the unwillingness to recognize the dichotomy between its reformism in practice and its revolution-mongering in theory. In the years after 1917 he judges two phenomena as particularly fatal—the failure to create an effective opposition to totalitarianism both of the Left and the Right and the inability to utilize political power effectively whenever the opportunity presented itself. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the “crisis of social democracy” that even so penetrating and sympathetic an observer is unable to do more than warn in general terms that socialism must “re-think and modernize” its doctrine if it is to survive. Although many of his criticisms of Léon Blum, who is singled out among others as typifying the failures of twentieth-century socialism, are well warranted, his strictures against Blum for failing to take more revolutionary action in the Popular Front days, and some other observations too, seem somewhat less than fair. Surprisingly, no attention at all is paid to the last chapter of Blum’s career in the years after 1945. A useful bibliography complements this informative study even though a number of important works, including Joseph Schumpeter’s excellent *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, are missing.

JOEL COLTON, *Duke University*

STRATEGY: THE INDIRECT APPROACH. By B. H. Liddell Hart. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1954, pp. 420, \$5.95.) Some years ago Captain B. H. Liddell Hart undertook a general survey of military history. The perspective gained from this survey enabled him to draw some striking conclusions about the effectiveness of the indirect approach in warfare. These ideas first set down in a volume entitled *The Decisive Wars of History* (London, 1929) are now made available in expanded form in an American edition under the title *Strategy: The Indirect Approach*. Captain Liddell Hart’s motives in putting forth his revised thoughts on this subject are clear. Like other thoughtful students of war, he is trying to spare men the fate that will be in store for them if modern weapons are used directly and without restraint. In a volume entitled *The Revolution in Warfare* (New Haven, 1947) Liddell Hart suggested that since wars are likely to occur again, despite man’s optimism and hopes, the most promising approach is to try limiting their destructiveness. He developed the theme that the more formalized warfare becomes, the less damaging it proves to be in the long run. To assist in this process, he proposed a code of limiting rules for warfare. Since he wrote that book, thermonuclear weapons have made their appearance and the prospect of early atomic abundance has enormously increased the threat of “mutual suicide” involved in their unlimited use. Far from canceling out the validity of the indirect approach, Captain Liddell Hart feels that the appearance of mass destruction weapons will hasten a reversion to “the indirect methods that are the essence of strategy,” since it is these methods which “endow warfare with intelligent properties that raise it above the brute application of force.” The success of the Communists in the limited wars fought since 1945 may be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that they are employing indirect methods in achieving their objectives. They have developed a guerrilla-like strategy of evading and hamstringing superior air-atomic power. As Captain Liddell Hart sees it, the more completely the Western Powers build up the “massive” threat of a direct application of our air-atomic power, the more we increase the effectiveness of the enemy’s guerrilla-type strategy. We cannot hope to reverse the flood of adversity which has been flowing in our direction until we have begun to match the aggressors in “strategic subtlety.” The major part of this book consists of a survey of warfare from the fifth to the twentieth centuries with an analysis of the strategies involved. Some very sound insights into the nature of strategy and warfare are to be found in the author’s summaries.

H. A. DEWEERD, *Santa Monica, California*

THE POLICY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TOWARD THE "ANSCHLUSS" OF 1938. By *Sister Mary Antonia Wathen*, Mount Saint Joseph Ursuline Motherhouse, Maple Mount, Kentucky. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. vii, 224, \$2.50.) This scholarly monograph deals with certain aspects—chiefly diplomatic—of one of the several crises which are now generally considered to have constituted the prelude to the Second World War. It is based on published documents, particularly those of France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, on memoirs and diaries of some of the statesmen connected with the crisis; on personal interviews with Kurt von Schuschnigg and Camille Chautemps, and on some fifty secondary works concerned in one way or another with the diplomacy and international affairs of the period between the two world wars. Although it is a careful study which will give the uninitiated a good idea of why Hitler was able so easily to annex Austria to Germany in 1938, it is doubtful that those who are already familiar with the earlier works of Elizabeth Cameron, E. H. Carr, James Gantenbein, W. N. Medlicott, L. B. Namier, David Thomson, and Arnold Wolfers will discover much that is new. Even before 1954 others had arrived at the same conclusions as the author, namely, that Austria's fall was largely attributable "to the absence of a strong foreign policy on the part of the Great Powers," to disagreements between Great Britain and France "over Germany's power and position," and to the failure of "all the countries, which were to be later on destroyed or threatened by Nazi Germany," to present a united front against Hitler. The monograph would have been greatly enhanced in value, it seems to the reviewer, by the inclusion of the results of a study of the editorials of the British and French newspapers and periodicals at the time. The British government, the author explains, was "greatly handicapped by its inability to determine . . . the wishes of the British people" (p. 33). It would be interesting to know, at least, the editorial views of the press.

F. LEE BENNS, *Indiana University*

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1951. Selected and Edited by *Denise Folliot*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xxv, 698, \$9.60.) A fairly staggering arrearage in the wartime volumes of this estimable series of international documents and surveys has fortunately not kept certain of the Chatham House scholars from proceeding into the postwar decade. With this volume of documents and the *Survey of International Affairs, 1951*, to which it is companion, the series returns to its annual basis for the first time since 1938. Although a leisurely review should not complain, one may note that the documents for 1951 were not published until 1954 though the editor completed her task by the end of 1952. Miss Denise Folliot has demonstrated judgment and skill in selecting the some four hundred documents that make up this volume. Her preface exhibits a few odd choices of word and phrase, but it is well designed to stifle thoughtless laments about omissions and balance. Miss Folliot minified the pains of translation by relying in the main on *The Times* of London, and on official publications in English of the United Nations, the United States, and Great Britain. A few documents she left in French, a pleasant cross-channel gesture and a fact of relative indifference were it not for a number of the Schuman Plan treaty's one hundred articles that would baffle an uneconomic man in his mother tongue. The realities of power are reflected in the allotment of space. The United States and Soviet Union have two columns of entries each in the index, Great Britain somewhat more than one, France somewhat less. Africa (aside from Egypt) and Latin America are virtually ignored. Germany with its latent power and uncertain destiny tops the list with three columns and Dr. Konrad Adenauer is

easily man of the year. However, great-power politics and sterile diplomacy over the Korean war and Germany are not given a monopoly. Remarkably full coverage of its multifarious activities gives the United Nations second place, and several documents are given the Council of Europe, whose statute, in spite of amendment late in 1951, remained basically civilian and idealistic in conception and aims. For continuing this series, whose volumes must be forever doomed to be worst sellers, the Royal Institute of International Affairs merits gratitude both from those who deny that scholarship must wait for the post-mortem and from those who think it is not too late to give time to understanding.

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY, *Bennington College*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

ROMAN IMPERIAL MONEY. By *Michael Grant*, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, President of the Royal Numismatic Society. (Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954, pp. x, 324, 40 plates, £2.10s.) A strong merit of Professor Grant's book is that it does indeed fill out the farthest corners of its far-ranging title while avoiding the pattern either of a bare compilation or of a succession of essays merely *about* coins. Instead, for far the most part the reader is brought directly to the consideration of individual coins. This is managed by ranging the detailed examination of some ninety-nine coins into thirteen coherent groupings, each of which is organized as a chapter with a single main focus of interest. The heart of the book lies in these chapters, where each topic is pursued right out onto the frontiers of current scholar-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

ship. Yet even here the intelligent general reader is well served. Every coin is illustrated either by a figure in the text or on the clearly executed plates. Necessary technical terms are explained in a glossary. Most effectively treated are these topics: the system of mints as developed under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, the still obscure but important matter of "Provincial Coinage," "Imperial Countermarks," the excellent brief statement on "Personifications" (pp. 151-55), and the condensed restatement (pp. 179-84) of Professor Grant's own view of the large part played by imperial anniversaries in the selection of coin types. The introductory and concluding chapters are organized on a more orthodox plan. The first, "The New Age," deals with the significance of Augustus' establishment of the principate, and his general manner of dealing with coinage to assist his policy. The two final chapters, "Debasement" and "The Circumstances of Debasement," bring the text to a close on the note of the economic embarrassments of the third century A.D. Of the book as a whole some readers may feel that for a work intended to give a general picture of an entire subject this is too personal a performance. That issue Professor Grant has met head on in his preface: "I have allowed it to be restricted by the bias of my own personal interests." In the opinion of this reviewer the author is well justified by the positive qualities he has gained for the central chapters of the book.

WALTER F. SNYDER, *University of Richmond*

DAS SELBSTZEUGNIS KAISER KONSTANTINS. By *Hermann Dörries*. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 34.] (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954, pp. 431.) This monograph by the professor of ecclesiastical history at Göttingen is a very important contribution to the recent literature on Constantine the Great, so full of arresting conclusions that it is hard to evaluate properly within the limits of an ordinary review. The author seeks to determine the original purpose of Constantine in establishing his union of state and church and to present a complete picture of his fundamental convictions on the basis of the emperor's own utterances without consideration of the appraisals of other ancient writers. Consequently, he has assembled in the first part of the book a chronological list of every document that can be attributed directly to Constantine under the headings Letters and Edicts, the *Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum*, Laws (Constitutions), as well as other imperial edicts on religion of the years 311-313. These are not quoted in full either in the original or in translation but are paraphrased and interpreted with quotations of the significant passages. As for the *Oratio*, its historical evaluations and its concept of Christianity are held to emanate from Constantine himself. The inscriptions contain dedications to Constantine in addition to those which can be ascribed to him. Of the religious edicts, Dörries considers the Toleration Edict of Galerius and the four edicts of Maximin Daia were uninfluenced by Constantine but that the edict of Licinius of 313 ("Edict of Milan") directly reproduced his basic ideas. From the material thus assembled the author, in the second part of his study, presents his interpretation of Constantine's fundamental attitudes and beliefs which determined his religious policy, in particular his understanding of his imperial office and his belief in his special mission, his view of the church, his relation to paganism, his attitude toward God, and his Christology, all ably drawn together in a discussion of Constantine and his age. Constantine emerges as a convinced Christian, converted by his personal experience of the power of God, who saw in history the working of a divine Providence which had chosen him to end the era of persecutions and to rule in peace an empire united in Christianity. His breach with paganism was complete, although he was not free from superstition. He allied himself with the church not from political motives but because he felt it was under God's protection, its services.

secured the divine favor for the whole empire, and its clergy were the associates he needed for the fulfillment of his mission. But Constantine had no real understanding of doctrinal controversies, his theology was controversial, and his confusion of doctrine and law made for the suppression of freedom of thought. The author believes that Constantine's own testimony provides a basis for an evaluation of the reports of others concerning him, and in an *Anhang* he applies this to an elucidation of the account in the *Vita Constantini* of the mausoleum planned by the emperor for himself, rejecting the view that he sought to be honored as a thirteenth Apostle.

A. E. R. BOAK, *University of Michigan*

GENERAL ARTICLES

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

S. BERNARDO: PUBBLICAZIONE COMMEMORATIVA NELL' VIII CENTENARIO DELLA SUA MORTE. [Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Nuova Serie, Vol. XLVI.] (Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1954, pp. x, 197, 1000 L.) This is a work of compact integrity. It comprises a series of closely related studies by a group of distinguished Roman Catholic scholars. Space limitation permits no detailed analysis, only a brief descriptive notice. Preliminary anticipations of serious overlapping prove largely unfounded. Once properly placed in the twelfth-century milieu (E. Franceschini), and always referable to the character of Benedictine monachism (P. Schmitz), Bernard is not so much repetitiously reviewed as seen within the unified diversities of his personality. Dom J. Leclercq views him as theologian, Dom M. Standaert ponders his spirituality, and P. Edouard Wellens considers him as "mystique et docteur de la mystique." These three closely related investigations do not, of course, wholly escape repetitive emphasis, but they are informed with sufficiently individualized insights and enough resourceful documentation to constitute the focalizing unity of the book. Perhaps no less pertinent to commemorative celebration are the evaluations of Bernard as philosopher by Sofia Rovighi, and as Maryologist by P. Gabriele M. Roschini. The first of these places the saint amid the central currents of thought and the latter interprets the basic documents. C. H. Talbot's is a workman-like judgment of Bernard's role in the world of letters, Christine Mohrmann's a charming appreciation of his style. Michelangelo Gagliano de Azevedo, professor of archaeology in the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, writes appropriately on "Il Monastero cisterciense di S. Ambrogio," even as Fr. Agostino Gemelli, rector of the university, provides the "Presentazione." These studies are in keeping with the purposes and objectives of this academic institution and the communion it serves.

RAY C. PETRY, *Duke University*

CARTULAIRE DE L'HÔPITAL SAINT-JEAN DE BRUXELLES (ACTES DES XII^e ET XIII^e SIÈCLES). By *Paul Bonenfant*. (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1953, pp. li, 433, 360 fr.) A work of infinite patience, skill, and scholarship, first begun some thirty years ago and now worthily issued as an official publication of the Académie Royale, this monumental volume will preserve against the inroads of devastating time the earliest texts of the cartulary of Saint-Jean de Bruxelles. Many of the original documents of this important hospital have already succumbed to the ravages of the centuries. With a sureness which was to be expected of Paul Bonenfant 278 texts have been reassembled in chronological order, from the originals wherever possible but always with full and precise listing and collation also of all later copies, analyses, and editions. Each document is furnished with a summary, with a meticulous critical apparatus, and with identifications of the various persons and places mentioned in it. A careful introduction and a series of informative appendices and indexes assist the reader to an understanding of the actual workings of this charitable institution from its first beginnings in 1186 through the year 1300—the benefits and bequests which accrued to it, the regulations which governed it, the attitude of Rome—and, beyond these, to a better appreciation of certain aspects of life in the city outside its walls. The indexes will in themselves be valuable tools of reference. The whole is sumptuously printed, on fine paper and with magnificent margins, by the Académie's official printer, J. Duculot of Gembloux. He and his editor have been constantly aware of the contribution that intelligent use of various fonts and sizes of type can make, in complicated material, to clarity of content and convenience of consultation. If the cartulary can eventually be edited beyond the year 1300, the guiding principle will be the one which has motivated Paul Bonenfant here and which in one form or another is set down so often and so truly in the documents themselves, "Scriptorum munimine perutile est memorie commendari que per lapsum temporis possunt in oblivionis atrio sepeliri." DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN, *Cleveland, Ohio*

KUNGAMORDET I FINDERUP: NORDISKA FÖRVECKLINGAR UNDER SENARE DELEN AV ERIK KLIPPINGS REGERING. By *Hugo Yrwing*. [Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, No. 45.] (Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954, pp. 205, 18 kr.) This monograph deals with the circumstances preceding and culminating in the murder of a thirteenth-century king of Denmark. The story is developed with due emphasis on its national and international implications. It involves the Wendish towns of North Germany, Norway's trade with England and the possibility of a Norwegian princess ascending the vacant throne of Scotland, Erik Klipping's efforts to intervene in Swedish affairs when Valdemar Birgerson was trying to regain the kingship in Sweden, and the troubles the king encountered with leading Danish nobles and prelates. It was further complicated by the claims of rivals to the Danish throne, namely the descendants of King Abel, who had himself been suspected of murdering his brother, Erik Plowpenny. The death of Christopher in 1259 left the succession to his young son, Erik Klipping (ca. 1249–86), whose guardians were headed by his able and energetic mother, Margaret Sambiria. The threats from the dethroned Abel dynasty were their constant concern and they continued throughout the king's reign. The fragmentary character of the surviving documents has led many historians to make educated guesses as to the course of events that preceded the final disaster. Yrwing's objective is to re-examine the sources critically to see where revisions of earlier judgments are indicated. He finds himself at variance to greater or lesser degree with such Danish authorities as L. Holberg, A. E. Christensen, E. Arup, K. Erslev, E. Jørgensen, and Henning Matzen, and Norwegian historians such as J. Schreiner, E. Munch, Y. Nielsen, and A. Bugge. The result is a revisionist version of a much-discussed episode in Danish history wherein the author analyzes anew the tensions that developed between Norway and the North German towns, Denmark and Nor-

way, and finally between Erik and his nobles. This detailed critical study is clearly aimed at the scholar, and only a trained fellow scholar with abundant space at his disposal can evaluate it properly. This reviewer can only venture his humble personal opinion that Yrwing has made a significant and challenging contribution to a problem that has attracted the careful attention of many distinguished Scandinavian scholars, and that he has brought the episode into a fresh focus which future historians of the period will wish to take into account.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE HISTORY OF MEHMED THE CONQUEROR. By Kritovoulos. Translated from the Greek by Charles T. Riggs. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. ix, 222, \$5.00.) Mehmed II, known to his countrymen as Fatih (conqueror) Sultan Mehmed, is the most colorful and perhaps the best known of Ottoman sultans. As a warrior he has been compared to Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Tamerlane, and as the able administrator of his ever-growing empire his claim to greatness is seldom questioned. In the West he is best remembered as the conqueror of Constantinople. Little is known of this able, stern, and ruthless man, for, until the publication of Franz Babinger's considerable work (see *AHR*, January, 1955, p. 348), there was no biography of Mehmed II even in Turkish. Our sole source of information about him has been a few well-known Greek historians, such as Dukas, Chalcocondyles, and Phrantzes. In the 1860's a Greek manuscript of what proved to be a partial biography, written by Kritoboulos of Imbros (not Kritovoulos) was discovered in Constantinople. In 1870 this was published by Karl Müller as Volume V of his *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*. Soon after that (in 1875) it was issued again in Budapest as part of Volume XXII of *Monumenta Hungariae historica* (ser. Scriptores). Almost simultaneously Hungarian and French translations were issued, the latter under the editorship of P. A. Dethier. In 1910 a Turkish translation was published serially in the *Revue historique* of Constantinople. Thus the present translation, made from Müller's Greek text, is the sixth published in any language. The work is of uneven value and fragmentary in that it deals only with the first seventeen years of Mehmed's life as sultan (1451-1467). Kritoboulos has nothing on Mehmed's first twenty years as crown prince and on the last fourteen years as sultan. His description of the fall of Constantinople is of particular interest; so are the parts of his work dealing with Mehmed's campaigns in Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, and on the Asiatic shores of the Black Sea. In all his undertakings the sultan is shown as the supreme planner and faultless executor. The author was not an eyewitness of the events described but a contemporary. Not much is known about him. He mentions himself as a Greek of Imbros (pp. 142-49). His avowed attempt to imitate Thucydides degenerates into Levantine eulogy, and his dedicatory epistle "to the Supreme Emperor, King of Kings, Lord of land and sea," etc., is reminiscent of the messages addressed to Stalin by his worshipful admirers. This welcome translation by a well-known former missionary (now deceased) is a fairly useful addition to the meager literature on the subject. It would have gained considerably if an index and some important notes were added to this supremely well-printed book.

A. O. SARKISSIAN, *Library of Congress*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

JOHN WHITGIFT AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By *Powel Mills Dawley*, Sub-Dean and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, the General Theological Seminary, New York. [The Hale Lectures, 1953.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954, pp. xii, 254, \$3.00.) Professor Dawley has given us a scholarly and readable history of the Anglican Church during the life of John Whitgift (1532?-1604). His thesis is that the Anglican Church of the Tudor period was the true descendant, both spiritually and ecclesiastically, of the medieval Catholic Church of England, and that it was enriched by a synthesis of this tradition with the new intellectual and religious changes of the Renaissance and Reformation. He maintains that Englishmen continued to believe in a comprehensive Christian society in which men had a uniform faith and were obedient to a single civil authority. The Elizabethan settlement, according to Dawley, constituted a restoration of the national church under royal rather than papal supremacy. Its unique, dynamic feature was its comprehensiveness, within the limits of which Elizabeth I demanded only outward conformity as an expression of loyalty to the crown. To this settlement, John Whitgift gave his loyalty as a professor, master of Trinity, and vice-chancellor at Cambridge, deacon in Ely Cathedral, dean of Lincoln, bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury. By his character, ability, and courage he did more than any other person to preserve the settlement against the attacks of both Catholics and Puritans. Alarmed by the political implications of recusancy and Puritanism, he used the methods of a grand inquisitor. Like J. B. Black and J. E. Neale, Dawley defends his inquisitorial procedures as the only means for preventing political disruption and civil war. Although the author is correct in maintaining that the Elizabethan settlement was a continuation of the life and faith of the ancient church, his assumption that the shift of allegiance from the pope to the king was a relatively minor one will be questioned by many. Moreover, since Puritanism also had roots in the soil of pre-Reformation England, a settlement along Puritan lines could likewise have been justified on historical grounds. That is not to state, however, that Dawley has failed to evaluate the Puritan opposition in all its complexity. His book deserves to be widely read.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Indiana University*

MIRRORS FOR REBELS: A STUDY OF POLEMICAL LITERATURE RELATING TO THE NORTHERN REBELLION, 1569. By *James K. Lowers*. [University of California Publications, English Studies, No. 6.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. vi, 130, \$2.00.) This short book deals not only with the polemical literature inspired by the Northern Rebellion of 1569 but also with the broader question of what the author calls the Tudor doctrine of absolute obedience. Unfortunately

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the author cannot do justice to the historical development and the implications of this doctrine in so brief a compass, and, in his attempt to do so, he has had to fore-shorten his consideration of the polemical literature until it becomes a mere summary of the contents of the pamphlets and ballads. He has thus fallen between two stools. This is rather a pity, since he says enough about each of his two subjects to indicate that a thorough study of either of them would be interesting.

MAURICE LEE, JR., *Princeton University*

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN IRELAND, 1784-1841. By *Brian Inglis*. [Studies in Irish History, edited by T. W. Moody, R. Dudley Edwards, and J. C. Beckett.] (London, Faber and Faber, 1954, pp. 256, 25s.) This treatise is the sixth of a group of monographs edited by the professor of modern history in the University of Dublin, the professor of modern Irish history in the National University of Ireland, and the reader in modern history in Queen's University, Belfast. Like several of the series, it served as a dissertation for the Ph.D. at Trinity College, Dublin. In an introduction and six chapters Dr. Inglis examines the development of the Irish press and attempts to regulate it, "from 1784 when statutory limitations were first enacted to curb the activities of the press, to the period of whig administration of 1835-41, which gave Ireland a period of unusual tranquillity, reflected in the newspapers before the threat of rebellion once more brought the press and the administration into conflict." Virtually every aspect of the problem is discussed with care and understanding—the nature of the Irish press, the character and application of restrictive measures against it, the plight of independent journals as contrasted with the "castle" species, the varying fortunes of "opposition" sheets, the journalists, many of them colorful individuals (Carey, Magee, Higgins, Giffard, Cooney, and others), the significance, vis-à-vis the newspapers, of leading political figures (e.g., Peel, Melbourne, O'Connell), and the complications produced by nationalism, Catholic emancipation, the United Irishmen, and other forces. Of two major omissions—newspaper circulations during the late eighteenth century and the press and public opinion—one cannot be ascertained because adequate statistics are not available; the other is treated in two earlier "Studies" by R. B. McDowell. Perhaps the principal weakness of the book is the absence of a formal "Conclusion." Numerous conclusions are presented, however, two of the most suggestive of which are: (1) by the late 1830's "the Irish press could aspire to act in a fourth estate capacity"; and (2) although the 1840's were to witness a revival of governmental attempts at control, the struggle for press freedom had not been in vain—the establishment of the *Nation* in 1842 was to ensure a continuation of the crusade. A trained historical scholar and an experienced journalist, Dr. Inglis is well qualified for the work he has done. He has consulted a wide range of primary sources, and his judicious and critical use of them, coupled with a pleasing style, make the volume a significant contribution to the study of the subject and the period.

JOHN HALL STEWART, *Western Reserve University*

THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION CRISIS IN IRELAND, 1823-1829. By *James A. Reynolds*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 60.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 204, \$3.75.) Mr. Reynolds peers below the surface of the Catholic Emancipation movement and, without detracting from the magic of Daniel O'Connell's leadership, he brings into sharp focus the surprising readiness of the Irish masses to participate in this agitation. From a halting beginning in 1823 in Dublin, the Catholic Association grew to astonishing proportions. Far from being a revolutionary conspiracy, the association pledged itself to employ only legal and constitutional measures. As the association spread, county, town, and parish organiza-

tion followed. Within a year the Catholic clergy, many with the approval of their bishops, became active participants. The spontaneous mobilization of the Catholic masses caused anxiety in Westminster. O'Connell, in 1825, won a premature victory in the House of Commons, but his easy acquiescence to certain conditions—the "wings"—drew upon him, until he recanted, the criticism of an aroused people. By the end of 1828, with the enrollment of three million members, the pressure was too great for the British ministry to withstand. The duke of Wellington won from a reluctant sovereign permission to introduce as a government measure one which he had himself consistently opposed—unqualified emancipation. Mr. Reynolds, in his penetrating study, assesses accurately not only the contribution of O'Connell and Sheil but that of the lesser and equally indispensable men. Most of all he demonstrates that it was the role of the clergy that made emancipation a mass movement. From newly tapped sources the author tells us much that we did not know about the penny-a-month Catholic rent. He analyzes the Waterford and Clare elections which in upsetting the traditional electoral pattern in Ireland persuaded a number of Irish M.P.'s of the expediency of concession. The explosiveness of the Clare election, coupled with the strength of the island-wide organization of the populace, created apprehension not only in London but among the lay and clerical leaders of the association. The king's ministers foresaw, correctly, a repeal movement in the making; the clergy, an agrarian uprising with all its accompanying fury. By means of concession, both, for the moment at least, were forestalled.

JOHN E. POMFRET, *Huntington Library*

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS. By P. A. Reynolds.

(New York, Longmans, Green, 1954, pp. xi, 182, \$2.25.) Any survey of British interwar foreign policy at this stage is at best a tentative endeavor. The rich materials in such collections as the *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, the *Proceedings* of the Nuremberg trials, the *American Foreign Relations* series—our main sources of information—are a long way from being complete, and the outpouring of memoirs, apologia, and "inside stories" has raised as many questions as it has solved problems. At the same time, its very closeness in time permits the careful observer to capture something of the feeling of a period whose spirit emerges only feebly from so much of the official record. Professor Reynolds is to be congratulated, therefore, for casting in his lot with the group of scholars, few in number in Great Britain, who have rejected the notion that the recent past is somehow not quite a respectable field for historical study. Originally written for use in German schools and universities, this little volume was revised for English publication in the light of the documentary materials made available in the past several years. It makes no claim to completeness nor indeed to any new revelations, but it does seek to furnish an accurate account of the main currents and the factors behind British foreign policy. It should be said at once that the author has succeeded in his aim. Starting out with a description of the position and attitudes of the United Kingdom after the First World War, he discusses in brief compass the approaches to the twin problems of security and disarmament, the handling of the reparations issue, the complicated pattern of British policy in the Middle East. After considering relations with the Soviet Union and the United States, he centers his attention, as he comes to the era of attack upon the postwar order by Japan, Germany, and Italy, upon the major crises of that decade—in Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and finally Poland. The beginning students for whom this book is designed will find the main outline of the story a familiar one, but they will also find in the author's comments a sensible and convincing assessment of the reasons for the course

of British policy from 1919 to 1939. There will be no quarrel with the conclusion that it was a failure, nor is there likely to be much cavil with the summation of the causes of that failure as "the attempt to pursue traditional policies when British power was no longer sufficient and world conditions were no longer wholly suitable, and the pursuit of conciliation and tolerance to the point of failure to recognize evil, and in evil danger." All in all, this is a sound, well-balanced account and will be of considerable value. Professor Reynolds has included a brief bibliography from which, curiously enough, W. N. Medlicott's admirable general summary of *British Foreign Policy since Versailles* has been omitted.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Rutgers University*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LA VIE ARTISTIQUE EN FRANCE AU XVII^e SIÈCLE (1598-1661): LES ARTISTES ET LA SOCIÉTÉ. By René Crozet, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1954, pp. 211, 1000 fr.) The author's purpose in writing this volume was not to treat works of art as such but instead to show the specific social milieu in which they were produced during the period in question. This highly significant subject, however, is here handled in disappointing fashion, largely because of the very narrow limits within which it is treated. To this extent, the title of the work is deceptive in leading the reader to expect a much more comprehensive handling of the subject. After brief introductory remarks concerning the professional training of artists in the seventeenth century, the bulk of the work

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

is little more than a catalogue of artists, their works, and their patrons. This material is arranged under four heads according to the source of patronage: royal, noble, ecclesiastical, and bourgeois. Thus the work will serve as a convenient reference manual for anyone who wishes to check the specific provenience of almost any work of art of the period, and it gives a general indication of the extent to which various social groups served as patrons of artistic endeavor. But for further information the student of the period must look elsewhere. The volume contains nothing on the broader phases of the subject, such as the manner in which the social currents of the age influenced artists and their works or the ways in which the latter reflected the social and intellectual life of the period. WILLIAM F. CHURCH, *Brown University*

JEAN-SYLVAIN BAILLY: ASTRONOMER, MYSTIC, REVOLUTIONARY, 1736-1793. By *Edwin Burrows Smith*, Wayne University. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLIV, Part 4.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1954, pp. 427-538, \$2.00.) This is an excellent biography of the presiding officer at the taking of the Tennis Court Oath and first mayor of Revolutionary Paris (1789-91). Its virtues begin with an extended and informing account of his intellectual development, continue with a highly intelligible relating of this to his rapid rise and fall during the Revolution, including a brief but measured estimate of the man's historical significance, and end with a useful bibliography. Jean-Sylvain Bailly, like many of the older early leaders of the Revolution, already had made a distinguished place for himself before that tumultuous era opened. Best known then as the author of a four-volume history of astronomy, he was also considered something of a stylist because of several *Eloges* he had written, and he would have been elected to the Academy some years before he finally won a chair in 1784 had it not been for the determined opposition of d'Alembert, whose animosity in large measure was due to intra-*philosophe* sectarianism—Bailly being somewhat more conservative politically and inclined, when confronted by the enticing usefulness of *vraisemblance* in coping with *la vérité inaccessible*, to be tempted by *l'esprit de système* and the outlook of a *frère illuminé*. Despite these leanings, however, he was the reporting member of the royal commission which condemned Mesmerism, and from our vantage point Bailly's whole career makes him look quite soundly rationalist. The special value of this biography lies in its revelation of what happened in a single but representative person's life when he tried to move on from a position of intellectual prominence before the Revolution into one of leadership during it. As in the case of several others similarly destined (but not of all—Condorcet could blindly and courageously stick to his philosophic faith) it was doubly tragic, for it ended not only in death (an especially sadistic one for Bailly) but also in disillusionment, because Bailly saw how the precepts of the age of reason crumbled before the wild onslaught of the revolutionary surge toward blind action. As Malesherbes, who suffered a similar fate, said of himself and Turgot, "[we] were terribly honest men [but] we knew mankind only from books."

HENRY BERTRAM HILL, *University of Wisconsin*

MÉMOIRES DU PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND (ET CE QU'IL N'A PAS DIT). Edited by *Paul Léon*. Volume II, III. (Paris, Henri Javal, 1953, 1954, pp. 259, 238.) Continuing the republication of the Bacourt-Broglie version of the Talleyrand memoirs which he initiated last year (see *AHR*, April, 1954, p. 696), Professor Léon's two volumes cover the critical years 1809-1815. His introduction to each volume constitutes a detailed, systematic, and lucid outline which furnishes helpful direction and perspective. Introducing the two ecclesiastical commissions, Léon interprets them, à la Welschinger, as Napoleon's machinations for a new Gallican schism and resuscitated

Civil Constitutional Clergy. The new religious dispensation was to be realized by stealing the pope's temporal power along with his prerogatives in episcopal nominations, and by reducing the Roman pontiff, in forced exile, to the status of a French bishop. Serviceable and rigorously critical is M. Léon's explication of Talleyrand's interminably intricate and surreptitious negotiations with the allies, his years in the pay of Metternich, the role of Vitrolles and the second-string plotters, Talleyrand's unconscionable fidelity to the Bourbon cause, and his zeal for a constitutional compromise. An admirable outline of the preliminaries to Vienna and the politics and coalitions of the Congress is based on Lacour-Gayet in addition to a generous cross-section of contemporary memoirs, though the editor neglects revisions in the studies of Dupuis, Webster, and Srbik. M. Léon regrettably fails to compare the illuminating textual variations and differences, painstakingly effected by the duc de Broglie, in the form of italics and footnotes, between the Pallain compilation of the Louis XVIII-Talleyrand correspondence (published in 1881 from the transcripts of the Foreign Office) and the more complete and now "official" memoirs edition which reproduced Talleyrand's personal copy. While it is a laudable undertaking once again to make available the memoirs of one of modern history's most distinguished paladins, it is unfortunate that, in the absence of any critical edition, many of the annotative and explanatory devices in which an older edition excelled are not included.

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REPUBLICAN IDEAS AND THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN FRANCE, 1870-1914.

By *John A. Scott*. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 573.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 209, \$3.00.) Mr. Scott's book is really two things. In the first place it is a well-written essay, distinguished for its ease and clarity, on the life (and death) of liberal Republicanism in modern France. Secondly, it is a series of more or less brief studies in the socio-political ideas of Charles Renouvier, Henri Marion, Henry Michel, Charles Secrétan, Emile Littré, Emile Faguet, Georges Clemenceau, Alfred Fouillé, and Léon Bourgeois. The underlying contention is that the eighteenth-century and Revolutionary background produced three types of Republican outlook: Girondist, Jacobin, and *sans-culotte*. Because this last variety dissolved in the nineteenth-century Marxist pudding, failed to assert itself dominantly before 1914, and never achieved homogeneity, it has been excluded from the present book. Babeuf and the neo-Babeuvists, considerably influential as they were, could be said to have shaped the Republican pattern after 1870 only indirectly, distantly. Thus, runs Mr. Scott's thesis, after three quarters of a century of emergent industrialism, anti-Republican reaction, and dynastic rule based on an oligarchy of wealth, the neo-Girondist Republicans came to power in 1876 believing in the rule of property and intelligence, in universal suffrage, anticlericalism, and the virtues of economic association. Running the gauntlet between Left and Right, the parliamentary neo-Girondists obviously departed from their more academic formulations and embraced the necessities of expediency, only to peter out in an economic conservatism which left the less arteriosclerotic political field to the neo-Jacobins. Opportunism having played itself out, the star of Radicalism arose, beckoning to the *petit bourgeois*, seeking to unite laissez-faire and social legislation, but condemned finally to shine either upon the propertied or upon the unpropertied and thus to see the proletariat move away. *Solidarité* might enjoy a certain vogue among intellectuals, might even lie behind the early social legislation of the Republic, but if indeed it "appeared to be firmly established as the official theory of the bourgeois Republic" in 1914, evidently the neo-Jacobins were no better equipped to deal with the social pressures of the two final decades of *la troisième* than the neo-Girondists might have been. Bourgeois

liberalism in France, as everywhere else, was dead, although miraculously still on its feet. With the possible exception of the section on Clemenceau, Mr. Scott's book is pretty much made up out of the standard printed sources, which he has combed with perception. One might wish for a number of things: just to take the work on Clemenceau again, that it had been possible to skip the familiar details of his life and political times, or that the irrelevant (and even questionable) judgment on his share of responsibility for 1914 had been omitted. But for the most part this study in ideas is admirable, and if some of the specific chapters smack a little of the graduate seminar paper, such defect as this may be is to be overlooked for the general excellence of the essay.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

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DE MOTIVERING VAN DE GODSDIENSTVRIJHEID BIJ DIRCK VOLCKERTS-ZOON COORNHERT [English summary]. By *Hendrik Bonger*. (Arnhem, Van Loghum Slaterus, 1954?, pp. xxxiii, 150.) All that was really important on the subject of religious liberty was said by someone in the sixteenth century though not practiced on an extensive scale for another two or three hundred years. Among the advocates of freedom in the formative period none was more significant than Coornhert, partly because he lived in Holland in a period of intense struggle and partly because he was the heir of such champions of liberty as Erasmus, Castellio, and Acontius. Coornhert has received earlier treatment in a penetrating book by J. Kuehn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, in which he undertook to differentiate the positions of religious groups with regard to the theory of truth and freedom. The weakness of this book is that the individuals selected as representative were commonly made examples of but a single type, whereas each actually manifested a great variety. By this token Coornhert was assigned to the ethical and rational group, but Bonger rightly points out that in him one finds also spiritualistic and mystical strains. The present work is thoroughly conversant with the entire literature of the field. All the arguments in vogue among the liberals are surveyed and Coornhert's attitude toward each is discussed. He is placed in the company of those who relativized conscience by making it consist rather in sincere conviction than correct judgment. He believed in the freedom of the will and the determinism of the understanding. Since a man cannot think what he does not think, constraint can serve only to drive him to say what he does not believe. The spiritualist argument was used by Coornhert that faith is too intangible to be cut by the sword of the magistrate. On the mystical side, suffering rather than the infliction of suffering was deemed the mark of the true Christian. Economic and political arguments were used but seldom. All in all this is a thorough, discerning and enlightening book.

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ERASME DE ROTTERDAM ET LE SEPTIÈME SACRÉMENT. By *Emile V. Telle*. (Geneva, E. Droz, 1954, pp. 500.) Erasmus is represented in this work as more subversive of medieval Catholicism than was Luther. A remark of Melancthon is quoted with approval that had not Luther arisen to exert restraint, the consequences of Erasmian liberalism would have been more dire. Erasmus anticipated Luther in attacking monastic vows, and the assault of the humanist was more drastic than that of the religious reformer because with Erasmus monasticism was an unwholesome way of life whereas the attack of Luther was based simply on his inability to find a warrant for monastic vows in the Bible. From the days of his earliest writing Erasmus waged guerrilla warfare against the monastic institution. The deviousness of his strategy has obscured the radicalism of his objectives. Luther attacked head-on, Erasmus by way of evasions, definitions, subtleties, retreats, with renewed attacks in the form of innuendo, jest, jibes, and rapier thrusts. The reader, obfuscated by his technique, may

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

easily miss his intent. His earliest composition, the *De contemptu mundi*, was not, as the title suggests, a praise of monasticism but rather an encomium of scholarly seclusion. The *Enchiridion*, ostensibly a manual of piety like the *Imitatio Christi*, was in reality a blending of Stoic, Epicurean, and Neoplatonic elements with incidental jibes at monastic exercises. The *Praise of Folly* was written in honor of a married layman. The letter to Servais was a disingenuous justification of refusal by Erasmus to fulfill his own monastic vows. This document marks a milestone in antimonastic literature. In the life of St. Jerome Erasmus idealized the monasticism of the fifth century and converted the saint into his own ideal of an itinerant research scholar. *The Annotations on the New Testament* applied all the invectives of the Gospels against scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites to the monks. Conversely marriage was exalted. Curiously its sacramental character was denied because the essence of marriage was held to consist in the mutual affection of the partners. If this were lacking, no rite of the church could make them married; and if they had been united by a religious ceremony, they should be at liberty to dissolve the relationship. In other words divorce should be freely allowed. In that case marriage could not be a sacrament marked by a lifelong vow. By way of compensation marriage was credited with a power of blessing comparable to that of baptism. In all of this Erasmus was plainly closer to John Milton than to Martin Luther. Such is the thesis of a very learned book, which not only cites Erasmus *in extenso* but his opponents as well. The author is irritated by the methodology of Erasmus and delights to dwell upon his tergiversations. But however much Erasmus may have veered in his course or even distorted his authors, his own intent could scarcely be in doubt. He would abolish monasticism, abrogate clerical celibacy, rank virginity below matrimony, and exalt marriage as an ideal state for human kind.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

JAHRESBERICHTE FÜR DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE. Neue Folge. 2. Jahrgang 1950. Edited by Fritz Hartung. (Berlin, Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1953, pp. xvi, 240.) Thanks to the initiative and energy of Albert Brackmann, then professor of medieval history at the University of Berlin, the first volume of the *Jahresberichte für Deutsche Geschichte* was published in 1927. Brackmann and Fritz Hartung jointly served as editors of this admirable bibliographical tool, until the war prevented its continuation. The last volume, published in 1942, covered the years 1939 and 1940. In 1947, the German Academy of Sciences with headquarters in the Soviet sector of Berlin assumed responsibility for the *Jahresberichte*, and the first volume of a new series (*Neue Folge*) appeared in 1952, listing publications of the year 1949. In contradistinction from previous practice, it did not include, in addition to the bibliography, the review articles (*Forschungsberichte*) formerly contributed by various scholarly collaborators. For the latter, references to book reviews and short indications of the contents of the works listed had to serve as an inadequate substitute. The second volume, almost three times the size of its predecessor and printed on much better paper, follows the same general plan. Edited by Fritz Hartung, who after the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

death of Brackmann now serves as sole editor, it lists the literary production of the year 1950 including new editions and certain supplements for 1949, a total of 2,787 items. Difficulties in obtaining access to West German and foreign material are undoubtedly responsible for a number of omissions. To the Western scholar this bibliography is extremely valuable, for it lists a considerable number of publications in East European countries as well as doctoral dissertations available in typescript only and articles in regional and local historical periodicals that are not to be found in libraries outside Germany. It seems characteristic that material pertaining to German history in the post-World War II period has not been considered for inclusion in the bibliography.

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BISMARCK'S ARBEITERVEESICHERUNG: IHRE ENTSTEHUNG IN KRÄFTE-SPIEL DER ZEIT. By *Walter Vogel*. (Brunswick, Georg Westermann, 1951, pp. 192, DM 7.80.) This small volume is a welcome surprise. Part of it is based upon materials which have been unavailable for a decade. An official of the Reichsarchiv, the author began his research in 1941 on his own initiative, although with official support. During the next three years he used many documents which have since gone up in flames or vanished behind the iron curtain. His purpose was to discover what precedents, ideas, and influences determined the character of Bismarck's social insurance legislation. Valuable parts of the book are concerned with the roles played by important civil servants, such as Lohman and Bödiker, and by two of Bismarck's collaborators, Wagener and Bucher. Like other students of the problem, however, Vogel concludes that Bismarck was chiefly responsible for the insurance laws and that his purpose was political rather than social. He hoped to bind the laboring class to the monarchy by furthering their economic security. His concern for the less fortunate was stimulated by his sincere Christianity and patriarchal heritage; nevertheless, he had little genuine understanding of the lot of the new industrial proletariat. He opposed laws for reducing the work week, restricting child and feminine labor, and strengthening safety legislation and state inspection of mines and factories. Vogel suggests that his opposition to such benefits and his use of coercion against the socialists were probably responsible for his failure. It may be unfair, however, to attribute this opposition to Bismarck's personal financial interest as the owner of three small industries (p. 136). More fundamental was his lifelong distrust of bureaucratic regulation, a prejudice which he shared with most of the rural Junkers. Although the author has striven for objectivity, his personal bias is apparent. He is antipathetic toward liberalism and Marxian socialism but sympathetic toward "state socialism" and those conservatives interested in social reform. At two points his preferences lead him astray. It is incorrect to write of the Prussian "tradition of the welfare state" (p. 29) and of "the idea of state socialism" as including "socialization of the means of production" (p. 173). But these errors are isolated and do not mar the interpretation as a whole. Students of German history will be grateful for Vogel's persistence in research during difficult times.

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STRESEMANN AND THE REARMAMENT OF GERMANY. By *Hans W. Gatzke*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1954, pp. 132, \$3.00.) The popular image of Gustav Stresemann is that of a nationalist converted to internationalism who restored Germany's reputation for integrity, pursued a western rather than an eastern policy, and worked tirelessly for reconciliation with Germany's neighbors. This brief but solid monograph challenges this stereotype by examining one area of Stresemann's policies—the problem of disarmament under the Versailles Treaty, the clandestine activity of the Reichswehr authorities, and the Reichswehr-Red Army collaboration

during the years when Stresemann was foreign minister. Between the author's introduction and conclusion are four chapters. Three of these—"From Ruhr to Locarno," "The End of Military Control," and "The Reichswehr and Russia"—are altogether praiseworthy. The fourth chapter, entitled "Perfection of German Rearmament," implies more than it contains and much more than the German military authorities achieved prior to 1933. However, the author shows beyond dispute that Stresemann was privy to the clandestine activities of Seeckt and the Reichswehr, that he exerted his powers as a negotiator to conceal or excuse evasions of the disarmament clauses, that he had knowledge of military collaboration with Russia, and that he believed the restoration of German military power was essential to the pursuit of a positive foreign policy. In fact, he shows that Stresemann was more akin to Bismarck than to the popular image of the "good European." This revision of the Stresemann portrait is not presented in a "debunking" vein but judiciously and soberly in a work of sound scholarship based upon the Stresemann papers now available on microfilm in the National Archives. The author concludes that Stresemann was a great German statesman rather than the "honest dreamer of peace and apostle of reconciliation," which some uncritical admirers made him out to be. Future biographers of the Stresemann who directed German foreign policy from 1923 to 1929 will find this treatise indispensable in drawing a more realistic portrait of the Weimar Republic's best-known statesman.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

IL PROBLEMA ITALIANO ALLA VIGILIA DELLE RIFORME (1720-1738). By Guido Quazza. [Estratto dall'Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, Vol. V-VI, 1953-54.] (Rome, Istituto storico italiano, 1954, pp. 310.) For the past twelve years Guido Quazza has devoted himself to research in the field of Italian history from 1720 to 1740. He has already published several monographs on special aspects of the period. In this, his latest work, a collection of reprints from the *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano*, he attempts a composite picture of these two decades. The first part of the book analyzes the importance given to Italian affairs in the foreign policy of Austria, Spain, France, and Great Britain. The second half surveys the political, economic, and social characteristics of Italian society in the many

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

states of the peninsula. As can be seen, the plan of the book is an ambitious one. While there exist many studies on all phases of Italian life in the latter half of the eighteenth century, much remains to be done for the earlier years. The economic, political, social, and intellectual developments throughout Italy from the end of the War of the Spanish Succession to the conclusion of the War of the Polish Succession need further study and research. Professor Quazza tries to clarify the motives and persuasions of this not uncomplicated era in Italian history. Unfortunately, his book, replete with scholarly references, many from archival source material, fails in its purpose. It gives us many tantalizing insights into the fundamental problems of Italian life at this time, but these are brief and incomplete. The work that Professor Quazza started out to write still remains to be done. Perhaps if the author would throw away his notes and references and write from his vast accumulated knowledge of the period, discarding the inconsequential pedantries, we would have a valuable and truly informative work on the internal developments and the European importance of Italy in the 1720's and 1730's.

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EASTERN EUROPE

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SOVIET UNION

Sergius Yakobson¹

PETER DER GROSSE: DER EINTRITT RUSSLANDS IN DIE NEUZEIT. By R. Wittram. [Verständliche Wissenschaft, Band LII.] (Berlin, Springer, 1954, pp. 151, DM 7.80.) The German series, "Verständliche Wissenschaft," heretofore devoted exclusively to natural science, has recently expanded its scope to embrace a wider range of studies including history. One of the first historical contributions under the new dispensation is this brief study of Peter the Great and his reign by Reinhold Wittram, professor at Göttingen and author of several works on the Baltic area. It is the laudable objective of the editor of the series to publish works that combine sound scholarship with readily understandable presentation. Professor Wittram's study is a worthy exemplar of these principles; one could scarcely wish for a better introduction to the subject. Organized along simple, straightforward lines, the work presents a wealth of material and yet strikes an admirable balance between factual detail and interpretation and generalization. To produce this brief survey, the author not only consulted virtually all works on the period but also delved into much of the printed primary source material. The latter efforts have imparted to the work a good deal of color and vitality. The specialist will find that the author's treatment, while gen-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

erally conventional, involves some novel and stimulating points of view. Professor Wittram contends—and buttresses his position with some persuasive evidence—that Peter, notwithstanding his lampooning of the hierarchy and his subordination of church to state, was a deeply religious man. Most provocative, although seemingly inconsistent with the foregoing, is the author's identification of the great tsar as a harbinger of the Enlightenment, a man of rationalistic bent who was influenced by contacts with Leibniz. The contradiction turns out to be more apparent than real, however, for, according to Wittram, Peter strove not to uproot and destroy religion but to ensure the triumph of reason over ignorance and superstition. If, in this praiseworthy endeavor, he secured only a partial victory, Peter's achievement must nevertheless be adjudged extraordinary, when one recalls that Joseph II of Austria, whose reform schemes were launched under seemingly more propitious circumstances, lived to see the wreck of all his best-laid plans.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

THE MIDDLE EAST: PROBLEM AREA IN WORLD POLITICS. By Halford L. Hoskins. (New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. vi, 311, \$4.75.) The volume under review amply demonstrates the hazards of writing an analysis of the postwar international politics of the Middle East. Between the time of the book's appearance at the press and on the market, the settlements in Egypt and Iran had basically transformed the Middle East situation. Halford Hoskins wisely did not succumb to the lures of prediction, since the outcome of the two disputes could not have been determined until the agreements were actually signed and ratified. If the reader is therefore denied an appraisal of the latest instruments, he is nevertheless equipped with background data to make his own evaluation. For, despite the topical presentation, each problem is examined in its historical context. The dynamics of international politics in the contemporary Middle East—which Hoskins defines as embracing southwest Asia, Egypt, and the Sudan—derives largely from the region's location astride the principal inter-continental lines of communication by land, sea, and air, from the presence of half the world's proved oil resources, and from the great power rivalry to which both have given rise. Amid these tricky themes the author moves about freely and familiarly. The discussion of the issues relating to the Turkish Straits, the Suez Canal, the oil operations, and the strategic maneuvers of the Western Allies versus the Soviet Union is thus always informed and informative. Hoskins' competence diminishes substantially, however, when he turns to intraregional affairs. Neither penetrating nor persuasive is his analysis of domestic developments in Turkey and Iran, of Arab nationalism and the dynastic and interstate rivalries in the Arab East and of the irrepressible Arab-Israel tensions. Recurrent factual errors in the contemporary as well as historical evidence detract further from the value of the study, more especially since many—such as titles of U.N. or governmental agencies—are so easily verifiable. The narrative is also marred by the stylistic affliction that has come to be labeled "officialese." Still, the merits of the volume far outweigh the shortcomings, and the uninitiated should find most helpful the appended bibliographical essay.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

*Hilary Conroy*¹

CHINESE RAILWAYS AND BRITISH INTERESTS, 1898-1911. By *E-tu Zen Sun*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1954, pp. viii, 230, \$4.00.) Here is a substantial study of a major theme in an important period in the development of modern China. In the years from the Battle of Concessions to the fall of the Manchus, "The railway came to be the meeting point of Chinese national aspirations and the politics of international equilibrium" (p. 6). The author identifies clearly and presents lucidly the chief factors in this situation. For China, railway building was a significant aspect of modernization, necessary to economic growth, military mobility, and increased strength in the face of Western pressure. It was one of the Western tricks which the Chinese must learn in order to escape Western domination. But could railways be built without the foreign loans which were means to China's enslavement? The author describes the roles of the Chinese gentry—capitalists, hostile to foreign loans but often unable to supply the necessary capital and managerial skill; the officials, notably Chang Chih-tung, who favored "merchant-official cooperation" but often regarded foreign loans as a necessity and tried to play one power against another; and the weak Manchu dynasty which, caught between the Chinese gentry and the foreign powers, underestimated the violence of nationalist sentiment which focused on the railway issue, and helped to bring on its own overthrow by the Hukuang loan contract and the railway nationalization edict of 1911. As to the development of British interests, we see Britain getting the lion's share of preliminary railway loan contracts in 1898 and following a trend toward co-operation with other interested powers as a means of preserving international equilibrium in regard to Chinese affairs. The body of the book consists of a series of chapters dealing with developments in various parts of China which reveal variations in local reactions and in British interests and policy. The author rests her account on carefully and scholarly use not only of works in Western languages but also of major Chinese sources, such as the papers of Chang Chih-tung. MERIBETH E. CAMERON, *Mount Holyoke College*

REPORT FROM HOKKAIDO: THE REMAINS OF RUSSIAN CULTURE IN NORTHERN JAPAN. By *George Alexander Lensen*, Florida State University. (Hakodate, Japan, Municipal Library of Hakodate, 1954, pp. xv, 216.) The purpose of this book, according to its author, is to survey the remains of Russian culture in Hokkaido, particularly in Hakodate, and to make available a maximum number of related illustrations "so sadly lacking in histories of international relations in the Far East" (p. v). The book is divided into four parts, and while it begins with the first contacts between the Russians and Japanese at the end of the seventeenth century, the main emphasis is on the nineteenth. The subject is treated in narrative form. The book generally lacks analysis and interpretation and makes no effort to look beneath the surface and deal with the hard core of self-interest with respect to the relations of the two peoples. The volume contains no documentation although the bibliography has a fairly well selected list of publications and manuscripts from Japanese sources. In the sections of the book dealing with the contacts between the Japanese and the Russians before Japan made her first modern treaties in 1854 the author omits the important last attempt by the Russians (mission of Captain Lindenberg in 1852) to

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

open Japan to diplomacy and trade immediately before the first arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853. By this time the Russians were pushing against Sakhalin, the Kuriles, and even Hokkaido. The apprehension created by the Lindenberg mission and the Crimean War, which made itself felt in Japan by 1854, greatly affected the diplomatic, cultural, and intellectual developments which followed. These influences are almost entirely neglected by the author. In fact Mr. Lensen would have his readers believe that Japan was leaning strongly toward Russia at the time of Perry. He states: "there were those in Japan who thought to entrust their country's defense to Russia . . ." (p. 4). The author neglects to state who "those in Japan" were who took this position. In 1854 Japan had no thought of entrusting her defense to Russia, who at the time was losing the Crimean War to the English and French and could not defend her own position in the Pacific—let alone that of Japan. Mr. Lensen introduces subjects which he would be expected to treat in a study of this nature such as literature, language, history, diplomacy, commerce, and medicine. The author devotes too much space, however, to trite incidents and historical gossip. Probably the most important contribution of the book is the ninety-one illustrations, which present a wide range of reproductions. Some of the most significant are: "Pages from Vocabulary Attributed to Golovnin," "Title Page of the Goshkevich-Tachibana Dictionary," "Cover of Makhov's Primer," "Title Page of Glebov's Grammar and a Page from Maeda's *Senkyu Monzen*," and "Japanese Translations of Russian Literature." The subject of Russo-Japanese relations is an important one, and much historical research is still to be done. The author has stated that he has "collected a considerable amount of material in the form of manuscript copies and microfilms which he hopes to utilize in later years" (p. v). It is hoped that he will make good use of this material and produce a well-documented interpretative study in this significant field of cultural history.

PAUL E. ECKEL, *Washington, D. C.*

SUNK: THE STORY OF THE JAPANESE FLEET, 1941-1945. By Mochitsura Hashimoto, Former Submarine Commanding Officer, IJN. Translated by Commander E. H. M. Colegrave, RN (Retired). With an Introduction by Commander Edward L. Beach, USN. (New York, Henry Holt, 1954, pp. xi, 276, \$3.95.) This is a general account of the Japanese submarine fleet from the attack against Pearl Harbor until the end of the Pacific war in August, 1945. It is told by a former Japanese submarine commander whose chief bid to fame was the sinking of the U. S. cruiser *Indianapolis*. Tragedy and defeat stalk like gray ghosts through virtually every chapter with only a few scattered pages of glory in the entire text. Basically the volume is a serious criticism of the Japanese navy: its lack of sound submarine strategy; its inflexible attitude toward the prosecution of the war; its failure to appreciate submarine combat needs especially in the field of enemy detection; and its gross deficiencies in scientific knowledge. As a defeated but worthy foe the author deserves generous praise for his honest and forthright story. The English translation of the original Japanese is also excellent and a highly intelligent introduction launches the volume on an even keel. It is difficult to agree with the interpretation that the Japanese went to war with only one arrow in their bow. Japan had a powerful fleet in the Pacific on December 7, 1941, with naval aviation superior in punch to any other world power at the time. That the Japanese Empire did not have the technology and the resources to sustain a long war does not mean that Japan's initial thrusts were based only on the strength of a "bamboo lance" (p. vi). Several curious miscues appear in the narrative: the "coast" of Johnston island is anything but "mountainous" (p. 56) and Nomura, the Japanese ambassador in Washington, did not return to Japan "in a German submarine" (p. 74). The general ineffectiveness of Japanese submarines against the U. S.

Pacific Fleet speaks well for the latter's antisubmarine operations. This is one of the main reasons too why the present work is aptly entitled *Sunk*. Hashimoto's contribution should be read by students wishing to understand the Pacific war from the Japanese point of view.

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THE BRITISH IN ASIA. By *Guy Wint*. (Rev. ed.; New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954, pp. 244, \$3.75.) This is the first American edition of a work originally published in 1947. Since the seven intervening years have given an opportunity for a reappraisal of British achievement in the light of the present, it is really a new work with the same title. Mr. Wint does not address himself to the specialist. Nevertheless, this is not a brief handbook of factual information for beginners. Though it provides essential data, it is primarily a thoughtful and reflective essay on the role of Britain and Russia in Asia in historical perspective. Its most valuable chapter is that on "British Oriental Civilization" where Mr. Wint attempts to describe and assess that blend of West with East represented in the educated and politically conscious minority of Asians who have succeeded to power in the former "colonial" Asia, especially the former British Indian Empire. This is an important effort; British and American readers to whom this book is addressed need to be continually reminded that this minority controls the destinies of much of Asia. Mr. Wint's discussion underlines the dangers to be expected if powerful segments within it follow either in the footsteps of the Kuomintang on the one hand or of the Communists (whether Russian of Chinese) on the other. Strangely enough, Mr. Wint's chapters do not reflect his work in China in the early thirties as much as might be expected. Perhaps this is because he did not break away entirely from the title of the first edition and plan this essay on broader lines. As it is, the book is unevenly organized into three parts—"British Empire" (131 pages), "Russian Empire" (22 pages), and "The Future" (90 pages)—with the pages on Russia insufficient to deal adequately with the subject. Especially in the later chapters, Mr. Wint seems to be writing more for the schoolboy than the intelligent layman. The main theme is here blurred by interrupting the narrative to supply factual background on Burma, Ceylon, and Malaya. The book is, however, a very useful one for general reader, teacher, and student alike. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wint will again sum up his reflections on this subject before another seven years have passed.

HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5453.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. 1008, \$4.25.) The documents published in this volume deal mainly with the undeclared war between China and Japan which broke out in July, 1937. One chapter is devoted to the period January to July, seven chapters to the second half of the year. American diplomats were, by and large, extremely well informed. Grew has reason to look back on his January 1 summary with some satisfaction. He points out that Japan's aggressive policies in China will be a disturbing issue—"there is no doubt that whether quietly and gradually or openly and aggressively Japanese energies will be found, from now on, steadily directed towards consolidating Japan's control in North China and Mongolia." A good deal was known or assumed about the close connection between China's Communists and Moscow. Joseph E. Davies referred, in February, 1937, to Soviet influence over Chinese Communist armies, to the Soviet role in the Sian crisis, and to Soviet concern that China should be strong enough to threaten the southern flank of the Kwantung army. Ambassador Johnson accurately analyzed Chiang Kai-shek's dilemma after Sian—whether to accept help from the Communists against

Japan or whether to break his pledges and attack them. Johnson reports in December that the Russians tried to make their assistance conditional on admission of the Chinese Communist party into the government and the elimination of all officials suspected of being in favor of a negotiated peace. Chinese disappointment at the failure of the British and American governments to co-operate in restraint of Japan is very clear, as are also the efforts of the Germans to bring about a settlement. Chiang Kai-shek emerges as a man at the height of his powers, especially as a statesman. These documents must be used together with the earlier volume on foreign relations, *Japan, 1931-41*, with the material from the war crimes hearings in Tokyo, and from the MacArthur and other hearings in Washington in order to get the full picture.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR, *University of Washington*

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs¹

SOUTH-EAST ASIA: A SHORT HISTORY. By Brian Harrison, Professor of History in the University of Hong Kong. (London, Macmillan and Company; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1954, pp. xi, 268, \$3.50.) To seek to compress into a text of some 260 pages the complex and tangled history of the peoples of Southeast Asia from the earliest times to the present is a task of no small dimensions. Brian Harrison, professor of history in the University of Hong Kong and formerly senior lecturer in the University of Malaya, has made a valiant attempt and has succeeded in considerable measure; but there must still remain some doubt as to whether it can really be done. The time span to be covered is immense, and since, as the author states at the outset, the area "forms neither a political nor a cultural entity," it is necessary to deal with a highly diffuse and amorphous array of materials. Although the book is written in an attractively readable style and is little encumbered with the customary scholarly ap-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

paratus, its pages are inevitably crowded with the names of countries and places, peoples and personages, introduced too briefly for the specialist and too profusely, it is to be feared, for the general reader for whom it is primarily intended. In so far as there is a general unifying theme it is to be found in Professor Harrison's well-justified contention that Southeast Asia is a crossroads which has always been peculiarly exposed to external influences, on the whole playing a passive role in history as different cultures and civilizations have impinged upon it from outside. The first quarter of the book deals with the early relations of the peoples among themselves and the influence on them of China, India, and Islam; the rest of the book is concerned with the coming of the West, the imperial rivalries of the powers, and the reaction and response of the peoples to the European economic, political, and cultural systems which were thrust upon them. In a brief but suggestive chapter on the growth of nationalism the author suggests that the current revolt of Southeast Asia against Western rule involves also a revolt against its own past which he sees as likely to be the most rapid and most far-reaching of the long series of revolutions which the external world has brought forth in the area. The book is equipped with several useful maps as well as a brief list of books for further reading.

RUPERT EMERSON, *Harvard University*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

AMERICAN HEROES: MYTH AND REALITY. By *Marshall W. Fishwick*. Introduction by Carl Carmer. (Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1954, pp. viii, 242, \$3.75.) This volume adds to the long shelf of books on the hero, but whether it adds substantially to our knowledge of the subject is another question. Sidney Hook, Leo Gurko, Lord Raglan, and Dixon Wecter have all touched this theme before, and Wecter's *The Hero in America*, a prototype of this book, is not only more sober but more substantial. Both Fishwick and Wecter pay their respects to Captain John Smith, George Washington, Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Robert E. Lee, Buffalo Bill, and Henry Ford, but Fishwick slights or ignores a goodly company of Wecter heroes, among them Franklin, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Bryan, Lindbergh, and the two Roosevelts. He has favorites of his own, such as Douglas Fairbanks and Mickey Mouse, but they scarcely tip the balance in his favor. Not that Wecter is superior in every respect. Fishwick has a better appreciation of the synthetic quality of folk heroes like Paul Bunyan and does bring the hero-makers into sharper focus. But even here he is not the first to establish Washington's debt to Parson Weems or Buffalo Bill's to Ned Buntline. Professor Fishwick is no narrow, dry-as-dust historian. His interests extend to history, politics, literature, folklore, even motion pictures, which helps explain the eclectic quality of this book. Its eclecticism is not fully revealed, however, for the skimpy footnotes and bibliography tell very little about the sources actually used. The author is more a synthesizer than a grubber after facts, more a creative writer than a compiler of research reports. He does not feel bound by the methods of any discipline, certainly not those of scientific history. "As to the line between truth and fancy in all this business: let the one who really knows where it is stake out the boundary." He is a clever, though sometimes flippant phrasemaker, and a master of anecdote; these elements take the place of a well-defined thesis and provide the cement that holds the book together. Despite its limitations the book will probably serve, as Carl Carmer wrote in the introduction, "to introduce to the general reading public a writer whose mind teems with challenging ideas and whose prose has compelling interest."

IRVIN G. WYLLIE, *University of Missouri*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND A RISING PEOPLE. By *Verner W. Crane*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1954, pp. x, 219, \$3.00.) Ever since the publication of Crane's *Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American* (1936), there has been hope of a general biography of Franklin from his pen. Although Crane has specialized in Franklin's activities as statesman and diplomatist, and is known for his masterful studies of Franklin in relation to the Stamp Act and of Franklin's letters to the press in England from 1758 to 1775, he shows himself in this book a master of all the different aspects of Franklin's varied career. There are

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

excellent chapters on Franklin's boyhood and young manhood in Boston and Philadelphia and an exemplary discussion of Franklin as a natural philosopher. Crane lays great stress on two points concerning Franklin: (1) that "only in certain of his philosophical writings can we see his mind at full stretch," and (2) that in politics "which in one way or another absorbed most of his energies through most of his life, he produced no Franklinian system." In politics Franklin passed on to succeeding generations, in place of a system, "the empirical method which American leaders have generally adopted." Crane wisely draws a distinction between Franklin's experiments in politics and in natural philosophy, pointing out that Franklin well recognized the difference between scientific hypotheses or theories susceptible of a laboratory test and shrewd guesses that must be made in the realm of human affairs "where only future experience can determine their wisdom." All accounts of Franklin, such as this one, are indebted to the late Carl Van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin* (1938), which still remains the standard full-length work. Yet for the serious student, who has not time to read Van Doren's large work and who wishes more than Carl Becker's miniature masterpiece (*Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, separately reprinted by the Cornell University Press), Crane's book will be especially valuable. It presents a reliable, informative, well-balanced, and interesting portrait of Benjamin Franklin—himself almost more Englishman than American, and a citizen of the world—who was, perhaps despite himself, one of the foremost molders of so many American traditions.

I. BERNARD COHEN, *Harvard University*

THE STORY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Dumas Malone*. Pictures by *Hirst Milhollen* and *Milton Kaplan*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 282, \$10.00.) *The Story of the Declaration of Independence*, offering brief texts concerning the coming of the Revolution, the making and meaning of the Declaration, and the lives of the signers, together with 267 illustrations, is a very handsome volume not easily classified. It is not directed toward scholars, for the authors do not pretend that it conveys truths not hitherto considered evident. It is not quite a "picture book," since the texts are far more than mere captions—on the average it contains one illustration per page. Much space is devoted to portraits of and particulars concerning the signers and their families, but the term "mug book" is obviously inappropriate. In whatever category it may be placed, *The Story of the Declaration of Independence* is a splendid piece of bookmaking. The illustrations are well chosen and representative. The very difficult task of securing attractive reproductions of eighteenth-century prints, portraits, and documents has been superbly executed. In form the book is entirely pleasing. The text is not quite so uniformly satisfactory. This reviewer admires the sections concerning the making and meaning of the Declaration. Though they are a trifle mechanical, the biographies of the signers seem sound enough, in spite of the fact that Franklin is given two illegitimate children instead of the customary one. The reviewer is, however, puzzled by the presence of a number of "howlers" and dubious statements in that part of the book dealing with the beginnings of the Revolution, these in a book bearing the name of the justly distinguished scholar, Dumas Malone. Thus, George Grenville is referred to as "Chancellor of the Exchequer" in connection with the Sugar Act of 1764, and that act is described as nominally a "trade measure" (p. 16) in spite of a positive declaration to the contrary in its preamble; lawyers Adams and Quincy are credited with securing the acquittal of Captain Preston after the Boston Massacre (p. 24), their colleague Auchmuty being ignored, even though Preston tells us Auchmuty was his most effective defender; and the old, fascinating, and never substantiated story that the seizure of the persons of Samuel Adams and John Hancock was a British objective on

April 19, 1775, reappears (p. 42). Too much should not be made of such matters; Shakespeare wrote some poor poetry. It may be predicted that *The Story of the Declaration of Independence* will appeal to the public. It deserves popularity, for it is far superior to somewhat similar volumes which have appeared in the past.

JOHN R. ALDEN, *University of Nebraska*

JEFFERSONIAN AMERICA: NOTES ON THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA COLLECTED IN THE YEARS 1805-6-7 AND 11-12 BY SIR AUGUSTUS JOHN FOSTER, BART. Edited with an Introduction by *Richard Beale Davis*. (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1954, pp. xx, 356, \$6.00.) At the age of twenty-four, Augustus John Foster became secretary to the British legation in Washington. He served in that capacity from 1805 to 1807 and in 1811 returned as minister, remaining until war was declared in 1812. During these years his lot was hardly a happy one, but time softened animosities, and by 1833 he had decided that he could present a more accurate picture of the United States than that portrayed by recent British travelers. Using notebooks and journals prepared on the scene, he set to work and completed his manuscript in 1839. In 1841 the *Quarterly Review* printed excerpts from the work. Though Foster soon made a thorough revision of the text, it was never published. The original draft is now in the Huntington Library and the revision in the Library of Congress, which repositories possess also some of the materials upon which the author based his account. In preparing this first edition, Professor Davis has collated the two above-mentioned versions. Foster had far more reason than did Mrs. Trollope or Basil Hall to dislike the United States, but he made a conscious effort to be fair-minded and objective. Though he was entirely conservative in all things, he was neither bigot nor snob but a highly educated young aristocrat. He blamed the Revolution more upon British blunders than American perversity, nor did he seem to feel any lasting bitterness concerning the War of 1812. He was understandably partial toward Federalists and gentlemen—terms which he considered practically synonymous—and looked upon most Republicans, including Jefferson himself, as demagogues or boors. He usually spoke well of "the old English stock" in America, but hated Irish refugees and the Pennsylvania Dutch. Yet it is not his prejudices, but the light which he throws upon the American scene that is of real interest, for he was a keen and well-informed observer. He knew much of botany and had a discriminating interest in linguistics, architecture, art, and Indian lore. He loved that which was civilized and stable, and hated the dark forest and the frontier. Emergent America was to him a closed book. Professor Davis has rendered valuable service in making this work available and has performed his editorial duties with scrupulous care. Not only has he identified even the most obscure persons mentioned, but in his introduction and the footnotes has, by dint of meticulous research, answered all pertinent historical questions that arose. This intimate view of our early republic, especially that of the sprawling infant that was the capital city, should appeal to a wide circle of readers.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY, *University of Virginia*

BARTON WARREN STONE: EARLY AMERICAN ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN UNITY. By *William Garrett West*. (Nashville, Tenn., Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954, pp. xvi, 245, \$4.00.) Written with objectivity and restraint, this expanded Yale doctoral dissertation will do much to restore Barton W. Stone to his rightful place in the religious history of the American frontier. Historians have long known Stone as an evangelist in the Great Revival that rocked the over-mountain settlements during the early nineteenth century, as a rebel against orthodox Presbyterianism, and as a participant in the welter of theological conflict from which emerged the Disciples

of Christ and the Churches of Christ. They have failed, however, to assign him a sufficiently significant role in the early ecumenical movement and have underestimated his importance as a founder of the two sects that trace their origin to his efforts. These distortions are corrected by Dr. West's well-documented monograph. Handicapped by a lack of manuscript materials bearing on Stone's life, he has made excellent use of the contemporary religious press, and has searched dozens of libraries for obscure items relating to his subject. These he has pieced together to reveal a new Barton W. Stone—one to whom "Christian unity was the dominant passion," and who dedicated his life to uniting all churches on the basis of their common love of Christ, rather than on the basis of doctrinal uniformity. That he failed, or that the sects which he helped found have themselves become rigidly denominational, cannot detract from his importance as a pioneer in the ecumenical movement which found recent expression in the Evanston meeting of the World Council of Churches. Dr. West, a pastor of the First Christian Church of Chattanooga, tells his story with an objectivity not usually connected with authors so close to their subjects, nor does his concern with Barton W. Stone blind him to the importance of the national scene. Sufficient tribute to his impartiality is the fact that he elevates Stone to a position of importance among the founders of the Disciples of Christ without detracting from the glory of Alexander Campbell, who has formerly been assigned the major role. The book is solidly documented, and contains a full bibliography.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

A COMMONER'S JUDGE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHARLES PATRICK DALY. By *Harold Earl Hammond*. With an Introduction by Allan Nevins. (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1954, pp. 456, \$5.00.)

A COUNTY JUDGE IN ALCADY: SELECTED PRIVATE PAPERS OF CHARLES FERNALD, PIONEER CALIFORNIA JURIST. With an Introduction and Notes by *Cameron Rogers*. (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1954, pp. 268, \$7.00.) A familiar figure in the history of every community is the judge. His career is usually sober and routine—with perhaps an occasional spectacular deviation. His importance in the daily functioning of an orderly society is generally recognized, but his more enduring significance is hard to evaluate because it depends upon the worth of his modest contributions to the whole complex fabric of the American legal tradition. To contemporaries, he is frequently better known for his civic leadership, political activities, or leisure-time scholarship than for his professional accomplishments. As a rule, he merits a long, laudatory obituary when he dies, and then passes quickly into oblivion. Such a man was Charles Patrick Daly, judge of the court of common pleas in New York City from 1844 to 1885. Daly's lifetime of honorable service upon the bench and his undeniable influence upon the development of the New York judicial system might not have attracted the attention of a biographer if he had not also been a man of versatile talents and fascinating avocations. Not that Mr. Hammond has neglected Daly's important cases, such as the trial of the Astor Place rioters in 1849, but a very large part of his book is devoted to the judge's activities as politician, lecturer, geographer, historian, sponsor of countless worthy causes, and trusted friend and adviser to a host of statesmen, generals, scientists, and men of letters. Mr. Hammond's book, based upon his doctoral dissertation, contains some of the faults and most of the virtues that one expects in such works. There is sound scholarship, thorough documentation, and a style which is straightforward and clear, if undistinguished. The treatment of Judge Daly is justifiably sympathetic but not uncritical. Minor errors of the typographical sort are not infrequent ("James" Greenleaf Whittier,

"Willard" Fillmore), and an unfortunate habit of identifying many persons by their last names alone is in some cases carried into the index. But the larger fault lies in the author's reluctance to omit any detail. Fact is piled upon fact, name upon name, until the main thread of the story is often lost in a mass of disjointed trivia. A shorter biography might have been a better one. Still, Mr. Hammond has performed a most valuable service by his careful reconstruction of a significant career. Charles Fernald, whose papers have been selected and edited by his grandson, Cameron Rogers, is a person of less consequence than Daly but one who played in his smaller world a somewhat similar role. Fernald was briefly sheriff, and then for eight years county judge in Santa Barbara, California, during the state's most turbulent decade, the 1850's. At thirty-one, he retired to private practice and a life of community leadership. Most of this beautifully printed volume is devoted to the period of his public service. The transcontinental correspondence with his wife between 1860 and 1862 throws some light upon West Coast attitudes toward the Civil War, but the collection will chiefly interest students of Southern California history.

DON E. FEHRENBACHER, *Stanford University*

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Stefan Lorant*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954, pp. 256, \$3.50.) We seem to be in now for a run of one-volume biographies of Lincoln. For thirty years, from 1922 to 1952, few one-volume lives appeared, and of those that did not one was a good book. Then in 1952 Benjamin P. Thomas' fine biography hit the best-selling lists. This year Carl Sandburg's single-volume condensation of his previous six-volume masterpiece came out and also became a best-seller. Now we have Mr. Lorant's book, and there are probably more in the offing. Stefan Lorant came to this country in 1940 and plunged immediately into research in the Lincoln field. He was chiefly interested in the medium of picture-biography—the recording of a man's life through photographs with attached captions. Two of his previous Lincoln books were pictorial biographies. In the process of his work he discovered several new Lincoln pictures and corrected some erroneous information about existing pictures. Although the volume under review contains 180 photographs, facsimiles, and drawings, it is not a picture-book but an orthodox biography. It is the Lincoln story told in brief space—and told well and with few mistakes. For the person seeking an introduction to Lincoln, for the busy reader who has to get Lincoln, so to speak, on the run, this is the book. Mr. Thomas' biography has been described as the best one-volume life of Lincoln. Mr. Lorant's may be termed the best short one-volume life.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS, *Louisiana State University*

BOHEMIAN BRIGADE: CIVIL WAR NEWSMEN IN ACTION. By *Louis M. Starr*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, pp. xvii, 367, xix, \$5.00.) More comprehensive and somewhat less cohesive than Bernard Weisburger's *Reporters for the Union*, this story of the war correspondents brings to light and to life a host of young, hard-working, hard-drinking, devil-may-care, self-designated "Bohemians" who "reported" the Civil War for Northern newspapers. It is at once a tale of adventure and a serious discussion of new factors which were entering into American life. The reporters represented a new aspect of a developing journalism, and they won, over the protests of harassed generals and the inept censorship of Washington officialdom, the "right to report." In a democratic war, the right of the people to know what was happening was vital, and in the end the reporters made their contribution to a new nationalism. "No people were ever more tightly bound by a sense of shared experience than the millions who read the dispatches," says the author. Although primarily interested in the reporters who "covered" the camps and the battlefields—

and neglecting, even underemphasizing, the political arena—Mr. Starr maintains a nice balance between his accounts of the correspondents in the field and the managing editors in New York. Unfortunately, his story is too largely concerned with New York papers and with the military events along the Potomac. The press in the hinterland and the war in the West may be entitled to more attention than they here receive.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

GRIERSON'S RAID: A CAVALRY ADVENTURE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *D. Alexander Brown*. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. 261, \$4.00.) On April 17, 1863, Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson, a professor of music turned into a reluctant cavalryman, left LaGrange, Tennessee, for a diversionary raid into Mississippi. The ultimate destination of the brigade was unknown; the purpose was to destroy Confederate supplies and communications, particularly railroads, and to divert attention from Grant's impending Vicksburg campaign. Sixteen days and six hundred miles later the major portion of the command joined the Union forces in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It had crossed the state of Mississippi, and, according to Grierson's report, had killed and wounded about one hundred of the enemy, captured and paroled over five hundred prisoners, destroyed some fifty miles of railroad and telegraph lines and "over 3000 stand of arms, and other army stores and Government property to an immense amount." Grierson's losses were negligible. The author, a librarian at the University of Illinois, has made skillful use of unusually interesting source materials, and, in a rather lightly documented narrative, has told a graphic story of military adventure. More importantly, he has made evident the confusion within the Confederate command, the apathetic attitude of much of the civilian population, and the importance of the raid with respect to the Vicksburg campaign. He has proved himself a dexterous writer in keeping clearly before the reader the several phases of a venture marked by unexpected turns and no little luck. This book bids fair to become a minor classic of its kind. ROBERT H. WOODY, *Duke University*

CONFEDERATE FINANCE. By *Richard Cecil Todd*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. x, 258, \$5.00.) As to the conduct of Confederate finance, I am disposed to agree with Mr. Todd that "it is questionable whether any other Secretary of the Treasury [than Christopher G. Memminger] would have handled the finances in any vastly different or more successful manner" (p. 2). Jefferson Davis seems to have paid little attention to finances and although Memminger had good ideas he could not persuade Congress to adopt the most essential of them. The situation was desperate to start with, because of the weak financial position of the South in 1861, its dependence on credit and on maintaining European markets for its staples, and its scarcity of specie, subjects which I wish Mr. Todd had investigated. The most serious mistake which the Confederate government made in handling its finances was to wait until two years had passed before enacting what Mr. Todd calls "the first real tax act of the war" (p. 136)—the tax in kind. Forced to rely mainly on bond issues and treasury notes, Memminger found his difficulties insurmountable. His most interesting expedient was the produce loans by which moneyless planters could buy bonds with cotton, tobacco, and sugar. Only in the last year of the war did the government adopt the new plan of Colin McRae, which brought order and common sense in the purchase of supplies in Europe and in regulating the blockade-running activities for the public interest. Mr. Todd has written a good factual account of Confederate finances, using the rich sources in the National Archives in a careful and scholarly manner. Although he ventures few generalizations, he answers many significant questions of fact in this valuable study.

CLEMENT EATON, *University of Kentucky*

STEPHEN R. MALLORY: CONFEDERATE NAVY CHIEF. By *Joseph T. Durkin, S.J.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xi, 446, \$6.00.) Here is the first published biography of the secretary of the Confederate navy. Though it would be rash to say that it is definitive in the much-abused use of that word, yet it brings to life a man who has long been neglected or mentioned only to be relegated to a minor position among the Confederate statesmen. There will likely be some to dispute the expert judgment of the late Douglas Southall Freeman that Mallory was the ablest man in Davis' cabinet with the possible exception of Judah P. Benjamin, and it should be stated that Father Durkin does not argue the point. This is not simply a study of Mallory as secretary of the navy; it is also a full-length biography of him from his birth in Trinidad, his long residence in Key West, his career in the United States Senate, his imprisonment after the war, and his short span of life following. It is informal in style, though clearly and interestingly written; it is discursive up and down many inviting pathways with much background interwoven; it is quite personal and intimate in his family affairs. The great mass of information that Father Durkin assembled and used, sometimes not too well organized, has pushed the limits of his book far beyond what a more formal account would have called for. But there is a place for both kinds of treatments, and Father Durkin chose to present all. As the author says, Mallory's place in history must be set by his service as secretary of the navy, and, judged by that standard, his place should by no means be inconspicuous and inconsequential. Knowing that he could never build a navy equal to the Federal fleet he had the vision and daring to center his attention early on a new weapon of warfare—the ironclad warship; and it was Mallory who produced the first one ever to engage in active combat. It revolutionized the navies of the world. He also devised other novel weapons, such as torpedoes (the most effective arm the Confederate navy used), mines, and submarines. An immense amount of research went into this book, as is attested by the heavy documentation on almost every page and the eighteen pages of a critical bibliography. A great many of his manuscript sources have never before been used, especially important being Mallory's diary and letter book.

E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*

SUSAN B. ANTHONY: HER PERSONAL HISTORY AND HER ERA. By *Katharine Anthony.* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1954, pp. x, 521, \$6.00.) This objective study of Susan B. Anthony is the first full-length biography of the famous suffragist to appear since that of Mrs. Harper written during Miss Anthony's latter years and under her personal supervision. With the perspective of a half century to help her and the biographies of several of Susan B.'s close associates, Miss Katharine Anthony (who claims no kinship to her subject) has been able to bring many of the controversies which troubled the woman's rights movement into clearer focus. Unfortunately the destruction of the private letters and most of the diaries by Mrs. Harper after the completion of her three volumes has greatly hindered the work of her successor. We can understand the impulses which would have prompted the destruction of papers dealing with the long and bitter division between Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony on the one hand and the Lucy Stone Blackwell faction on the other, for both Mrs. Harper and Miss Anthony were more interested by 1900 in preserving the newly achieved unity than in settling old accounts. Unfortunately the destruction went much farther and was so nearly complete that it left interested biographers chiefly dependent on Mrs. Harper's account. Miss Katharine Anthony has made good use of the relevant documents in other surviving collections, notably the Quaker archives, and has achieved a fuller account of her girlhood years, but even with an occasional speculation concerning the meaning of Susan's dreams and the nature of

her inner thoughts at critical moments her present biographer fails to soften the starchy record of events in which she clothed herself. But if this volume falls short of its goal of restoring the warm flush of life to Miss Anthony's heroic career, it presents an admirable survey of the forces and circumstances which surrounded her and recaptures some of the drama, the courage, the perseverance in face of tedium, and the vast dimensions of the parish tended by these earnest ladies, as well as the significance of their work. Scholars will still turn to Mrs. Harper's volumes for fuller documentary detail on the woman's rights movement, but this new biography will better serve the general reader.

BLAKE MCKELVEY, *Rochester, N.Y.*

A HALF YEAR IN THE NEW WORLD: MISCELLANEOUS SKETCHES OF TRAVEL IN THE UNITED STATES (1888). By *Alexandra Gripenberg*. Translated and Edited by *Ernest J. Moyne*. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, No. 4.] (Newark, Del., University of Delaware Press, 1954, pp. xv, 225.) This account by Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg of Finland appeared simultaneously in Swedish and Finnish editions in Helsinki in 1889. Both editions were used by Mr. Moyne in preparing this translation. The nineteenth century saw hundreds of "America" books, many of which are excellent historical sources. Few, if any, can be compared with de Tocqueville's description of America, but there were many foreign visitors who possessed great powers of observation and an ability to judge the American scene both critically and sympathetically. Mr. Moyne believes that Alexandra Gripenberg's book compares favorably with Fredrika Bremer's *The Homes of the New World*. The reviewer does not share this opinion. Both women were leading Scandinavian feminists, but Alexandra Gripenberg was not so gracious, charming, and lively as Fredrika Bremer, nor did she possess a similar literary ability, though she claimed to be a novelist. And, while her story is entertaining and perhaps even instructive, she was more of a feminist, a reformer, and an avid nationalist. The two women's greatest difference appears in their attitude toward the immigrants: Fredrika Bremer's account is touchingly sympathetic, while the baroness is unjustly harsh and critical of her countrymen in America. As a delegate to the First International Council of Women in Washington, D.C., where she met the leading suffragettes, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Alexandra Gripenberg was interested in learning more about America in order to make Finland a better place in which to live so that few would wish to leave it. She felt that Finland needed to be brought into closer contact with the great humanitarian forces which were transforming the Western world, particularly the movement for woman's rights. The council met in a setting of growing nationalism, which might have influenced the baroness in her unkind criticism of the immigrants. Most immigrants were men and were, it was thought, the easy and unwitting tools of unscrupulous machine politicians. If women were given the right to vote, however, the nativist vote would be strengthened and the influence of the immigrant-supported politicians counteracted. Alexandra Gripenberg's account of her visit to America is of importance chiefly to the student of the feminist movement and those occupied with the problem of the American impact upon western Europe.

O. FRITIOF ANDER, *Augustana College*

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY OF SAGAMORE HILL. By *Hermann Hagedorn*. (New York, Macmillan, 1954, pp. 435, \$5.00.) "At Sagamore Hill," wrote Theodore Roosevelt in his *Autobiography*, "we love a great many things—birds and trees and books, and all things beautiful, and horses and rifles, and children and hard work and the joy of life." In his sympathetic account, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill*, Hermann Hagedorn admirably elaborates on this theme. The focus remains on T. R.,

but it is T. R. at home with his family. Except in the last part of the book, politicians and statesmen intrude only when they too come to Sagamore; national issues and party problems only when the President and party leader is at home in Oyster Bay. So the historian will find little history. Nor will the biographer learn much that is new; for Mr. Hagedorn does not attempt to probe far below the surface to explain T. R.'s complex motives, the cool enigma of Edith Roosevelt and the differing personalities of their children. The reader will, however, gain an insight into the reason why Roosevelt was the most popular political figure of his day and why, also, in later years his reputation declined. The children, the family unity, the outdoor life, the hard work, the hard play, the optimism, the morality, simplicity, and joy of life—these all symbolized to the voters of the early twentieth century the best attributes of American life. Yet these same attributes appeared naive and immature to many Americans in the 1920's and hollow and unreal to even more in the 1930's. The author, himself little touched by these later attitudes, has done much to recapture T. R.'s forgotten appeal. Hagedorn's book is at its best when T. R. is at his best; and at its poorest when T. R. is at his worst. Nearly all of the last quarter of the book is devoted to Roosevelt's incessant and increasingly irresponsible attacks on the Wilson administration. Roosevelt's charges were rarely constructive. Although in power few men more realistically analyzed situations and struck the essential compromises, out of power, T. R. appears to have done neither. Nor, in writing of the years after 1914, does Mr. Hagedorn attempt to appraise realistically Wilson's problems. For him Roosevelt is almost always right, Wilson always wrong, and the issues hardly worth close attention. But this ardent defense of the ex-President, which often carries Hagedorn far from Sagamore Hill and the Roosevelt family, is only a minor flaw in this charmingly written, highly readable book.

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR., *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

THE UNITED STATES IN A CHANGING WORLD: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *James P. Warburg*. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1954, pp. xv, 496, \$5.75.) Here is the twenty-first book which, in addition to uncounted articles and pamphlets, has come from the pen of James P. Warburg, banker, one-time economic adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and deputy director of the O.W.I. in charge of propaganda in the European theater during World War II. In the preface to the present volume Mr. Warburg apologizes for having "ventured beyond the limits of conscientious scholarship" by treating very recent events. Historians should be thankful to him for rushing in where most of them fear to tread. In the first four hundred pages he makes a praiseworthy attempt to integrate earlier American domestic and diplomatic history in a readable narrative with running commentary, though he mars his account in places by adopting dubious interpretations. He says, for example, that the Jacksonians in the struggle against the Bank abandoned their belief in *laissez faire*, and he argues that President Wilson should have justified American intervention in World War I on the basis that "the acquisition of a Pacific empire had made the United States dependent upon a British alliance"! In his last hundred pages Mr. Warburg pioneers an interpretive and critical synthesis of events since World War II. He explains the postwar crisis as due to "two outstanding facts": first, the change in the "*distribution of power*" through the "transference of the seat of Western power from Western Europe to the United States" and the change in the "*nature of power*" through the "invention of atomic weapons of mass destruction"; second, the stirrings of a "world-wide revolution," resulting not primarily from the Communist conspiracy but from "the material progress of Western civilization," which in various ways has aroused the "underprivileged two-thirds of

humanity." Instead of facing these facts, it is Mr. Warburg's belief, President Truman and other American policy makers adopted a "devil-theory of the world crisis," putting all the blame on the Soviet Union. By concentrating on the negative aim of containment, they missed their opportunity to lead the revolutionary forces in the world and to advance toward resolving the crisis. Thus Mr. Warburg, and though every school of historians may disagree with one or another of his statements, all who are interested in a refreshingly rational approach to the last decade of diplomatic history will profit from his book.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *University of Illinois*

AMBASSADORS IN ARMS: THE STORY OF HAWAII'S 100TH BATTALION. By Thomas D. Murphy. (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1954, pp. 315, \$6.00.)

The history of any military unit, when thoughtfully considered, may be a fascinating story of the intricate backgrounds of American citizens and their adjustment to the ways of war. Few units of World War II, however, offer a more promising subject than the 100th Infantry Battalion, composed of Americans of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii. Its men left an island where their relatives were under suspicion as potential supporters of imperial Japan; the first third of the present work gives a clear analysis of the complicated position of the Japanese in Hawaii down through the attack on Pearl Harbor. The men of the battalion "were largely motivated by a desire to prove their own devotion to the nation and its ideals." This aim they superbly accomplished through their part in the Italian and French campaigns, which Murphy describes a little mechanically but competently; from their training days onward they won an enviable reputation among civilians and GI's alike. The significance of their history lies mainly in the fine pictures of the attitude of the men toward their difficult position and of the treatment of the Nisei by the Army. Even in Hawaii before the war the Army publicly accepted the loyalty of the Japanese element and eventually rejected ideas of its removal from Hawaii; it is interesting, too, to find that the head of the local FBI office was a leader in a community morale campaign to reassure the Hawaiian public when it tended to become hysterical. While the battalion was in service, all levels of the Army from Stimson and Marshall to fellow soldiers in the divisions of Fifth Army encouraged the Japanese of the battalion and its sister 442d RCT. Prejudice removed the Japanese from California; but Americans still have ideals as well as prejudices. The present story is also a case study in unconscious Americanization; as Murphy shows in graphic detail, the 100th Battalion had thoroughly American reactions to army life. The author has drawn upon official records and private letters to weave an account which tempts the reader far more than most military history. There are full notes and a bibliography but no index.

CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Illinois*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY. By Nelson R. Burr. [Church Historical Society Publications, No. 40.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1954, pp. xvi, 768, \$10.00.) This is a history of a minority religious group in one of the smaller colonies. The inhabitants of eastern New Jersey tended to be Presbyterian, those of the western half, Quakers, but many had no active church life at all. Despite the general title, the book deals chiefly with the period 1702-90. Dr. Burr adds only a thirty-page epilogue on events since then, mostly brief biographies of the diocesan bishops. "A staunch churchman" himself (p. viii) he is also a trained historian and a research scholar on the staff of the Library of Congress. He is author of *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (1942), which was the fourth of the Princeton "History of New Jersey" series. Much of colonial education was church supported. This latest work, although largely financed by the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey, fits in well with the Princeton series, which has no volume on religion. Dr. Burr relies heavily on original sources, especially the rich letter collection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The story begins with the founding of this society in 1702, about the time New Jersey became a royal colony. There follow accounts of the activities of early priests like George Keith (converted from Quakerism) and John Talbot; the founding of churches in Perth Amboy, Burlington, Shrewsbury, Elizabeth, etc.; a discussion of the "Great Awakening," highlighted by visits of that not always welcome traveling preacher of "enthusiasm," George Whitefield; and the rise of Methodism. There is an especially vivid description of the everyday life of the colonial priest (chap. viii). Shortly before the Revolution an effort was made to set up an insurance fund for priests' widows. The priests also sought to obtain a colonial bishop

to avoid costly and risky trips to England for ordination as well as to supply leadership. The British felt this would further antagonize the Americans and so refused. During the Revolution many Anglicans and most priests were Tories. In the reorganization of the 1780's, a stronger church government was set up, the American church was renamed Protestant Episcopal, the Methodists got out, and an American bishop was appointed. New Jersey finally got a bishop in 1815. In 1874 New Jersey was split, the thickly settled Newark area gaining a bishop of its own. The book has almost 200 pages of appendixes, tables, footnotes, bibliographies, and a good index. There are sketches of each colonial parish and brief biographies of each priest, a list of the places served by them, statistics of church membership growth, a general bibliography and also a special one of the published works of the New Jersey colonial clergy. Certainly few, if any, states or churches have as complete a guide to their religious beginnings. The style is very readable too. This is a definitive work in its area and a model of historical craftsmanship.

DONALD L. KEMMERER, *University of Illinois*

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS AND THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY, 1740-1776.

By *Theodore Thayer*. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1954, pp. x, 234.) Readers of this work will find a great deal of material on Pennsylvania politics—the party conflicts of Quakers, Presbyterians, Germans, and proprietary interest; the issues of frontier defense, pacifism, paper money, taxation of the proprietor's land, and efforts to convert Pennsylvania into a royal colony. All this is done in great detail. But the author's treatment of the growth of democracy leaves many unanswered questions. There is some confusion connected with his use of the concept "Growth of Democracy." Did he mean self-government or internal democracy? On page 6 he gives the impression that there was a great deal of democracy in Pennsylvania in 1740, and he concludes with the idea that the state adopted the most democratic constitution of the period. If most men could already vote, was this growth of democracy merely the process of getting rid of the proprietor and the British, or was it an internal development as his use of the terms Radical and Conservative implies? Mr. Thayer takes issue, and this reviewer believes correctly so, with the old thesis put forth by McKinley and others that the franchise was restricted and representation unjustly favored an aristocratic seaboard over the frontier. Unfortunately, he uses the same technique adopted by the opposing school. Whereas the old approach was to state that there were property qualifications for voting and therefore most men could not vote, Mr. Thayer states that there were voting qualifications which were easily met, and that "it seems reasonable to suppose" that most men in rural areas were qualified voters (p. 6). In neither instance has there been an effort to find out exactly how many men were disqualified by property requirements. A chapter giving some facts and figures on the number of qualified voters in Pennsylvania before 1776 would have strengthened the book immeasurably; an article to the same purpose would do much to convince the skeptical.

ROBERT E. BROWN, *Michigan State College*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY, 1825-1950: STORY OF A JEFFERSONIAN FOUNDATION. By Harry Clemons, Librarian, 1927-1950. Foreword by Dumas Malone, Professor of History, Columbia University. (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Library, 1954, pp. 229, \$5.00.) The University of Virginia is fortunate in being able to publish this full-length and excellently written history of its library by its librarian emeritus. It is hoped that its distribution will aid the further development of the library, a purpose which the author doubtless had in mind. Throughout he used light, witty touches rather than criticism so that the result will be pleasing to the university, to all living persons, and to the memory of the dead. His innate modesty helped make him a great librarian, but it can be blamed, in this instance, for his being less successful as a historian because he, who is chiefly responsible for the creation of the university's superior library facilities and services, has drastically minimized,

if he did not actually ignore, his own role. The staff of the library, realizing this fault in the history, happily conspired to have a foreword written without Mr. Clemons' knowledge. This foreword, a splendid tribute to him, is in effect a discerning review of the book and it gives warning to read between the lines. However, the uninformed, particularly in the section relating the truly remarkable achievements of the period between 1925 and 1950, will not know which lines to read between.

ROBERT H. LAND, *Library of Congress*

NORTH CAROLINA: THE HISTORY OF A SOUTHERN STATE. By *Hugh Talmage Lefler* and *Albert Ray Newsome*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xii, 676, \$7.50.) The people and state of North Carolina have been the subject of an unusual number of competent histories. The late Professor Newsome and Professor Lefler here survey "developments in agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, education, religion, literature, and social life as well as the state's political and military history." It is indeed fortunate that the individual states are now obtaining scholarly accounts, such as this one, done by professional historians.

FROM MINE TO MARKET: THE HISTORY OF COAL TRANSPORTATION ON THE NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY. By *Joseph T. Lambie*, Assistant Professor of Economics, Wellesley College. [Business History Series.] (New York, New York University Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 380, \$6.00.) *From Mine to Market* is the story of the emergence of a Virginia agricultural, woodburning railroad between Norfolk and Bristol, Tennessee, into the present Norfolk and Western Railway (N. & W.), a great interregional coal-carrying system which, in 1951, ranked second among competing systems in the total tonnage originated and fifth in the total carried. The decisive event in this "emergence" was "the act of imagination" whereby the management, under direction of Frederick L. Kimball from 1881 to 1903, staked the future of their bankruptcy purchase and its possibilities on the rapid development of the West Virginia and neighboring bituminous coal deposits and on the haulage of Pocahontas coal. For that purpose they confidently improved their transportation facilities to the eastward, extended them to the northeast by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and erected enormous terminals at Norfolk, where the arrival of the first shipment of Pocahontas coal over the N. & W. was celebrated on March 17, 1883, with prophetic municipal ceremonies. The master stroke in this emergence was, however, the "Ohio Extension" effected in 1892 by the construction of a road through the heart of the Pocahontas coal field by way of present Bluefield and Welch, West Virginia, to Portsmouth, Ohio, and thence by lines previously purchased to Columbus and Cincinnati. For some time this extension has been "the heart of the N. & W. system." Though purposely restricted to an intensive history of the transportation of a single commodity, finances, labor, administration, personnel, and technological developments are treated incidentally. The most informative chapters deal with such things as the building and the acquisition of railroad lines and terminals, the integration and reorganization of the N. & W. system in a period of depression, coal car supplies for the mines, ownership and development of coal lands, and rivalries and compromises with competing systems. In the day of rugged individualism the solutions were not always in the best interest of the country at large and the Interstate Commerce Commission was established as an arbiter; but, as indicated by Professor Lambie, the problems remained essentially the same and involved many fundamentals in economic history. The objective presentation of these makes a distinct contribution. For sufficient reasons the author omits a formal bibliography of the coal and railroad industries. Instead, he gives a somewhat detailed description of the voluminous files

and records in the executive offices of the Norfolk and Western Railway at Roanoke, Virginia, his most important source of information, but the text is replete with appropriate references in the customary form at the first citation. The book is the third volume in the "Business History Series" edited by Ralph W. Hidy of the Graduate School of Business Administration of New York University.

C. H. AMBLER, *West Virginia University*

BOVARD OF THE POST-DISPATCH. By *James W. Markham*. [Journalism Monographs, No. 5.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954, pp. xxii, 226, \$4.00.) Mr. Markham, a teacher of journalism, examines a newspaper career which began on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in 1898 and continued until 1938. At the time of his retirement, O. K. Bovard had been his paper's managing editor for thirty years. Mr. Markham has had access to primary materials, some not yet generally available, and has filled out his information with personal correspondence and relevant reading. He has examined his subject impartially, as a personage and as an editor. On the first count, Bovard was overbearing, egotistical, and cold; he was also unpretentious, just, and appreciative of superior workmanship. As an editor, he was dominating and did not hesitate to make of other people's work what seemed to him proper. His virtues made him a legend of accuracy, literacy, and deep-cutting attention to public issues and concerns, an editor who kept his staff at top quality. Mr. Markham has compartmentalized his themes ("Mr. Bovard and His Men," "Bovard and the Pulitzer Management," "Campaigns and Crusades," among others), and the reader must, to some extent, construct a chronological sense of events for himself. The significance of *Post-Dispatch* operations is more fully and intimately probed than are its policies and campaigns. For instance, the newspaper and Bovard were both concerned about local franchise-grabbing proclivities of the Central Traction Company. They were, apparently, aware that rude, antilabor tactics marked the company's struggle with strikers during the great St. Louis street railway stoppage in 1900. Why, then, the *Post-Dispatch* should have taken the company's part, and a drop in circulation, the author does not say. Nor does he so much as identify Charles R. Crane, who in 1902 provided financial assistance to Joseph W. Folk, then fighting bribery and graft in a famous St. Louis crusade. Other strategic episodes would have gained from more adequate examination or illustration, particularly in the pre-World War I period. What comes through is a picture of Bovard as a highly competent journalist who set severe standards of newspaper administration and reporting and was responsible for notable episodes in newspaper history. His refusal to accept the false report of an armistice in 1918 was a high point in his career, as were his services during the Teapot Dome affair. The *Post-Dispatch*, under Bovard's management, performed vigorously and responsibly during the critical 1930's, and, indeed, the signal development in Bovard's social thought through this period causes one to regret that its roots and permutations have not been more intensively sought.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

MESSAGES AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BROWN RAY, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA, 1825-1831. Edited by *Dorothy Riker* and *Gayle Thornbrough*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXIV.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1954, pp. viii, 726, \$7.50.) In an unusual but constitutional manner, James Brown Ray rose from president pro tempore of the state senate to governor of Indiana. Although he was twice elected chief executive, his rapid rise above other leaders handicapped him. He served as governor from 1825 to 1831 and opposed the political parties that were being organized at the time but failed to keep himself free from partisan commitments. His writings were bombastic and florid in style, reflecting his somewhat erratic procedure. Further office was denied him. Ray's views reflected the frontier conditions which prevailed in Indiana during his lifetime. First of all he was an advocate of internal improvements—roads, rivers, canals, and railroads. He was somewhat farsighted in this respect, preferring railroads as the most useful form of transportation. A vigorous nationalist, he sharply criticized the nullifiers of South Carolina and favored a protective tariff. This volume is the fourth in a series which includes the *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1922), and the *Messages and Papers of Jonathan Jennings, Ratliff Boon, and William Hendricks* (Indianapolis, 1924). A considerable body of

the papers of territorial governor Harrison were preserved, but most of those of his early successors, the governors of the state, were not. Consequently, the third and fourth volumes of the series are not as significant as the first two. The editors of the Ray papers have searched official files, publications, and newspapers. The importance of the resulting volume is largely restricted to the fact that it makes scattered materials readily available in collected form. The editors' work is excellent. It includes a brief biographical sketch, explanatory footnotes, and an index. The format is quite satisfactory.

JOHN D. BARNHART, *Indiana University*

HISTORY OF MARSHALL FIELD & CO., 1852-1906. By *Robert W. Twyman*, Associate Professor of History, Bowling Green State University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association, 1954, pp. 249, \$5.00.) From the records of a major midwestern social and economic institution, Robert W. Twyman has abstracted this modest analysis of the purchasing, sales, and management policies of Marshall Field and Company. The work, first of a projected two-volume study, traces the firm from its origins to the death of its founder in 1906. From 1865, when the store handled \$8,000,000 in simple dry goods for wholesale and retail, the firm expanded until in 1906 it distributed \$50,000,000 in supplies to a wholesale market stretching from the Alleghenies to the Pacific and during the same year retailed \$25,000,000 worth of goods in remarkable variety to the Chicago area. The author concludes that the growth of the store "was no more phenomenal than that of the city in which it was located and . . . that much of it was only a product of the growth of both Chicago and the West." Marshall Field maintained the regional pace through dependence on "progressive policies and carefully maintained traditions." He purchased at the outset a firm that was already leader in the dry goods field. His combination of wholesale and retail operations permitted major economies. Cash purchasing won from suppliers discounts that kept costs low, and conservative credit requirements restricted wholesale trade to sound local merchants. Encouragement of employee initiative, and efforts to make retail selling a dignified profession, held the loyalty of an alert and imaginative staff. Customers were won and held by merchandise of guaranteed quality, by a liberal returns policy, and by the unprecedented courtesies and services that the store increasingly offered. Professor Twyman's account of the Field organization is a work of quality. Its generally chronological organization is broken by topical analysis of personnel problems, advertising, and customer services, but personalities remain somewhat in the background. Marshall Field and his colorful associates emerge only from description of store policies, and are kept subordinate to their merchandising functions. The author's purpose, though narrow, is clearly defined and well executed. The volume won honorable mention in the Beveridge Award competition of the American Historical Association for 1952 and was published by the Beveridge Memorial Fund.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *University of Wisconsin*

THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM: THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY IN THE KANSAS CRUSADE. By *Samuel A. Johnson*. (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1954, pp. 357.) From the moment of its birth in 1854 the New England Emigrant Company became a subject of controversy. The company has been credited on one hand with making Kansas a free state, and its leaders have been venerated as crusaders for human freedom. On the other hand, the company has been allotted only a negligible part, if any, in peopling Kansas with emigrants from the free states; and its leaders have been described as profit-seekers. Instead, as a noisy, nose-y troublemaker it may have discouraged responsible pioneers from mov-

ing to "Bleeding Kansas." Now during the centennial year of the company, Mr. Johnson rises above partisan and sectional biases which have clouded earlier evaluations to give us a clearer understanding of the company. He proves that the original purpose of the company was to block the extension of slavery into Kansas. Only after this object was achieved in the fall of 1856 did the officials try to salvage the original investments. Active managers of the company, with the exception of Eli Thayer, thus regarded their activities as primarily benevolent. Since the company sent out only about three thousand emigrants, it obviously did not save Kansas by numbers. In other ways it was a real force in making Kansas. It built hotels and erected about half the mills available to the settlers. Its agents and emigrants established all the towns that were centers of free-state activity and aided in the founding of schools, churches, and libraries. And by example the company stimulated the formation of emigrant aid societies outside New England. Perhaps this was not difficult in New York city where two organizations were started to save Kansas by colonies of vegetarians who dreamed of surveying tracts two miles square into sixteen triangles forming an octagon with a village in the center. The company was one, but only one, factor that produced a conflict in Kansas. In so doing it did contribute to the fateful growth of the Republican party, since "Bleeding Kansas" was the life blood of that party in its infancy. *Battle Cry of Freedom* is based upon rich manuscript and published sources, is carefully organized, and is at times a dramatic book. Unless new sources are discovered, it is difficult to foresee the necessity of another book on this subject.

CLAYTON S. ELLSWORTH, *College of Wooster*

GLORY, GOD, AND GOLD: A NARRATIVE HISTORY. By *Paul I. Wellman*. [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1954, pp. xii, 402, \$6.00.) Mr. Wellman has written an arresting narrative about the Southwest under a bizarre title. Books I and II (118 pages) relate to the work of the Spanish *conquistadores* and colonizers, Book III (51 pages) to French trail-blazing, trapping, and trading, and the remainder of the volume to Texas settlement and revolution, the Texas Republic, the Mexican War, the range cattle industry, outlawry and gunmen, and the destruction of the American bison. As a consequence, the narrative consists of not-too-well integrated episodes. The author has chosen those stirring, dramatic events which best lend themselves to colorful treatment and has omitted others which, in many instances, are less interesting but just as important. Particularly noticeable among the events omitted are the Marquette and Joliet expedition down the Mississippi River in 1673, Portolá and Serra's founding of San Diego in 1769, and Alarcón's planting of San Antonio in 1718. Nevertheless, those events and movements which the author has chosen to form *Glory, God, and Gold* are beautifully clothed in brilliant historical writing and bear the imprint of sound research. One may follow step by step, and with mounting interest, Coronado's journey from Compostela to Gran Quivira, through hostile pueblo land, and across the semi-arid wastes of southern Arizona, New Mexico, and the billowing grasslands of the *Llano Estacado*, abounding in millions of bison; or one may even share the *conquistadores'* bitter disappointment upon finding only squalor and filth in the miserable Cibolan villages, instead of rich treasures. Equally well done are other scenes—the attempt to found La Salle's colony at Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast in the autumn of 1684; the cultural clash in Texas, resulting in the revolution of 1836 and the Texas Republic; Brigadier General H. H. Sibley's attempt to wrest New Mexico from the control of the federal army during the Civil War; and the Anglo-Americans' struggle to win the southern plains from the Indians and buffaloes so that they could build there a cattle kingdom. The author has also demonstrated literary skill in choosing intriguing titles, such as "The

Captain in Gold Armor," "Quivira and the End of Hope," "Moses of the American Wilderness," "Tawny Cossacks of the Great Plains," and "St. Denis, the Unabashed." And his character sketches of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, of Jim Bowie, of Sam Houston, and of others are uncommonly well done. Literally, he has added flesh to "history's dry bones" by recreating its dramatic settings and episodes without employing imaginative fill-ins. The book's format is in good taste. Its beautiful jacket, end-paper maps, and other well-drawn and useful maps in the text, a satisfactory bibliography, and an index—all leave little to be desired.

CARL COKE RISTER, *Texas Technological College*

THE LAST WAR TRAIL: THE UTEs AND THE SETTLEMENT OF COLORADO. By *Robert Emmitt*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. ix, 333, \$4.50.) This is the story of the Ute uprising in western Colorado of 1879—one of the last and most dramatic episodes in the century-old contest between the white man and the red. By giving Nathan Meeker's background and training, Mr. Emmitt explains the Indian agent's purposes. Equally effective is the author's presentation of Ute thinking and actions. Meeker made a determined effort to get the Indians to give up their pony herds and take up the cattle industry. But the Indian attachment to nomad life, to horse racing and gambling was too deep to be changed suddenly. Their inborn antipathy to the plow, to schools, and to the white manner of life was pitted against Meeker's passion for "civilizing" the Indians. Clash was inevitable. The author has studied the printed sources and quotes extensively from the documentary record. He has also interviewed Indians and whites who were connected with the conflict or had special knowledge and flavor to contribute to the recital. He presents an incident or a phase of the story from the documents, then tells it from the Ute point of view and in picturesque Indian language and figures of speech. By daring to express the thoughts of the Indian actors and supplying imaginary conversation, the author gives a dramatic and effective portrayal. This part of the writing is not history in the factual sense, but it is true in the large general picture presented. Literary skill is exhibited in the writing. Effective drawings by Bettina Steinke illustrate the text. A bibliography and a brief index are provided.

LEROY R. HAFEN, *Brigham Young University*

OLD SPANISH TRAIL: SANTA FÉ TO LOS ANGELES. WITH EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY RECORDS AND INCLUDING DIARIES OF ANTONIO ARMIJO AND ORVILLE PRATT. By *LeRoy R. Hafen* and *Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume I.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1954, pp. 377, \$9.50.) Inaugurating a proposed fifteen-volume series of documents on "The Far West and the Rockies, 1820-1875," this introductory study by Dr. and Mrs. Hafen gives a general historical account of exploration and travel in the west for the period under consideration. The area treated extends from the Spanish settlements in northern New Mexico to those in Southern California and to the British outposts in the Northwest. Chief emphasis is naturally reserved for the traffic that grew up between the posts in New Mexico and those in California, whether or not it passed over the trail here called "The Old Spanish Trail." The method of the Hafens in developing this work is interesting and effective. First comes some account of the terminal towns, Santa Fé and Los Angeles, as seen by contemporaries in the 1840's, something on the "Forerunners," i.e., the explorers and settlers of New Mexico and California, and then follows a topical treatment of such subjects as "Padres," "Fur Hunters," "Explorers," "Trail Makers," "Packers," "Home Seekers," "Horse Thieves," "Slave Catchers," "Path Markers," and

others. While this method is rather ingenious, it does entail some repetition, though it has the advantage of emphasizing many important topics of southwestern history. The authors are at their best in dealing with the expeditions that crossed southern Utah and Colorado. This part of the country, it is clear, is home to them and they speak of it with authority. As for New Mexico, it is regrettable to note that Santa Fé, which was never known by any other name than "the villa of Santa Fé," is referred to as "Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco," or that Oñate's first capital of New Mexico is given as San Gabriel instead of the famous San Juan or San Juan de los Caballeros. San Gabriel became the second capital, Santa Fé the third. To this reviewer it seems inappropriate to dignify by the title of "The Old Spanish Trail" a trail that was used but ineffectually for some twenty years when the ancient Spanish trail that tied Santa Fé to Mexico City stretched for about seventeen hundred miles and was for nearly two hundred years the lifeline that preserved New Mexico as part of the Spanish Empire. In fact, the Old Spanish Trail of the present work was not established until after the fall of Spain's American possessions. This "Far West" series promises the public a rich feast of western lore, much of it unknown or buried in little-known sources. The editors are experts in the field. The standard set by editors and publisher in Volume I is high. The book is beautifully printed on heavy paper, nicely bound, has a map and illustrations, and a brief index. A comprehensive analytical index is promised at the end of the series.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND, *University of California, Berkeley*

CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH VOYAGES, 1848-1849: THREE ORIGINAL NARRATIVES. Edited by *John E. Pomfret*. (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1954, pp. x, 246, \$5.00.) This beautifully printed volume contains three journals descriptive of the Cape Horn route to California during the Gold Rush. Two of the journals were kept by passengers on sailing vessels, the third by the captain of the famous Pacific Mail steamship *California*. All three are decidedly interesting and useful. They are sufficiently detailed and colorful to be informative and alive, unlike some diaries of this type which tell one little more than the daily latitude, longitude, and weather. They are also written in straightforward, relatively simple literary styles, rather than in the exaggerated rhetoric so characteristic of many amateur narratives of this period. The editor has, then, chosen well in selecting these three manuscripts for publication. On the other hand, one might wish that he had given the reader more guidance in his introduction and footnotes. The personalities of the three journalists and the details they report are so interesting that most readers will find themselves asking for more information than the editor has supplied. Admittedly it is not easy to uncover the biographical facts concerning relatively obscure diarists, and yet it is possible. David M. Potter's brilliant editing of the Geiger-Bryarly journal of an overland trip to California in 1849 is a splendid example of what can be accomplished. Potter's book, published in 1945 as *Trail to California*, contains an introduction of seventy-three pages, copious footnotes, appendixes, a bibliography, and a map. The present volume, by contrast, offers a main introduction of only six pages, supplementary introductions of one or two pages at the beginning of each of the three journals, and a few very brief footnotes. Surely it would be worth while to give closer editorial attention to a book that presents such well selected material in such an attractive format. RODMAN W. PAUL, *California Institute of Technology*

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Latin-American History

J. R. Barager¹

GENERAL

THE CARIBBEAN: ITS ECONOMY. Edited by *Curtis A. Wilgus*. [School of Inter-American Studies Publication, Series I, Volume IV.] (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1954, pp. xix, 286, \$4.00.) This volume contains twenty papers and addresses presented during a three-day conference on the Caribbean area held at the University of Florida during the first week of December, 1953. The subjects discussed were not exclusively economic, as the subtitle suggests. Some of the contributors dealt with drama, poetry, music, and aesthetic arts and crafts. The major part of the volume, however, is concerned with economics. The area covered is interpreted broadly so as to include Mexico and the Guianas. Among the contributors were two officials of the Aluminum Company of America, two labor experts, two Central American educators, two geographers, a city manager from Puerto Rico, a mining expert from the United States Bureau of Mines, a consulting engineer from New York, an official of the United Nations (a Mexican citizen), an official of the United States Department of

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

State, and a "writer and lecturer." The editor, historian by profession, furnishes an introduction which attempts to place the Caribbean in its general setting by summarizing the human and material resources of the entire Latin-American region. Omitting certain pages which seem diffuse or irrelevant, the conclusion that the work as a whole is a significant contribution to the subject considered seems amply justified. In judging its various parts, the reviewer will be influenced by his own tastes and preferences. This reviewer feels that most of the essays and addresses run from good to excellent. Among those which seem to merit this appraisal are: Secretary Cabot's address on "Contemporary Forces at Work in the Caribbean Today"; Carl O. Sauer's essay on "Economic Prospects of the Caribbean"; José Rolz Bennett's "Guatemala—Its Resources and Recent Evolution"; Alan Probert's "The Role of Mineral Resources in the Economy of the Caribbean"; and the two essays dealing with labor in the area. Some of the pronouncements of other contributors need to be balanced by contrary views.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The New York Meeting, 1954

I

The sixty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in New York on December 28, 29, and 30, 1954, broke by a wide margin all previous attendance records. The total paid registration of 1,985 far surpassed the former record figure of 1,523 set at New York in 1951. History, it would seem, is a vigorous and even booming profession. Despite the unprecedented crowd, the facilities of the Hotel Commodore—headquarters for the convention—proved adequate in nearly every respect. A few sessions were held also at the Hotel Roosevelt, the New York Public Library, and the English-speaking Union.

The awesome responsibility for managing the thousand and one details involved in registering, housing, feeding, entertaining, and publicizing the scholarly multitudes was unobtrusively and efficiently met by the Local Arrangements Committee headed by Bayrd Still of New York University. Aiding him on the committee were Sidney A. Burrell, Barnard College; Richard O. Cummings, Brooklyn College; Mary Latimer Gambrell, Hunter College; Robert W. Hill, the New York Public Library; Louis L. Snyder, the City College, New York; Fritz Stern, Columbia University; and R. W. G. Vail and Merle Evans, the New-York Historical Society. The committee was greatly assisted in various ways by personnel from the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau, Inc., and by students from the New York area who aided in the work of registration. J. C. Egan and other members of the Hotel Commodore staff were unfailingly co-operative. William A. Spencer and Cecilia Maguire of the Office of Information Services of New York University handled the promotion and publicity for the meeting. To all these who gave so unstintingly of their time and talents, all those who attended the convention are indebted.

The Committee on Program—comprised of Franklin Le Van Baumer, Yale University; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington; Kenneth M. Setton, Columbia University; A. William Salomone, New York University; and the undersigned—found its duties less onerous than had been anticipated because of the willingness of so many colleagues to share the burden. For the benefit of those who have always wondered about the mystery of program-making, it can be revealed that of the twenty-four sessions for which the committee took chief responsibility, fourteen were conceived and arranged by members of the committee and ten were the outgrowth of proposals received from other sources. Unfortunately many excellent suggestions from the field could not be acted on because they were received too late; it is necessary to have the program substantially in hand by April. The remaining seventeen academic sessions on the program were

arranged through the program chairmen of the several groups and societies meeting jointly with the Association.

The following summary of the meeting was prepared from reports submitted with remarkable fidelity, promptness, and literary restraint by the chairmen of the several sessions. With but a few exceptions these *précis* have been used without major alterations. Because of their necessary brevity they can but suggest the main themes touched on in the papers that were read, but they do reflect the impressive breadth and depth of the field of history in America in 1954.

II

Several of the sessions were designed to appeal broadly to members of the Association regardless of their specialized fields of interest. Historians, it was felt, have not yet reached the unfortunate condition of certain related disciplines, where colleagues find it increasingly difficult to communicate with one another. The sessions justified themselves both in terms of the testimony they gave to the common interests of the profession and the success they had in attracting capacity audiences.

The opening session on "What Is Happening to History in the Colleges," held under the chairmanship of Robert E. Riegel of Dartmouth College, dealt with a problem of general concern. Jennings B. Sanders of the United States Office of Education, in "A Statistical Evaluation," pointed out that in the past the number of college students of history followed rather closely the fluctuations of total college enrollment. Since the prospect is for a rapid expansion of the colleges during the next fifteen years, he predicted a considerable increase in the demand for college instructors of history. Thomas C. Mendenhall of Yale University, in "History and the Social Sciences," held that history at all levels can benefit from the methods of the various social sciences and that the connection will be particularly profitable in graduate school instruction. He was convinced, however, that certain unique characteristics of history should lead to its retention as an independent discipline. George Barr Carson of the University of Chicago, in "The Proper Scope of History," maintained that history should both discover and arrange facts and that it should be qualitative rather than quantitative, seeking to evaluate human ideals over all time, including the present; it should therefore not be limited to a compilation of facts for the use of other social scientists and should have at least as good a status as any other subject in the curriculum. Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois, in "College History and Its 'New Approaches,'" contended that the "educationalists" who now dominate primary and secondary education insist that history has no importance in itself but can only make contributions to some such goal as "life adjustment" or "democratic action." He asserted that similar goals were being urged for the colleges and insisted that historians should meet the challenge directly and not try the impossible task of modifying existing courses to satisfy the "educationalists." Discussion from the floor was aimed par-

ticularly at Stearns's paper, with a number of persons interested in secondary education objecting to the sweeping nature of the indictment. Erling M. Hunt of Teachers College, Columbia University, contended that more and better history was continually being taught in the secondary schools, and that the quoting of the more extreme statements of men working in the field of education was not a fair way of describing current educational trends.

The insights of scholars from related disciplines were drawn upon in the session devoted to "Some Perspectives on Recent Historiography," presided over by Michael Kraus of the City College, New York. The three participants were a philosopher, a historian, and a sociologist. Maurice Mandelbaum of the philosophy department at Dartmouth, speaking on "History and Social Theory," touched on the problem of the objectivity of historical knowledge and the relation of history to other disciplines. He told his audience that philosophers have generally moved away from the formerly popular position of "relativism." He suggested that a fruitful approach to the problems confronting historians might be found in an examination of the subject matter of history. In opposition to the familiar definition of history as the record of all that has been said or done in the past, he proposed that its subject matter be defined in terms of what is important for an understanding of the nature of change in society. He concluded by emphasizing the interrelationship of history and the social sciences, but at the same time he denied that history is a discipline which can eventually be supplanted by the generalizing social sciences.

Lee Benson of Columbia, the historian on the panel, read a paper on "An Operational Approach to Historiography." As he defined his title, it was "the codification of some historiographic procedures normally treated more casually and less systematically." In a criticism of the "relativist" school, Benson suggested that a deliberate effort to establish objective standard operating procedures would, in time, narrow the margins of disagreement among historians. As a case study he examined the familiar thesis that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was chiefly responsible for altering political allegiances in the North. His conclusion was that it may very well have been the issue of nativism, not the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which had more influence in detaching voters from their traditional party loyalties. Benson ended with a plea for serious concern with proper methodology to help find answers to historical problems.

The sociologist on this panel was Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia, whose paper was "Some Possible Applications of Recent Social Research to Historiography." He drew attention to the value of contributions made in the field of public opinion research. He remarked that though historians were generally inclined to be skeptical of the value of this type of research, they would be doing themselves a disservice if they failed to utilize the results of careful studies of public opinion. "If the future historian is to find our data useful," he observed, "we have, in a way, to be prophets. We have to know what scholars will be concerned with in 50 or

100 years." And he ended with a call to present historians to assist in drawing up the proper kind of questions to elicit answers of interest to future historians.

In the session devoted to "Historical Restorations and the Professional Historian," under the chairmanship of Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania, the attention of academic historians was directed to a rapidly developing companion field. Ronald F. Lee, chief of the Division of Interpretation of the National Park Service of the Department of Interior, discussed the activities of the federal government in preserving historic sites and providing nondocumentary source material for historians and public. Federal holdings now total 123 properties. These are operated by a properly trained staff, who, by their interpretation to the public, have an important educational role. Edward P. Alexander, director of the Division of Interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg, discussed historical restoration as developed by nongovernmental agencies. Of these, there are some 1,100 projects now in operation. They do their best to re-create accurately a past environment and to use this setting to bring a period of history to life for a large and varied modern audience.

John A. Krout of Columbia University spoke on the responsibilities of the academic historian in the matter of historical restorations. He gave an eloquent plea to academic historians to take a more active interest in the preservation of these nondocumentary sources. He commented upon their laggard interest and the consequent disappearance of much to history. He said there was great need of selectivity in preservation and lamented the fact that some of what had been done had been accomplished haphazardly, often without adequate plan. He stressed the fact that the most fruitful interpretation depended upon the accuracy of the work and the skill in communication of those who have these projects in charge. Waldo G. Leland of Washington, for many years head of the Historical Advisory Board of the National Park Service, made a number of cogent comments drawn from his long experience. He was followed by Alfred A. Knopf, present chairman of the Historical Advisory Board, who urged that historians stimulate the public to support the proper maintenance of these historical sites.

The session on "Criteria of Periodization in History" had as chairman Geoffrey Bruun of Ithaca, New York, who announced that the speakers would limit their discussion to European history. In the opening paper Dietrich Gerhard of Washington University, St. Louis, reasoned that "The traditional division of European history into Middle Ages and Modern Times is more apt to obscure than to facilitate an understanding of European history." He presented strong and lucid arguments to defend the theses that "Modern Europe begins with the Enlightenment, the Industrial and the French Revolution," and that "the 11th and 12th centuries were the formative period for the Old Europe" which survived up to the eighteenth century. Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota described various techniques adopted by students of economic history to interpret the growth and transformation of European society since ancient times. He pointed out the

flaws and limitations of the Marxist approach; the inadequacy of surviving records which makes statistical analyses spotty and incomplete; and the dangers implicit in any formula that equates the historical individual with the "economic man" and nothing more. But he emphasized the gains achieved in the past eighty years by cautious and systematic students of economic history. Meyer Schapiro of Columbia University then reviewed the main divisions and period names current in writings on European art and their uncertainties. He called attention to three types of period nomenclature: political-dynastic, cultural, and aesthetic, and he indicated how ambiguously their application and even their chronological limits have fluctuated. While conceding that all periodization is a conventional device susceptible to infinite variations, he defended it as useful and necessary because "mapping" the past "is an instrument in ordering the historical objects as a continuous system in time and space."

Guy Stanton Ford presided over a session that probed a perplexing question of the present day, "Problems of Democratization in Europe and Asia." Papers by Hajo Holborn, Hugh Barton, and S. William Halperin dealt with Germany, Japan, and Italy respectively. Each speaker measured the chances of democracy becoming indigenous against a past history which especially in Germany and Japan had left an infertile soil. The historical approach in each case was a masterly summation of institutions, class interests, and mores. A Prussian-dominated Germany and a Japan under a decreed constitution of 1889 both exhibited political and social structures that paid only lip service to the liberal and parliamentary ideals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Italy, Professor Halperin indicated, had a past more consonant with these trends but a social and economic situation among the landless peasantry and depressed labor that favored communism. This party, with the socialists following blindly, was a constant threat.

The sketches of German and Japanese history skillfully subordinated essential details to the general impression that democracy in the Anglo-American tradition had as yet no deep roots in these two lands. In Japan the occupation-inspired reforms threw into reverse the constitution of 1889. As they take things into their own hands the Japanese have already re-centralized the control of schools and the police and passed antisubversive laws that threaten human rights. In Germany the Bonn constitution is an adaptation of Weimar. Despite a certain flexibility it strengthens federal power over many artificially limned states. Economic recovery and the absorption of ten million refugees have been stabilizing factors, while Russia on the East remains a constant menace. The bureaucracy open only to university graduates is back in force increased by the justiciable questions raised by an extended bill of rights. Two national parties including all classes have not yet clearly emerged. The future alone can determine whether a true *Volksstaat* will replace the *Polizeistaat* or the vague ideal of a *Rechtsstaat*.

A session on "The State and Religion: An Exploratory Comparison in Different Cultures," under the chairmanship of Karl W. Deutsch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered a concise comparison of developments in six civiliza-

tions. In the first paper Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University compared "Greece and Rome, the West, Islam." He found that the Western experience in the Middle Ages with its powerful autonomous church stands at one end of the spectrum of possible relationships between religion and the state, while the Greek and Roman experience of state-oriented and state-dominated political religion stands at the other end. Islam seems to occupy a middle ground between these two extremes: it was more closely associated with the state than medieval Christianity was with any government.

The second paper on "Iran, India, and China" was read by Rushton Coulborn of the University of Atlanta. Mr. Coulborn drew attention to the rise of the Magi, who may have been originally a pre-Aryan group or tribe of priests, to religious influence and autonomous political power from the late sixth century B.C. onward, reaching its climax in the Sassanian Empire after A.D. 226. The Magi appear to have had an autonomous church organization, on a territorial basis, which also had charge of all justice.

India offers an example of a powerful priestly caste, the Brahmins, developed in the almost complete absence of an organized church. Major religious organizations are limited to caste *panchayats* (councils) and assemblies of caste members. It is moot whether the Brahmins' success in building up the caste system injured the development of the state in India.

In China about 1000 B.C., at the transition to Chou rule, religion and government were in effect one. From about the seventh century B.C. nations began to emerge in China and so did the great classical philosophy. Later, at the beginning of the seventh century A.D., the T'ang Dynasty reorganized the governing bureaucracy and regularized its recruitment through a system of examinations, according to Confucianist principles. However, this Confucianist bureaucracy was not a church, nor was there any institution in China then or later that could be so called.

Comparing developments among different cultures, Mr. Coulborn concluded that only Greece, Rome, and China show an institutional amalgamation of religion and politics, while all other large civilized societies separate religion from government. This sharp contrast between two main types of relation between religion and government suggests that there may be crucial junctures in the history of civilizations, at which decisions may determine much of the future of a civilization for the rest of its recognizable existence.

Willson H. Coates of the University of Rochester suggested a more complex classification of types in terms of dominance of the state or of religion and of the doctrinally "absorptive" or "exclusive" character of the latter. He concluded that state dominance over religion seemed bound to include the majority of cases found in history, since it includes practically all the variant forms of religion except theocracy, and that plurality of religions or institutional support for agnosticism and skepticism were most conducive to the preservation of the values of intellectual freedom. Paul Alexander of Brandeis University and Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard participated in the stimulating discussion that followed the formal papers.

One of the final sessions, "The Soviet Union and the Grand Alliance in World War II," attracted an audience that almost filled the Grand Ballroom. The principal speakers both demonstrated by their analyses that even during the most critical period of the war there was no real trust between the Soviet and the Allied governments. Discussing the Pacific War, Ernest R. May of Harvard University noted that the initial American eagerness for Soviet intervention against Japan soon changed to indifference until, in 1944-1945, the prospective operations against the Japanese home islands made Soviet action against the Manchurian Army seem highly desirable if not essential. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and General MacArthur were all of this opinion, which was reflected in the Yalta Agreements. The latter, as Louis Morton, Department of the Army, pointed out in discussion, may be taken to have limited Soviet expansion, since at the time there was no Western military power in Asia sufficient to check the Red armies. In any event, it would be a mistake to suppose that Russian intervention against Japan, when it came, was not important in deciding the Tokyo government to make peace. Morton suggested that in fact it appears to have weighed about as heavily as the atom bomb on Hiroshima.

In reviewing the war in Europe, Maurice Matloff, Department of the Army, like May, stressed the cold-blooded realism of Soviet policy. From the outset the Kremlin made it clear that it wanted as much help as possible in the way of supplies and in the opening of a second front but had no desire to see American or British troops on Russian soil. After the Stalingrad victory the political aims of the Soviet government became increasingly apparent, leading quickly to the rift that opened even before President Roosevelt's death.

Hanson W. Baldwin of the *New York Times*, in his prepared comment, stressed various factors that reacted unfavorably on American policy, such as the immaturity of public opinion, inadequate co-ordination of political and military leadership, the President's overconfidence, and the domination of policy by military concepts of a continental land army as the essential instrument of victory. In the general discussion many other interesting points were made from the floor as well as from the rostrum. Mr. Baldwin noted the overemphasis on military victory which led, for example, to the unconditional surrender program. This, in turn, not only prolonged the war but ended in the destruction of the one continental power that might afterward have served as a counterweight to Soviet Russia. Matloff suggested that the issue of unconditional surrender should be more intensively studied, and he noted that at bottom it was intended merely to reinsure the Kremlin that the Western powers would fight on to the end. He remarked also that the British tended to make too much of the projected attack on Europe's "soft underbelly." The underbelly was actually far from soft and as a matter of fact, no responsible leader ever suggested a Balkan operation as a substitute for the Normandy invasion. Mere reference to these important and highly controversial issues will suggest the interest evoked by this session.

"Conformity in American Life" was the subject of a symposium that attracted

a capacity audience. What was perhaps most distinctive about this meeting was the diversity of views put forward regarding the character and locus of the drive for conformity to be found at present in American society. Consequently, although the contributions were vigorous and the discussion following it animated, there was little agreement concerning the diagnosis and less concerning the treatment of whatever the ailment might be.

Louis Hartz of Harvard found in the "liberalism" of John Locke the viewpoint on human nature and society that has met most responsiveness in America. This liberalism received a new incentive from the rise of nationalism, and with this incentive "American liberalism" took its distinctive direction. In our times there have been two main responses to or deviations from this tradition. One has been an attempt to close it down, stressing the "Americanism." The other an attempt to "shatter" it in the interest of a new liberalism.

Peter Viereck, Mount Holyoke College, found the soul of conformism in most of the "conformity-baiters." They falsely regard decent respect for the great conservative traditions, the enduring values, as itself conformism. Viereck believed that some of the objects of their assaults were really sinister. It was his view that one American politician was merely an extreme example of a sort of leftist radical, because he thundered most against everything that is "venerable and patrician."

At a few points John Chamberlain appeared to be in sympathy with the views of Viereck, since he took the position that the outcry against conformity was mostly itself an insistence on an opposing conformity. He held that there were only a few periodicals—such as *The Freeman*—that boldly stood for a genuine liberalism. But his emphasis was rather that the outcry in question was an assault on the basic principle of "free enterprise."

Eric F. Goldman of Princeton countered the two preceding speakers at nearly all points. Conformity and the demand for conformity are significant factors in American life, springing from a dominant middle class morality that seeks to retain its control against the new demands of the rising lower classes. World developments as well as national ones have filled the middle classes with anxiety lest they lose some of their position and their power. Therefore they have made the communist threat from without an effective device for attacking every deviation from their own standards. The chairman of this provocative session was Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University.

III

Four sessions on ancient and medieval history, all of which attracted audiences that far exceeded the room space available, gave convincing evidence of the vigor and interest attaching to these traditional fields. Interestingly enough, three of the four meetings dealt with issues highly relevant to contemporary concerns.

"Greek Tyranny" was the theme of the ancient history session at which Solomon Katz of the University of Washington presided. The first paper, read by Mary E. White of the University of Toronto, was entitled "Greek Tyranny: The

Historical Record." After tracing the history of the term *tyrannos*, Miss White examined the circumstances under which the first tyrannies arose and discussed the nature of the tyrants' power. She described their encouragement of a diversified economy, their vigorous foreign policy, and their patronage of the arts and demonstrated finally that the tyrants provided the transition between rigid aristocracy and the classical oligarchies or democracies.

Anthony E. Raubitschek of the Institute for Advanced Study gave the second paper, "Ostracism: Tyranny as a Political Issue." He emphasized the link between internal security against tyranny and external security against Persia or Sparta and the desire of the Athenians to deal gently but firmly with men who pursued unpopular policies. Through the wise use of a security program symbolized by these two aspects of the law of ostracism, Athens enjoyed domestic peace during the hectic years of the fifth century.

"The Philosophers' View of Tyranny," was the title of the third paper, read by Edwin L. Minar of De Pauw University. He maintained that we learn very little from the major philosophers about tyranny because they dealt indiscriminately with historical phenomena and intellectual constructs. They completed a process, which had begun in popular prejudice and partisan propaganda, of robbing the term and the concept of any precision. Henceforth "tyrant" could seldom mean more than "wicked ruler." In his prepared comment James F. Gilliam of the State University of Iowa examined several aspects of Greek tyranny; other facets of the problem were revealed in the discussion from the floor.

That the session on "Rome, Constantinople, and Moscow" was particularly successful was due to the excellent papers on the Council of Florence read by the three speakers and the lively interest manifested by the listeners who had filled the hall to overflowing.

Deno J. Geanakoplos of the University of Illinois, in his paper "The Council of Florence and the Problem of the Union of the Churches," made a profound analysis of Greek and Latin sources relative to the Council of Florence, stressing the importance of Syropoulos' record, which, until now, has been considered unreliable by Western scholars. The ultimate failure of the Union at Florence was due principally to the conflict between basic conceptions of the Church in East and West. Also of fundamental importance to the Union's lack of success was the deep-rooted hostility toward the Latins of the majority of the Greek people, who could not forget the period of the Latin occupation.

M. Cherniavsky of Wesleyan University spoke on "The Reception of the Council of Florence in Moscow." He based his research on Russian sources, mostly unknown to the West, justifiably stressing their value for the history of the Council and for the religious and political development in Moscow under Basil II. From the beginning Moscow refused to entertain the idea of Union or even of a Council; Latinity was absolute heresy. Russian negative reaction to the Council, and the ideology which inspired it, was of great importance to the development of an autocratic political theory. It set up a promise for further

development—as Grand Prince and *defensor fidei* of a uniquely orthodox Russia the ruler could claim the true empire over orthodoxy, i.e., over Christendom: an empire to which there were no rivals after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

I. Sevchenko from the University of Michigan, in discussing the “Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence,” pointed out the importance of the intellectual contacts between the Greek and Latin worlds at Florence for the growth of the Renaissance in the West. Greek pro-unionist intellectuals advocated the creation of a European ideological unity, not only to save their country but also to stem the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. To this “terrestrial” answer to the problem of saving Constantinople the anti-unionists proposed their “celestial” solution—appeal to God’s help, whose wrath, they argued, should not be stirred by the betrayal of the pure orthodox faith.

The anti-unionist Greeks were also aware that the Union might lead to the loss of the Slavic daughter-churches. In Russia the conclusion of the Union became an official argument for autocephaly and later for the establishment of a patriarchate. The tenacity of anti-Florentine arguments on Russian soil may be traced into the seventeenth century when the Old Believers used them to fight the reforms of Patriarch Nikon. They are echoed in the orthodox polemics against the Union of Brest (1596), which professed to be a continuation of that of Florence, and appear in some proclamations issued under the auspices of the newly re-established patriarchate of Moscow (1948).

O. Halecki of Fordham University, in his comment, stressed the positive results of the Union of Florence, especially in Poland-Lithuania, which were not ephemeral. He was supported in this by N. D. Chubaty, who pointed out that Kiev’s reaction to Florence has been more favorable than that of Moscow. The chairman of the session was the Reverend Francis Dvornik of Harvard University-Dumbarton Oaks.

At a session devoted to discussion of the problem of “Conformity and Dissent in the Middle Ages,” Mary M. McLaughlin of the University of Nebraska, in a paper entitled “Medieval University Masters and Ideas of Intellectual Freedom,” addressed herself to the question of the extent to which masters in the faculties of arts and theology at the University of Paris insisted upon their right to discuss freely all problems germane to their subjects. She found much evidence to show that influential voices were raised against control of the individual in his thought and utterance, that masters vindicated their right to examine propositions irrespective of their truth and required only that the solution of a problem be in accord with right reason. For “to chain and bind men immovably in one opinion in matters concerning which there may be a diversity of views . . . is to hinder the pursuit and knowledge of truth.” In the field of socio-religious thought and action, Ernest W. McDonnell of Rutgers University dealt with other aspects of the same general problem. His paper on “*The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent?*” traced the development, more particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of the urge to return to apostolic simplicity in spiritual life, which received strong

impetus from the Gregorian reforms. The concept of the *vita apostolica* embraced, he explained, three basic principles: imitation of the primitive Church; a passionate love for souls; and evangelical poverty in common. His paper consisted in a careful analysis of the development of these three strands, eventuating in wide diversification of monastic forms, inclusive of laity and clergy, but instinct with a common aspiration toward greater piety and religious devotion. But this development led also to dissent, which the Church found it expedient to combat. To this problem the latter part of the paper was devoted.

The papers were briefly commented upon by Benjamin N. Nelson of the University of Minnesota and John H. Mundy of Columbia University, who were in substantial agreement with the papers as read. Nelson suggested the desirability of a broader study than Miss McLaughlin had felt able to present within the time at her disposal; Mundy suggested that the idea of the *vita apostolica* indicated a fundamental shift from the concept of vocation to emphasis upon a way of life and thus contributed to a withering away of monasticism itself.

The session on "Cultural Flowering and Economic Decline in the Renaissance," under the chairmanship of Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, was far from unanimous in its belief that the latter had anything to do with the former. Robert S. Lopez of Yale University more than hinted that the "artistic trends" went definitely upward when the long economic advance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gave way to downward, more depressed conditions after about 1350. So long as merchants could find highly profitable employment for their funds they bothered little with outlays on art or architecture; but in lean years of little profit the funds were spent artistically rather than invested commercially. This thesis provoked lively discussion on every point, from which, unfortunately, no well-established coefficient of correlation emerged. Richard W. Reichard essayed a more modest task. Regretting the art historians' tendency to ignore the social environment in which artists worked, he surveyed the "Prospects of a Social Interpretation of Renaissance Painting," taking Florence as his case study, with contrasts between that city and Genoa, Venice, Siena, and Rome. Frederic C. Lane, the Johns Hopkins University, offered able comments on the two papers.

IV

The area that may be loosely categorized as "modern history" was explored in five far-ranging sessions. In a discussion of "Approaches to the Baroque," the subject was brilliantly examined from different disciplinary vantage points, Manfred F. Bukofzer of Harvard University speaking as a musicologist, Helmut Hatzfeld of the Catholic University as a literary historian, and John R. Martin, Princeton University, as an art historian. General comments were made by Wolfgang Stechow, and Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard presided.

Bukofzer argued that two questions arise in the discussion of the baroque, namely, (1) whether the baroque era is a period in its own right, and (2) if it is, whether the term "baroque" serves a useful function. He answered both questions

in the affirmative and developed the proposition that period divisions in music history must be made on the basis of period styles, that style is a generalization based on many compositions, and that period style is useful as a tool, because it permits the dating and origin of compositions.

Hatzfeld also insisted upon the value of the concept of a baroque era which he would delimit by the manneristic which preceded and the baroque which followed it. Impressed by the high stylistic quality of the baroque, he stressed the need of comparative cultural study and research. He saw the basis of literary baroque in the liquidation of the Renaissance, which however must be seen as the basis of all baroque. He considered Italy the cradle of the baroque. The northern countries evolved but did not originate the baroque style. Baroque clearly is a genuine style linked to the revival of faith; it includes the French classicism and must not be distorted by dwelling on its exaggerations, which are marginal.

Martin argued, against Woelfflin and his followers, that baroque cannot be demonstrated on formal grounds, but that content must be considered. Among the elements of content he stressed were naturalism, the contrasting interest in allegory, and the concern with psychology. Finally, all baroque art is pervaded by a sense of the infinite, as manifest in space, light, and time, which he illustrated by reference to numerous baroque works of sculpture and painting.

Stechow undertook to clarify both what was common area of agreement and what was divergence in the several papers. They agreed that baroque was a term derived from art history, that the baroque period is the seventeenth century plus, that there is a great variety of trends within the baroque, and that baroque, whatever the term's difficulties, should continue to be used. On the other hand they disagreed *inter alia* on what is style and more especially what is baroque style, about the relation between baroque and mannerism, about the relation between an individual work of art and the style of a period, and finally about the inter-relationship of the three fields of art, literature, and music. Stechow concluded with a reference to a suggestion he had made many years ago that one of the baroque's most universal features might be its "new equilibrium between secular and religious forces." He would agree with Friedrich and Hatzfeld that baroque and Renaissance are far from being complete and polar contrasts. The discussion that followed was concerned with clarifying some of the general propositions advanced by the speakers, with further emphasis on the importance of style as a principle for historical periodization.

A session presided over by R. John Rath, University of Texas, was devoted to "German Thought and Politics, 1840-1871." Herbert Strauss of the Juilliard School, in a paper on "German Scientific Thought and Party Politics, 1840-1871," discussed the influence of natural science on German public opinion and its political implications. Although at first many German natural scientists belonged to the conservative "right," the more modern natural science thinkers were liberals who frequently drew on scientific theories to buttress their arguments in favor of political change and even revolution.

In a paper on "Rewriting the History of the German Unity Movement," Francis L. Loewenheim of Princeton University suggested that the presently accepted views or interpretations of the place of Prussia, the liberals, the 1848 revolution, and Bismarck in the history of the German unity movement needed to be revised. He also maintained that a reinterpretation of the movement for German economic unity is in order and asserted that the part played by the German liberals in the unification of Germany has been undervalued, while the roles of the Frankfurt Assembly and of Bismarck have been too much emphasized.

These papers were followed by two prepared comments. Fritz R. Stern, Columbia University, who devoted most of his remarks to Mr. Strauss's paper, called attention to the fact that the effect of scientific thought on nineteenth-century German politics has been overemphasized. The second commentator, F. Gunther Eyck, Rutgers University, in the main agreed with Loewenheim that the history of the German unity movement needs re-evaluation and that the role which the German liberals played in it needs to be brought out more fully than it has been in the past. Unlike Loewenheim, however, he maintained that not Prussia's role but the part taken in the unity movement by the middle-sized German states needs further study.

At the session on "The Liberal Age: Elements of Dissent, Instability, and Unrest," under the chairmanship of A. William Salomone of New York University, the four papers were in basic agreement that in none of the Western nations discussed did anything resembling a truly peaceful internal order exist during the Liberal Age. Rather, more or less grave tensions had been maturing and calling for some constructive resolution.

Andreas Dorpalen of St. Lawrence University read a stimulating paper on "Wilhelmian Germany: A House Divided against Itself" in which he highlighted the disparity between the objective manifestations and subjective realization that not all was as well as appearances showed in efficient, prosperous, and orderly Wilhelmian Germany. Responsible social, economic, and political elements were unwilling to seek constructive change in the institutional structure and function of the governmental system. Kent Forster of Pennsylvania State University, discussing "Stability and Instability in French Society before 1914," contended that the contemporary crisis of France owes much more to the impact of post-1914 developments than to any limitations and liabilities of the Liberal Age. Below the surface manifestations of discontent and the tumult and shouting of extremists, the Third Republic had achieved by 1914 a balance between liberty and order, security and prestige, social stability and cultural vigor that compared favorably with other national communities. The threads of France's contemporary crisis were, by 1914, merely potentially and not inevitably disruptive. John F. Glaser of Ripon College contributed a fine analysis of "The Crisis of the English Nonconformist Conscience," in which he traced the subtly changing character of the alliance between English Liberalism and the tradition of religious dissent. The

splintering impact of newer forces, material and moral, was felt by both Liberals and Nonconformists, who found themselves not only parting ways but being subjected to almost irresistible pressures which sapped their vitality, function, and even pertinence in British society immediately before the war. "The Problems of Liberal Italy" were concisely and clearly shown in William C. Askew's paper. The complex pattern of difficulties of post-Risorgimento and Giolittian Italy evinced two major and possibly decisive defections: the persisting dichotomy between the Italian political class and the Italian people and the other serious duality constituted by an advancing and aggressive North and the poverty-ridden and forsaken South. The choice and adoption of a competitive foreign policy reflected negatively the divisive internal condition of Liberal Italy. These central problems, among others, left the Liberal parliamentary regime in a position of tragic weakness when the even more crucial problem of engaging in and waging a great war overtook Italy. The discussion at the session was led by Lynn Case, who pointed out that peaceful institutional changes in pre-1914 Germany faced either the gravest constitutional obstacles or could have been achieved by illegality and force.

At the session on "British Labor between the Wars," H. L. Beales of the London School of Economics presided. Charles L. Mowat of the University of Chicago spoke on "The Taming of Labor, 1918-1929." His main emphasis was on the process of social reconstruction after the First World War, and he demonstrated how domestic peace was maintained despite the unrest of Labor in the years down to 1921. This was partly due to the statesmanship and moderation of trade union leaders, partly to Lloyd George's cleverness in playing for time, partly to the refusal of the public to succumb to panic. After 1921 the responsibility of the Labor movement grew steadily, as its leaders became committed to the slow, evolutionary approach characteristic of the Labor government, which came into power much later, in 1945.

Henry R. Winkler of Rutgers University, in his paper, "The Emergence of a Labor Foreign Policy, 1918-1929," also pointed to the growing responsibility of the Labor movement. Like Mowat, he stressed the unrest and bitterness of the immediate postwar period and went on to comment on the work of men like J. R. Clynes and Arthur Henderson and the role of the Advisory Committee on International Questions in the curbing of foreign policy extremism and the development of the temperate "League of Nations" policy attempted by the Labor government of 1929-1931. Winkler rejected the notion that Labor's foreign policy was "socialist," pointing out the essential similarity to the Liberal approach of the views held by the moderate leaders of the party in this decade.

On the whole the two commentators and the chairman agreed with the main lines of analysis of the two speakers. Richard W. Lyman of Washington University noted that perhaps both speakers had neglected to give full justice to the position of Ramsay MacDonald during the 1920's, and he re-emphasized the experience of office in 1924 as a major element in Labor's growing moderation on

domestic and foreign issues. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina felt that the turning of postwar unrest might still better be considered "Black Friday" of 1921 rather than 1919, as had been suggested by one of the speakers. He also underlined the need for further study of the relationships between the budget and approaches to foreign policy.

The Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association held its luncheon conference with Hans Kohn of the City College, New York, in the chair. Jacques Barzun of Columbia University gave a stimulating address on "Some Problems of Cultural History" in which he discussed the role and function of the cultural historian. In defining the task of the cultural historian he distinguished it from that of the intellectual historian or of the anthropologist. The cultural historian is concerned with elaborating what constitutes the particular "style" of a historical period.

In the session on "Modern Far Eastern History," Thomas C. Smith, Stanford University, in his paper on "Old Values and New Techniques in Japan" indicated how the peasantry provided a social base for successful industrialization which at the same time permitted the state "to impose the worship of old gods upon the entire nation." Albert Feuerwerker, Harvard University, showed how the system of "Official-Supervision-and-Merchant-Management in China's Nineteenth Century Industrialization" permitted grasping officials still to impede the constructive functioning of merchant-entrepreneurs. Mrs. Nikki R. Keddie, University of California, Berkeley, discussed the meagerness of "Industrialization in Iran" as due mainly to regressive social factors as well as the Western impact. A lively discussion led by J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia, Kwang-ching Liu of the U.N. Secretariat, and W. W. Lockwood of Princeton emphasized the manifold impediments, both to private entrepreneurship and to healthy modernization by the official class, posed by traditional social patterns. These impediments in Japan did not inhibit modernization in industry but let it be used for outworn ideals; in China and Iran they definitely impeded modernization itself. The discussion formulated no clear pattern applicable to all Asia, but depressingly similar difficulties appeared evident in the experience of all three countries. John K. Fairbank, Harvard University, was chairman of the session.

At the luncheon meeting of the Conference on Asiatic History, Professor L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University read a paper entitled "Westerners and Central Asians in Yüan China." Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette commented on the paper. A decision was taken to establish the Conference as a permanent body for the purpose of serving as a focal point for historians concerned with Asia and enabling them to widen their horizons by the comparative consideration of problems in more than one of the conventional geographic subdivisions of the vast continent. Professor Woodbridge Bingham of the University of California, Berkeley, was elected president and Professor J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia University, secretary.

V

Meetings devoted to the field of American history were, as usual, both numerous and varied. A session on "Integrating the History of the Americas" was devoted to a discussion of the latest progress reports on the History of America project, which was launched in 1951 by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. In an introductory statement the chairman, Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania, described the project briefly and explained why only the first two of its three major divisions (Colonial Period, National Period, and Indian or Indigenous Phase) would be discussed in detail at this session.

In the first of three papers J. H. Parry of Harvard University concluded that the report on the Colonial Period, prepared by Silvio Zavala of Mexico, "is a *tour de force*, an orderly, symmetrically balanced mass of information and ideas of great value and interest," but that "the disunity of the subject matter is, in many cases, concealed rather than resolved." The second paper, by Robert N. Burr and Roland D. Hussey of the University of California, Los Angeles, analyzed the report on the National Period by Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College. The authors found that the report had many merits and made a real effort to define problems and clarify assumptions but that it failed to present adequately and consistently "a sound unifying principle or principles for a History of America." In the last paper, "The Progress and Prospects of the Project," Waldo G. Leland of Washington, D.C., described the fundamental assumption of the project as sound and its timeliness as "obvious and striking"; offered comments on it which he hoped would "not be interpreted as adverse criticisms, but rather as suggestions for future consideration"; and concluded that "the work already done will inspire historians to undertake experiments in synthesis and in comparative studies of American phenomena."

Leading the discussion, John Francis Bannon, S.J., of St. Louis University stressed the influence of Europe as "the one sound unifying theme for a History of the Americas," and Harold E. Davis of the American University expressed concern over the subsidiary roles assigned to Negro and Indian history in the reports.

Comments from the floor were then made by Vera Brown Holmes of Smith College, Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College, Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin, and John W. Caughey of the University of California, Los Angeles.

"Publishing the Papers of Great Men" was the theme of a session at which Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum presided. Papers were read by Julian P. Boyd of Princeton, editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Leonard W. Labaree of Yale, editor of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin; Lyman H. Butterfield, editor of the Adams Papers; and Wilmarth S. Lewis of Yale, editor of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole. Boyd and Lewis summarized with pre-

cision and wit the results of many years' experience, giving particular attention to problems of annotation. Labaree told of his plans for collecting Franklin papers, while Butterfield, who has even more recently taken over his editorial duties, gave an account of his preliminary exploration of the great body of documents preserved by the Adams Manuscript Trust. If these four speakers may be considered a fair sample, the session indicated that editors of great documentary projects develop singular qualities of quickness of mind, literary skill, and humor.

At the conclusion of the papers, the chairman asked Philip M. Hamer to give an informal account of the work of the National Historical Publications Commission and of other editorial projects that are now under way. Waldo G. Leland recalled the earlier efforts of the American Historical Association and of J. Franklin Jameson in similar directions.

A comprehensive paper on "The Urban Dimension of Western Life, 1790-1830," by Richard C. Wade of the University of Rochester stimulated a lively discussion. Two of the commentators, Mrs. Constance McL. Green of American University and Joe L. Norris of Wayne University, felt that Wade was a bit hasty in detecting urban characteristics in the earliest beginnings of Pittsburgh, Detroit, and St. Louis, yet both joined the third commentator, Bayrd Still of New York University, in endorsing Wade's emphasis on the rapidity of the commercial and cultural growth of western cities. Wade's analysis of the widespread speculation in urban sites and of the intense rivalry between competing towns was amplified by several comments from the audience, but the clear distinction he saw between the social customs of the urban and rural frontiers was questioned by two hearers. Blake McKelvey, Rochester City Historian and chairman of the session, suggested that such minor criticisms of Mr. Wade's thesis would disappear if his title was fully apprehended, for it clearly implied a unified society which because of its commercial economy had urban as well as rural dimensions; he agreed with Wade's conclusion that a full understanding of the history of the West (as of American history generally) required a closer study of its urban development and invited all interested in such research to attend an informal luncheon of the Urban History Group at which the discussion would be continued.

The main paper at the session on "Romanticism in the United States" was Perry Miller's "The Romantic Dilemma in American Nationalism." It defined the contradiction between the faith in nature implied in the American's national pride and the faith in the Bible inherited from the Puritan past. The Romantic dilemma in America is thus something more than the underlying opposition of primitivism *versus* civilization; it is complicated by emotions having to do with patriotism, art, this country's relation to Europe, and the peculiar moral passion with which nineteenth-century Americans carried out the dictates of utilitarianism.

This presentment was generally approved by the commentators, despite disagreement on details. Stow S. Persons, State University of Iowa, argued that the conflict described by Miller is universal, not peculiar to nineteenth-century America; and he regretted that the "wilderness symbol" had been merely referred to,

not analyzed. Analysis would show that its use implied a sense of national security and well-being.

Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale was of the opinion that Miller had correctly described a state of mind but had not shown its place in the entire culture of the period. Far from being characteristic of early nineteenth-century America, the view that civilization is a negative force destroying the positive givenness of nature was a minority view. The dominant mood of the time was sanguine, trusting in progress, liberal and democratic in politics, and consequently committed to civilization as a positive force. Gabriel referred to the work of Henry Nash Smith on "the garden myth" and to the Turner thesis about the "forest origin" of American democracy as proof that American Romanticism was a late offshoot of a Newtonian determinism applied to man and his works.

Edgar P. Richardson of the Detroit Institute of Arts found most persuasive Miller's contention that the American dream of greatness was justified on ethical and religious grounds, not practical and material. This poetic vision of ourselves, he added, was noticed by most foreign visitors, who tended to admire our material progress much more than our spiritual aspirations. Yet the advent of Romanticism is unmistakably embodied in our plastic arts. Classical painting, statuary, and architecture were quite suddenly replaced by the idolization of nature in her grandiose, mysterious, or smiling moods. Few of the representations suggest any melancholy. On the whole the source of the identification with nature is the sense of boundlessness, which is related to that of religious transcendence.

"The Republican Party: A Centennial Retrospect" was the subject of a session presided over by Leland D. Baldwin of the University of Pittsburgh. In the first paper Glyndon G. Van Deusen of the University of Rochester examined "The Foundations of the Republican Party." He pointed out how the 1850's was a time of political flux and how and why stimuli to reorganization were primarily sectional in character rather than national. The real difficulties in the way of forming a new party were overcome by the excitement that swept the country as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The paper then analyzed some individual leaders of the movement and the character of the movement in various states of the East and West.

Vincent P. De Santis of the University of Notre Dame, in a paper "The Republican Party Revisited, 1876-1896," challenged a number of the traditional concepts of the character of the party during that period. Among other things he doubted that it was as conservative as represented and that it was the hireling of business; moreover it did not, as frequently represented, give up in 1877 the struggle to crack the Democratic South. Everett Walters of Ohio State University followed with some brief prepared comments, chiefly making application of points the speakers had made. The comments from the floor were directed largely to an examination of the moral reasons for the formulation of the Republican party.

Louis H. Arky, University of Florida, presided over a session on aspects of the American Federation of Labor in its early days, around the turn of the cen-

tury. Bernard Mandel, Fenn College, Cleveland, discussed Samuel Gompers and his leadership in the organization, indicating that often Mr. Gompers was ahead of the A.F.L. membership on social issues. These included his advocacy of industrial unionism, organizing the unskilled, and including Negro labor in A.F.L. locals on equal status. But, contended Mandel, because of the prejudice of such conservative unions as the Railroad Brotherhoods, whom Gompers wished to cultivate, and the usual desire of any leader to hold power, Gompers yielded to the principle of craft autonomy and so is remembered largely for his pragmatism. Delber McKee, Westminster College, discussed "The A.F.L. and American Foreign Policy, 1886-1912." Once again the theme indicated the progressive intentions of the A.F.L., this time in the matter of sympathizing with colonial peoples, but its taking the road of least resistance in the face of practical politics. However, McKee indicated that the A.F.L. opposed the expansion of American armed forces in those years and was against the annexation of Hawaii and other new possessions, as well as using the Spanish American war for imperialist reasons. The Reverend Henry J. Browne, the Catholic University of America, commented that he was forced to mix the "pink with the black." Browne objected to Mandel's "gratuitous" additions to his paper, especially since the new material dealt largely with an alleged weakening of the labor movement as a result of Gompers' permission of "Jim Crowism." Browne also reminded Mandel that he was making the usual error in evaluating Gompers by mistaking his sound judgment for "opportunism." John Hall, University of Baltimore, commented on both papers; he pointed out that it is possible more accurately to determine what occupied the minds of the rank and file of union members by research into their actions rather than resorting to published "Proceedings," a practice he felt McKee had relied on too heavily. A meeting of the Labor Historians Association was held immediately afterwards.

A session on "The New Deal," under the gracious and distinguished chairmanship of Madame Frances Perkins, featured a survey by Frank Freidel of Stanford University of "Memoirs and Diaries of the New Deal Era." Calling attention to the unprecedented number of diaries, autobiographies, and memoirs that have flowed from the pens of those who had some relationship, great or humble, to the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Freidel emphasized the value of such accounts for the student of the period. Because Roosevelt himself kept no diary and was not prone to document his own deeds and motivations, the accounts of those around him are indispensable to an understanding of the man and his times. He cautioned that each account, because it tells the story from a limited and often highly personal perspective, must be used with care, but illustrated how these diverse accounts—when taken together—could be made to reveal a coherent and acceptable story.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard, after expressing his agreement with Freidel's paper, commented on the significance of the New Deal to students of administrative history. Granting that Roosevelt did not follow the maxims of

modern administrative theory, he suggested that the unconventional methods of the President called forth the energy and imagination of his subordinates and that the net accomplishments more than justified the confusion, intrigue, and squabbling that often resulted. He also expressed doubt about the possibility of attempting to cope with the masses of materials that document recent history by "team research." The best history "is written, not by committees, but by men or women brooding over materials and ideas in quiet rooms by themselves."

The other comment on Freidel's paper was made by Eric F. Goldman of Princeton. While expressing enthusiasm for Freidel's paper, Goldman offered two qualifications. One was that Freidel had probably underemphasized the importance of memoirs and diaries for the New Deal period in view of the unique habits of Roosevelt as President. The other was that Freidel had perhaps overemphasized the extent to which contemporary historians can arrive at the most meaningful structure for a given period.

In answer to a number of questions from the floor, Miss Perkins delighted the audience with pungent reminiscences of her work in the New York State administration of Al Smith and in the New Deal. Her comments included insights into the administrative ideas of Smith, the character of Harold Ickes, the Hopkins-Ickes feud, and the general tone of the New Deal.

VI

Altogether some twenty-one historical societies, associations, and groups held meetings jointly with the American Historical Association. Most of these organizations arranged formal sessions dealing with topics related to their fields of interest; a few held only luncheon or dinner meetings. The reports that follow summarize these sessions, taking the societies in alphabetical order.

The theme of the program arranged for the Agricultural History Society by Albert V. House of Harpur College was "The Impact of Urban Growth on Nearby Agriculture in the United States." Eric Brunger, of the Buffalo College for Teachers, presented a paper on "Dairying and Urban Development in New York State, 1850-1900." The second half of the nineteenth century saw butter and cheese-making transformed from a household to a commercial industry, as the creamery and cheese factory replaced the kitchen churn and cheese press. By 1900, with improved facilities for transportation and handling, local creameries and small cheese factories were giving way increasingly to the marketing of fluid milk directly to the larger cities. Similar trends on a nation-wide scale were noted by John C. Ellickson, agricultural economist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, in a study of "Technological Change and Farming on the Metropolitan Fringe." Mr. Ellickson outlined technological changes which have resulted in revolutionizing food production and marketing since 1800. Successive steps in the development of transportation and refrigeration have blazed the trail to the modern super market, and pushed the frontier of production farther and farther away from urban centers. "A Case Study of Urban Impact on Rural Society,

Vermont, 1840-1880," was presented by T. D. Seymour Bassett of Earlham College. Conditions were favorable for social change in nineteenth-century Vermont. It was clearly rural in 1840, but subsequently urban influences penetrated its hills and valleys—the encroachment of city capital, railroads, mills, political reform, the beginning of the resort business, and popular education through newspapers which encouraged imitation of city ways. While the three papers were varied in content and approached the general topic from different points of view, they corroborated each other in essential points and dovetailed in a unique way to give a balanced, though obviously incomplete, picture of a significant phase of agricultural history. Carl R. Woodward of the University of Rhode Island was chairman of the session.

The luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society had Charles A. Burmeister, president-elect of the society, presiding. The membership and guests at the meeting offered a wider representation of interests than usual since several outstanding scholars in English and medieval history were in attendance to hear the interesting talk by Nelson F. McCann, agricultural adviser to the British Embassy, on "Laxton Manor: The Open Field System in the Twentieth Century." The real core of his message was built around twenty colored slides showing the operations of the manor. It was somewhat startling to see and hear about the medieval agricultural production routine which until very recent times was able to compete on favorable terms with other types of farm land use in England. The area is now owned by the British government and supervised as a museum by the National Land Commission. However, it is still planted and operated on the basis of individual tenant contracts. The speaker stressed that the future of Laxton Manor would be determined largely by the energy and "manorial cooperation" of the tenants.

"The Northeast: A Region?" was the subject of the session of the American Association for State and Local History presided over by Albert B. Corey, New York State Historian. John E. Powell of Philadelphia presented a paper entitled "The Mid-Atlantic States in American Development" and was followed by George Pierson of Yale with a paper on "The Obstinate Concept of New England: A Study in Denudation." Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin led the discussion.

While Powell found it impossible to prove that there is no Mid-Atlantic region on the ground that it has probably been as much a region as either of the other two oldest areas of British America, he found in the area no organic unity, nothing basic to a culture which could be regarded as universal. Diversity, if anything, has been the key to this so-called region which has no geographical, or, for that matter, any other kind of unity. He concluded that all the past history of the diverse local elements of the area has led to the extinction of those special qualities which set it apart from other regions.

Pierson explained his suggestive subtitle by stating that New England has literally been denuded of many of the features which had characterized it as a region. It is not so much a region geographically as it is an optical illusion. It is

not a static community but a land of violent change; its Yankees no longer form a majority of the population; its institutions have become national in character rather than local. Yet people still talk and write and act as if there *were* a real New England. The concept of New England still persists because the spirit of Yankee independence and the Puritan conscience still walk abroad in the land.

The session of the American Catholic Historical Association heard two papers on religious changes during the sixteenth century. Garrett Mattingly of Columbia University presided. Speaking on "The Reformation and the End of the Middle Ages," Lacey Baldwin Smith of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology suggested that the causes of the Reformation usually proposed are inadequate to account for its rapid and widespread triumph and that this can only be explained by a study of religious psychology around 1500. As characteristic of the then prevalent temper, he instanced Luther's despair and sense of alienation from God as long as he depended on formalized religion and his joyful confidence when he discovered the promise of salvation by faith. In the same way the Reformation replaced a mood of pessimism with one of hope.

Oscar Halecki of Fordham University, discussing "The Catholic Restoration in Poland," emphasized the role of Sigismund II in facilitating the triumph of the Counter Reformation by his own obedience to Rome and by the example he set of patience and reliance on education and persuasion rather than on force. Professor Halecki produced a number of hitherto unused documents from the Vatican archives in support of his views.

In commenting on Smith's paper Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University ventured to doubt that Luther was much more characteristic of his age than Erasmus, for instance. He doubted also that pre-Reformation Europe was as saturated in pessimism as has been sometimes represented. Bohdan Chudoba of Iona College pointed out that both speakers had attributed religious changes to psychological rather than to political or economic factors, and that the phenomena of conversion had been as conspicuous in Counter-Reformation Bohemia and Poland as in Luther's Germany.

The American Jewish Historical Society in a session appropriately titled "Jews in America: A Tercentenary Appraisal," held its first joint meeting with the American Historical Association. Salo W. Baron, president of the society, was chairman of the session.

Richard B. Morris of Columbia discussed "Civil Liberties in Early America." In the colonial period each dissenting sect, each minority, religious or ethnic, acted as a catalyst to accelerate demands for equal rights and humanitarian legislation. The Jews had an impact far beyond their numbers on the course of civil liberties. Where the Jews gained the equal protection of the laws other minorities were likely to profit thereby. This is seen particularly in the field of economic life, where the Jews were seeking rights to engage both in domestic business and in overseas trade and to bring about a more liberal interpretation of the British Acts of Trade. It is also evident in the area of due process, of rights to a fair trial, and

in the courageous stand of individual Jews in refuting imputations either of group or of individual disloyalty during the Revolution.

In his paper on "Flight from the Slums" Hyman B. Grinstein of Yeshiva University showed how concentration in slum areas during the period of mass immigration after 1865 led at first to an unprecedented rise of crime and juvenile delinquency in the Jewish ghetto. At the same time the Jew, already attuned to human suffering, deepened his interests in the poor and in the downtrodden. Hence came the desire to create labor unions and lead them on to great heights. The old Jewish ideal of the equality of all men was enhanced in the run-down neighborhoods since the slum in itself served as a great leveler of men. In his flight from the slums the Jew often shed his religious practice and observance. The affiliation of many East European Jews with the Reform movement or with Conservative Judaism, as well as the complete abandonment of religion on the part of many others may be explained at least in some measure by their desire to rise socially. Flight from the slums also brought in its wake a reorganization of the Jewish community and a reshaping of its synagogues and institutions.

The lively discussions which followed the presentation of the papers included observations by Lee M. Friedman, who pointed out that colonial Jews were no more discriminated against by the courts than were other "strangers," and that many of their economic disabilities, too, are explainable by the simple fact that they were not Englishmen. Bertram W. Korn, on the other hand, called for additional investigation concerning the participation of Jews in elections and appointive offices. He also emphasized that we ought to know much more about the social and religious attitudes of the Jewish immigrants before they left their respective countries.

The meeting of the American Military Institute was under the chairmanship of Stefan T. Possony, Georgetown University. The subject of the discussion was "The Role of Air Power in Recent History." In his introductory remarks the chairman deplored the fact that the customary neglect of military history in academic curricula insulates students against knowledge about one of the most important facets of modern life, and that this neglect was beginning to show harmful effects on contemporary democratic society.

Herbert S. Dinerstein, Rand Corporation, discussed air power as it influenced international events during the 1933-1940 period. He showed that the policies of leading nations had been motivated, to a marked degree, by wrong estimates concerning the effectiveness of military aviation and the respective aerial strength relationships of the various air forces.

Brigadier General Dale O. Smith, U.S.A.F., Operations Coordinating Board, described the growth and maturation of air power during World War II, explained the difference of the strategic roles assigned to air power in the European and Asiatic theaters, analyzed the significance of nuclear weapons for the future, and showed that the destructiveness of war is primarily a function of morale rather than of military technology.

Raymond L. Garthoff, also of Rand, explained that, since the death of Stalin, Soviet attitudes to air power have undergone an important change but that they still are lagging behind the more advanced concepts of the United States. The discussion that followed centered on the limitations of air power in ground battle, the multi-service structure of air power, the physical destructiveness and psychological impact of nuclear weapons, the reasons for the frequency of official mis-evaluations of air power, German strategic miscalculations, the inter-relationships between atomic weapons, limited wars and limited war objectives, and the necessity for urban dispersal in the United States.

The session of the American Society of Church History dealt with "Humanistic Elements in American Protestantism." Carl E. Schneider of Eden Theological Seminary presided. Kenneth B. Murdock of Harvard University dealt with "Concepts of Biography and History in American Puritanism" and called attention to the biographical materials in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi* revealing thereby aspects peculiar to the genius of Puritanism. The discussion pointed to the uniqueness of this genre of colonial literature and its similarity, at certain points, with continental Pietism. The paper by Sidney E. Ahlstrom of Yale University on "The Scottish Philosophy: Its Apologetical Role and Its Impact on Christian Thought in America" delineated the features of the Scottish philosophy as formulated and propagated by Francis Hutcheson, Thomas Reid, and Dugald Stewart and appraised its significance for religious thought in America. In the various schools of orthodoxy, it was pointed out, a static anthropocentric system arose alien to the genius of either Edwardsianism or Calvinism and ill prepared to withstand the criticism to which it was subjected in the later nineteenth century.

The luncheon meeting of the American Society of Church History was held at the Roosevelt Hotel with K. S. Latourette of Yale University presiding. Carl E. Schneider of Eden Seminary gave the presidential address on "The Americanization of August Rauschenbusch." Recently discovered letters of Rauschenbusch were used to show the adaptability of German Pietism to American Puritanism in German-American relations of the mid-nineteenth century. This paper will be published in the March issue of *Church History*.

The American Society for Reformation Research held its session at the Hotel Roosevelt under the chairmanship of Robert H. Fischer, president of the society. The first paper was presented by Melvin E. Pratt, San Mateo College, on "Zwinglian Influences on the Elizabethan Settlement." Cyril C. Richardson of Union College served as critic. An animated discussion concerning the definition of Zwinglianism followed. The second paper was presented by Robert Friedmann, Western Michigan College, on "The Christian Communism of the Hutterite Brethren." Roland H. Bainton of Yale served as critic. The discussion emphasized the similarities and contrasts between the Hutterites, monasticism, and similar movements, especially in Poland.

"Patterns of Modern American Irresponsibility" was the subject of the session of the American Studies Association, presided over by Walter Metzger of Colum-

bia University. Papers were delivered by Eric Lampard of Smith College and Margaret Mead, associate curator of ethnology, American Museum of Natural History.

Lampard made three key assertions: that the current concern for "irresponsibility" stems not so much from an increased flow of "irresponsible" words and deeds as from a growing awareness of a changed situation in which older styles of utterance and action are less adequate; that frequently attacks upon "irresponsibility" represent an effort to narrow the areas open to judgment so as to enlarge the domain of the collective will expressed either by arbitrary pronouncement or mass plebiscite; that irresponsibility, if it can be adequately defined at all, refers to loyalty, not to the conclusions but to the methods of the open society—the use of democratic procedures in a climate of reason and discussion and the assertion of private judgment.

Miss Mead maintained that American responsibility and irresponsibility must be seen against the background of European, especially British, traditions in which responsibility involved a sense of loyalty to the past, custodianship of tradition, and the adoption of a role of authority over the young. Americans are willing to reject past models, to initiate the new rather than to conserve the old. The American rejection of power over persons and emphasis on the appropriateness of altering a situation, rather than changing one's own or anyone else's character, on "fixing" rather than "coping," leads to a type of behavior in which responsibility and loyalty are affixed to an organization rather than in direct person-to-person relationships.

David Donald and Harold C. Syrett, both of Columbia, argued that the patterns envisioned by the speakers were neither historically warranted nor empirically provable, methodological criticisms that were warmly denied by the speakers.

Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia presided over the session of the Conference on British Studies. Mildred Campbell of Vassar read a paper on "British Emigration to the New World, 1772-1775," using data found in the emigration reports for the period. She presented a significant statistical analysis of six thousand people who went to the New World during those years. Most important, she showed the large majority of skilled over unskilled workmen emigrating. In analyzing the background of one thousand emigrants from Yorkshire, she concluded that the majority were farmers, generally of mature years, who were accompanied by their families. Adverting to various sources of unrest that were a factor in occasioning emigration, she stressed the crucial importance of effective propaganda from America in bringing about the decisive step of emigration.

Both commentators, J. Jean Hecht of Smith College and William Willcox of Michigan, complimented Miss Campbell on her excellent use of statistical and local data and on the significance of her findings.

"Early Twentieth Century Social Movements Reviewed" was the theme of the session of the Conference on Latin-American History. The two principal papers and two commentaries dealt more with revolutionary movements than purely social

movements. Milton Vanger, Harvard University, concentrated on the developments in Uruguay during the period of Jose Batlle y Ordonez' leadership, from approximately 1904 until 1917. Vanger's principal theses were that Batlle was successful in bringing revolutionary economic, political, and social developments to his country because he was able to use existing and traditional political parties, and because of the strength of his own leadership. Both Harris G. Warren of the University of Mississippi and William H. Jeffrey of the University of Maine commented that there were additional causes, primarily economic and ethnic, which encouraged the development. Jeffrey further pointed out that Batlle failed to deal with some of the more pressing and difficult social and economic problems and thereby avoided the alienation of powerful vested interest groups.

The paper presented by George I. Blanksten of Northwestern University was concerned with the effect which Marxism has had on the *Peronismo* in Argentina. After tracing the development of the various Marxist groups, including the Socialists and the Communists, Blanksten analyzed the manner in which Perón has been aided and hindered by Marxist thought and action. He found that in five distinct and important ways, Perón has been aided by Marxist development in the past, and in three distinct ways his position has been weakened by the same political phenomenon. Both Warren and Jeffrey commented on the excellence of Professor Blanksten's presentation and analysis, and generally agreed with his findings. Jeffrey believed that Marxism was not as important in the development of Peronism as were other facets of Argentine history, and pointed specifically to the influence of the army, of fascism, of Hitler, of Franco, of economic problems, and other causes. Charles C. Cumberland of Rutgers University presided over the session.

The luncheon meeting of the Conference on Latin-American History, under the chairmanship of Bailey W. Diffie, the City College, New York, heard a paper by John Gillin of the University of North Carolina on "History and Anthropology in Latin-America." In the absence of Gillin his paper was read by Harry Bernstein of Brooklyn College. Gillin urged that historians and anthropologists coordinate their efforts, especially in dealing with recent social and cultural developments. At its business session the conference announced the award of the first James Alexander Robertson Memorial Prize to C. Harvey Gardiner of Washington University, St. Louis. Samuel Flagg Bemis, Dana G. Munro, and Ricardo Donoso and Mrs. Donoso were honored guests at the luncheon.

"Science and the French Revolution" was the subject of the History of Science session chaired by Franklin L. Baumer of Yale. L. Pearce Williams of Yale, whose topic was "The Organization of Science during the French Revolution," pointed out how the emphasis shifted, in the period from 1789 to 1815, from *laissez faire* to governmental direction in the organization of science, from theoretical to practical science which would speed up production, and from agriculture to industry as Napoleon recognized the importance of the latter as his strongest arm against England. Henry Guerlac, speaking on "The Anatomy of Vandalism,"

described the attack on the old Académie des sciences, whose members were predominantly physical scientists and, politically speaking, constitutional monarchists and Girondists; and its displacement during the Terror by the reorganized Jardin du Roi which emphasized utilitarian science and pitted the Rousseauist view of nature against that of Newton. Paul Beik of Swarthmore in "Some Reflections of the Revolution in Political Science," showed the effect of political experience on men's political ideas during the Revolution; also how the Right as well as the Left bowed to the contemporary prestige of science and justified its cause in terms of "science" as well as other arguments.

The lively discussion that followed the reading of the papers was led by the commentator, Pierre Donzelot, director general of the Ministry of National Education and permanent representative of French universities in the United States. Donzelot raised the central question of whether the Revolution represented a setback to the progress of science in France.

The meeting on "The Corporate Theory of Society and Representation," arranged by the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, had an appeal both to medievalists and to historians of the *ancien régime*, and the attendance went beyond seating facilities. The program was designed to focus on the corporatist description of Western society in the period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This theory, presented in the 1930's by Lousse, Olivier-Martin, and others, was claimed to furnish a new and comparative approach to the study of representative institutions, which (the theory argued) were reflections of a European social structure organized in small and large corporate groups. The papers of the program examined the degree to which the theory gives an adequate and useful description of society and its structural history. R. S. Hoyt of the State University of Iowa, approaching the problem from the standpoint of medieval England, found that the corporatist theory has many things to suggest in its general outlines but breaks down badly when its more detailed corollaries are applied to England's constitutional development; neither the shires nor the organization of parliament fit into the theory, nor does much of the chronology of development. W. F. Church of Brown was critical of the theory as a vehicle for interpreting the constitution and the social history of the Old Regime. Too schematic, the corporatists overstress the homogeneity of "Estates" and neglect the importance of individual rights, as against those of groups, in the legal system of the period; further, the jurists of the Old Regime seem to ignore the essentials of the corporate theory. Detailed comments by G. P. Cuttino of Emory University and F. L. Ford of Harvard tended to enlarge the points of criticism for each period concerned. The greatest value of the program was perhaps to present very clear and useful analyses of a complex theory of historical interpretation which has had an important influence but has received inadequate discussion in this country.

The Lexington Group devoted its session to a discussion of "The Historical Context of the St. Lawrence Seaway." George P. Baker of the Harvard Graduate

School of Business Administration was the chairman, and papers were read by Kenneth Hare, McGill University; David I. Mackie, Eastern Railroads' Presidents' Conference; G. Wallace Chessman, Denison University; and William Wiloughby, St. Lawrence University.

At a dinner meeting of the Mediaeval Academy, chaired by Austin P. Evans of Columbia University, Gaines Post of Wisconsin read a paper on "Legists and Canonists: the Humanity of Medieval Legal Science." The speaker pointed out the error of later Humanists in condemning "medieval jurists as barbarians with no classical learning and no ability except in empty verbiage." He showed by numerous examples that they by no means overlooked the cultivation of the *litterae humaniores*, and he argued that their humanity was revealed likewise in their understanding of man and his problems. In this they "were in the stream of development from medieval otherworldliness to the modern emphasis on man and the world." But the chief emphasis of the paper lay in its exposure of the humanity of the legists in their insistence upon the dignity of man and his right to "due process" in the courts. Everyone, except heretics and traitors, "is presumed innocent unless proved guilty"; everyone merits a fair trial in which he may be heard in his own defense. For the presumption of innocence is a principle of the natural law, which no prince, not even the pope, may violate. Though the exception of heretics and traitors from the operation of this principle opened the way to the application of torture and other abuses, its statement was of distinct value. It lies in the direct line of development through Article 39 of Magna Carta to the Bill of Rights in our own Constitution.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association's meeting was devoted to the topic "Immigration—Another Facet," under the chairmanship of Carlton C. Qualey, Carleton College. Theodore Saloutos, University of California, Los Angeles, in his opening paper on "Repatriation and De-Americanization: The Dilemma of the Repatriated Greek American," dealt with the serious problems of readjustment that arose for the Greek American who returned to the retarded agrarian economy of Greece from the advanced industrialized democracy of the United States. Sooner or later the repatriate realized that he had returned to a lower standard of living, political turmoil, insecurity, the dangers of armed invasion, and the endless pleas for aid of poverty-stricken and demanding relatives. Nevertheless, the Greek repatriate remained among the most genuine friends of the United States. George R. Gilkey, Wisconsin State College at La Crosse, in his paper on "Italian Migrations to America: Reaction and Criticism at Home," was concerned primarily with the official and scholarly reaction in Italy to the emigration and returnee problems. This reaction he found to be highly critical of the emigrants for causing acute social problems in Italy, for submitting to degrading exploitation in the United States, and for bringing back to Italy undesirable social attitudes and practices. These criticisms became official policy under Mussolini, but the basic problems of which the migrations were symptomatic remained to be solved. Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University, dealt with Swedish

governmental concern over the loss to Sweden by emigration. A thorough investigation of the causes of emigration brought out emigrant grievances as to lack of opportunities in Sweden and helped bring about a sweeping social revolution. The eventual return to Sweden of over one fifth of the emigrants brought people filled with new ideas, techniques, and ways of life. Sweden was an example of how emigration acted as a compelling agency for social change. A brief but lively discussion period followed presentation of the papers.

At the dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association a very large number of hearers joined the diners after the meal to listen to the paper of George E. Mowry of the University of California at Los Angeles on "Shall We Keep the Robber Barons?" The paper started with a brief estimate of the case presently being advanced by the business revisionists. Mowry granted that most historians up to now have neglected the role of industry in American life and have, all too frequently, stressed the social evils arising from the Industrial Revolution to the neglect of its enormous benefits. Using Charles A. Beard as an example, he denied, however, that the academic historians were responsible for conceiving or spreading the notion or term of the robber barons. In the second half of his paper Mr. Mowry expressed a fear that present-mindedness motivated business revisionism. Too often its practitioners were more interested in "being apologists for the present than being discoverers of the past." This aspect led the speaker to conclude with a plea for less relativism as a guide to the interpretation of history. The historian should try to uncover the past as past. The quest for objective truth will enable the profession to obtain an enduring public support and will protect the scholar from those political authoritarians of today who seek to make historians "panderers to the present."

The joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies, at which Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University presided, considered three "New Developments in College History and Social Sciences." David Owen analyzed "The Impact of *General Education in a Free Society* on the Harvard History Program." In accordance with general-education aims each undergraduate chooses one of several courses in the social sciences, all concerned with "the Western tradition." All are basically historical. All emphasize reading of original texts and stress essay-writing rather than routine tests. The former History 1, substantially revised, is now directed by the Committee on General Education. Despite the uneven preparation of pre-majors and some loss of command of historical facts, the history department notes compensating growth in worth-while skills, and continues to attract majors.

Allen R. Foley described "The 'Great Issues' Course at Dartmouth." Required of all seniors, the one-semester course draws lecturers from a wide range of faculty specialists and leaders in national and international affairs. Discussions, wide reading in newspapers, magazines, and books, individual journals, and examinations provide a common and generally satisfactory intellectual experience for fourth-year students.

George R. Taylor reported stimulating experience with "Problems in American Civilization" at Amherst. A reaction against "fact-centered" teaching, and an effort to encourage intelligent decision-making by sophomores, the interdepartmental course attacks ten or twelve problems, historical or contemporary, and operates through lectures, readings, seminars, panels, individual conferences, and analytical papers in which students take a reasoned stand.

The discussion, led by Jennings B. Sanders of the United States Office of Education and Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University, explored possibilities and difficulties in adapting elsewhere such offerings as had been described.

The Sheraton Group discussed "Sources of Business Leadership." The chairman was George S. Gibb, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. A paper by John B. Rae, department of humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, presented results of a study of M.I.T. graduate careers. Statistical evidence was given of an increasing tendency for engineers to move into general administrative positions. Rae warned of the danger of attempting qualitative conclusions from quantitative data but raised questions as to the underlying causes of the trends his analysis revealed. Mable Newcomer of Vassar College devoted her paper to a discussion of professionalization of leadership in the big business corporation, presenting evidence of the increasing prevalence of the professional attitude among business executives. This trend she ascribed to increased size of business units and dispersion of stock ownership. An informal commentary on both papers was made by James Abegglen, who had recently worked with Lloyd Warner of Chicago on a study of business leaders. Both this commentary and discussion from the floor centered around the questionnaire technique employed in the M.I.T. survey and the measures used to identify the professional attitude in business executives. Several historical cases were presented as verifications or exceptions to the theses stated in the papers. Considerable interest was evidenced in the historical aspects of the process of executive recruitment and advancement.

David D. Lloyd, executive director of the Harry S. Truman Library, Inc., discussed plans for the projected library at a luncheon session of the Society of American Archivists presided over by Watt P. Marchman of the Hayes Memorial Library. Reporting that more than half the money needed to establish the library had now been raised, Lloyd discussed general problems relating to presidential papers and explained why it was important that presidential archives be kept intact. He rejected the idea that there should be one central depository for the papers of all Presidents.

"Builders of the New South" was the topic of the session of the Southern Historical Association presided over by David M. Potter of Yale University in the absence of Bell I. Wiley. Oliver H. Orr of the University of North Carolina opened the session with a paper on Charles Brantley Aycock, governor of North Carolina, 1901-1905. Orr credited Aycock with supporting the good roads movement, sponsoring child labor and temperance legislation, and securing

increased appropriations for pensions, charities, and hospitals. His most notable contribution was to public education. Owing largely to his persistent and effective effort the average school term during Aycock's administration was lengthened from fourteen to seventeen weeks; local taxation for schools was greatly extended; 1,015 new schoolhouses were built and enrollment was increased ten per cent. Though an ardent white supremacist, Aycock strongly defended the Negroes' right to vote and share in the state's educational advancement.

The second paper, by Samuel R. Spencer of Davidson College, was devoted largely to an analysis of Booker T. Washington's race relations program. Washington's program, according to Spencer, rested on the conviction that the Negroes' home was permanently in the South and that their advancement required co-operation of southern whites. Hence, Washington rejected political remedies and urged his race to seek economic independence through "industrial" education and development of the traditional American virtues of honesty, hard work, and self-reliance, which procedure he believed would lead eventually to "the highest privileges." Washington's program and methods admittedly had their shortcomings, Spencer stated, but they unquestionably helped prepare his race to wage more effective battles for full rights in our own time.

In leading off the discussion Rayford W. Logan of Howard University questioned the appropriateness of designating Aycock and Washington as builders of the South or their period as new. The South of 1895, in fact, sanctioned white supremacy, he added, and Washington therefore relied primarily upon the friendship of southern whites to ameliorate the plight of Negroes. Aycock, who blatantly proclaimed the doctrine of "perpetual white supremacy" sought through governmental action to improve conditions of both races. When Washington died in 1915, three years after Aycock, white supremacy, according to Logan, was even stronger in the South than twenty years before.

In the open discussion that followed Professor Logan's remarks, reference was made to Aycock's attitude toward the convict lease system, Washington's skillful use of the press, and the opposition of the churches to Washington's Atlanta compromise. Culver Smith of the University of Chattanooga made the point that Washington the educator used educational means for political purposes while Aycock the politician used political means for educational purposes.

VII

The climax of the convention was the annual dinner meeting of the Association held on Wednesday evening in the main ballroom of the Hotel Commodore. The banquet was unusually well attended, and the diners were joined by still larger numbers for the evening's proceedings. Dr. Harry J. Carman, the toastmaster, presented the president of the Association, Merle Curti, whose profound address on "Intellectuals and Other People" has since been published in the January issue of the *Review*.

Boyd Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association, announced the prize

winners. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize was awarded to W. C. Richardson, Louisiana State University, for his *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547* (Louisiana State Press, 1954). Wayne C. Vucinich, Stanford University, received the George Louis Beer Prize for his *Serbia between East and West* (Stanford University Press, 1954), and Robert P. Browder, University of Colorado, received honorable mention for *The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy* (Princeton University Press, 1953).

The Albert J. Beveridge Award went to Arthur M. Johnson for his manuscript, "The Development of American Petroleum Pipe Lines: A Study in Enterprise and Public Policy, 1862-1906." Robert E. Brown, Michigan State University, received honorable mention for his study of "Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780."

Subventions from the Carnegie Revolving Fund for the publication of their manuscripts were granted to Edward V. Gulick, Wellesley College ("Europe's Classical Balance of Power") and C. Conrad Wright, Harvard Divinity School ("The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America").

Gerald Carson received the John H. Dunning Prize for his book, *The Old Country Store* (Oxford University Press, 1954). Honorable mention was accorded Howard M. Quint, University of South Carolina, for *The Forging of American Socialism* (University of South Carolina Press, 1953).

The Watumull Prize was divided between W. Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania, for *The United States and India and Pakistan* (Harvard University Press, 1953) and D. McKenzie Brown, University of California, Santa Barbara, for *The White Umbrella* (University of California Press, 1953).

As this report is brought to a close, the Committee on Program would like to record its appreciation of the efforts of the hundreds of individuals on the program and behind the scenes whose co-operation was responsible for such measure of success as the annual meeting enjoyed. To those whose favorite fields were missing from the proceedings, or who found the only two sessions in which they were interested scheduled at the same time, or who were unable to find even standing room at an attractive meeting—indeed to all those whom we failed—we express our regrets.

Rutgers University

RICHARD P. MCCORMICK

The Year's Business, 1954

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1954

A year ago I appeared before you firm in my belief that the Association, founded and led by wise men of good will for sixty-nine years, had made remarkable contributions to historical scholarship, was in sound and healthy condition. As I have studied and reflected in Study Room 274 of the Library of Congress Annex

this conviction has deepened. In this, our seventieth year, we may say that the foundations have been well laid. It is for us to build a superstructure of equal quality.

There are tasks for us ahead. But as a historian, let me first turn my attention to what has been done this past year. I first turn your attention to the work of our committees, to the men who carry on much of the far-reaching activity of the Association. Some of the committees do an extraordinary amount of work for us, for history and the profession. I wish it were possible to reward them beyond a mention in the Executive Secretary's report and a cold "thank you" letter. But in most cases the reward is in the service they do for the cause of Clio. We can only hope that Clio's smile and the twinkle in her eye is enough, for what historian is not her ardent follower.

This year six committees reported awards of prizes and publications of books. These awards will be announced tonight at the annual dinner. All the prize committees report unusual interest in the awards and difficult decisions among many worthy books and manuscripts. These are productive years for historical works.

For the Adams Prize Committee, Professor Lowell Ragatz states that no less than twenty-four books were submitted, against only seven in the last competition in 1952. This amazing number of entries may reflect the fact that the Council last year restored a monetary stipend of \$200 but, far more, it reveals the well-directed publicity given the prize by the committee. The Adams Committee, incidentally, operated without expense to the Association. Professor Oron J. Hale, in his summary of the George Louis Beer Prize Committee work, points out that he also notified publishers of the terms of the award. His committee received sixteen books. For the publications of the Carnegie Revolving Fund six manuscripts were submitted, this number being smaller than last year's eleven. The quality, however, was excellent and the manuscripts, for a change, were all presented in good condition. The Carnegie Revolving Fund has published thirty-four books in the twenty-seven years of its existence, an amazing record. As Professor Raymond Stearns of the University of Illinois, the committee chairman, and I have suggested, it is now time to look for additional funds, the cash balance being down to about \$6000 and even increased royalties never affording the publication of our annual volume. Professor Stearns is now at work on a summary of the committee's work through the years, a summary which we should take to one of the foundations. Unfortunately most foundations have shown little interest in contributions for printing.

The new chairman of the Albert J. Beveridge Award Committee, John Tate Lanning of Duke, tells us that his committee is now notifying 250 American universities of the terms of the Beveridge Award, 170 more than were previously notified. As a result, the committee received thirteen manuscripts. It will tonight make public an award and an honorable mention, both of which will provide for publication. The committee has decided upon one change in its rules. In the future it will accept "only the first or second book-length manuscript of the younger scholar." In our prize committees, it might be added, the trend is to

favor the younger men. The Beveridge Committee has also recommended a change of publisher, and negotiations are proceeding.

The Dunning Prize Committee, headed by Professor David Potter of Yale, received thirty-five entries, and selection among them proved difficult. The cash award of \$140 for this prize is much too small. The Association might well look into ways and means of increasing it. For the Watumull Prize, now awarded biennially, Professor Taraknathi Das announces that the \$500 award will be divided between the authors of two excellent books. You will, I am certain, agree that all the awards involve a tremendous quantity of reading and correspondence. But so long as Clio smiles, we historians will be willing to give of our own precious time.

The Association's activities are varied indeed. We not only award prizes, we carry on historical work of an almost infinite variety. The Executive Secretary often must be regarded as a practicing midwife of historical production. A useful series of publications is that of American legal records financed by the Littleton-Griswold fund. The committee, composed of lawyers and historians, is again active under the leadership of the attorney and historian, Edward Dumbauld of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. This year it published the *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640*, edited by Dr. Susie Ames of Randolph-Macon Woman's College. It hopes soon to have a volume ready on Prince Georges County, Maryland. Under the chairmanship of Professor Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois, the Committee on Documentary Reproduction has reproduced on microfilm a tremendous quantity of documents. Operating with no funds from the Association this committee has for several years been extremely active, principally in Europe but also over the world. As a result American historians have, if we may use an accurate but well-worn cliché, rich new mines of information as close as their libraries.

Last year the Council of the Association agreed to establish an ad hoc committee for a revision of the well-known *Guide to Historical Literature*. A committee of seven from the major fields of history, with Dr. George Howe as chairman, has been at work upon a plan. It has agreed that the *Guide* should be completely revised in a single volume. As the projected volume will be substantial and intricate, this committee will need substantial funds for editorial work and perhaps publication. The Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government has been helpful this year in the preparation of the *Annual Report*, the *Proceedings*, and the *Writings on American History*. Its chairman, Wood Gray of George Washington, reports that the *Writings* volume for 1950, now photolithed instead of printed, will soon be ready for distribution. It should be noted that the index to the *Writings, 1903-1941*, is now completely typed in 4,389 pages. For our publications of this kind the funds are limited, our Smithsonian appropriation being only \$8000 annually or slightly more than enough for one photolithed volume of the *Writings*. For the index, if and when it is published, it will probably be necessary to charge members and institutions who wish copies. Copies of the

1949 *Writings* and the 1952 *Proceedings* have been sent to all members requesting them in the questionnaire sent with the 1953 program and to all members who have requested them since that time. A limited number of copies are still available from the Association, and all United States senators and representatives have five copies of each available for distribution to their constituents.

It is the place here to mention that work is proceeding for new editions of the British bibliographies (Gross, Read, and Davies), and that we are looking into the "gap" between the Evans and Roorbach bibliographies of American writings for 1800-1820. We are always perilously close to the limit of our financial resources on bibliographical enterprises, even though the Matteson Fund is producing nearly \$4000 a year. Printing costs have become astronomical.

Our delegate, Charles Taylor of Harvard, to the American Council of Learned Societies communicates both good and bad news. He informs us that work on the second supplementary volume of the *DAB* is proceeding under one of our distinguished members, Professor R. L. Schuyler. He reports also that the A.C.L.S. is active in many fields, for example, in interdisciplinary co-operation in regard to teaching. He believes, as do many of us, that the A.C.L.S. richly deserves more support than it now obtains. The A.C.L.S., however, like our own Commission on Social Studies, was under attack by the House Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, which claimed that it dominated American scholarship. The A.C.L.S. reply, which the House Committee did not hear because it closed its public hearings before the foundations and societies were to appear, was an excellent review of the history, aims, and accomplishments of the A.C.L.S. It was also a forthright statement of the need for freedom of study in a democratic society. As Professor Taylor remarks, the members of our Association "know too little about the work and meaning of the A.C.L.S." The reply of the A.C.L.S. would be a good introduction. Financial difficulties also continue to plague the A.C.L.S. It can no longer grant fellowships for study in the humanities. It needs all the support we can give it.

Our senior representative to the Social Science Research Council, Dean Roy Nichols of Pennsylvania, finds that the "year has been a notable one in the relationship between the historians on the S.S.R.C. and their fellows." It saw the fruition of several years' work in the publication of the Social Science Research Council Bulletin 64, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*. Done under the chairmanship of Professor Thomas Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania, it may be destined to gain the renown of Bulletin 54. At Princeton in October, 1953, a group of fourteen historians met with Pendleton Herring of the S.S.R.C. to give the Council advice on "next steps." It may be that an account of this meeting will soon be published. For the National Historical Publications Commission one of our two delegates, Julian Boyd, is able to report remarkable progress. Much of this progress is summed up in the report *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* (Government Printing Office, 1954, 50 cents). As members of the Association know, there are indeed significant accomplishments toward

the publication of the papers of famous Americans such as Jefferson, Franklin, and the Adams family.

I can report progress, too, in other widely different interests of the Association. Our representative to the Committee on Renaissance Studies, Wallace Ferguson of New York University, reports "mission accomplished." The Renaissance Society of America was founded on January 30, 1954. Professor Thomas Cochran, our delegate to the National Records Management Council, notes that this Council enjoyed the best year in its history. Summarizing the year for the magazine *Social Education*, Robert Riegel of Dartmouth, our representative, happily declares that more subject-matter articles are being published and that the reviews of books have improved. As a result of a new agreement with the National Council of Social Studies we no longer wield any control, even nominal, over the finances of *Social Education*. It is now able to take care of itself financially. We continue, however, to have a voice in its editorial policies. Our own Board of Trustees continues to approve of the investments made for us by the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York. We are fortunately able to report that the chairman, Arthur Page, will continue to serve us.

Under the leadership of one of the Association's oldest and most active members, Waldo Leland, the Committee on International Relations held a meeting in Washington in May. Its interests range from the International Congress of Historical Sciences and the coming Rome Congress to the History of America project of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. The *American Historical Review* has from time to time given a good deal of attention to international historical activities. The committee urges, and we agree, that we should do more. Our delegate to the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Professor Donald McKay of Harvard, has done yeoman work this past year in preparation for the Rome Congress of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. He went to Lausanne, Switzerland, in June for the meeting of the Bureau and he has been extremely busy throughout the year with correspondence concerning the papers and reports to be given at Rome. Fuller accounts of the plans for the Congress than we have time for here have regularly appeared in the *Review*. American scholars will participate in the preparation of ten of the thirty-five reports and will present some twenty papers, an excellent representation, far the most prominent in the history of the Congress.

This brief account of the work of our committees and delegates does not do them full justice but there are other developments to report.

The membership of the Association has increased slightly, from 6,094 to 6,135. The finances of the Association, as you have heard Dr. Buck say, are satisfactory. We, like everyone else, are constantly faced with rising costs. This year, for example, because of new postal regulations our postage costs will rise perhaps \$500 as we must pay first-class mail charges on all copies of the *Review* returned because of the failure of members to notify us of change of address and because we must pay (no longer being able to use government frank) for all copies of the *Proceed-*

ings and *Writings* mailed to members. It is understood that we must practice careful economy but we must not economize in ways that will strangle our activities.

One of the Executive Secretary's more pleasant activities is worth mention. I have gone to Princeton for a conference on the relation of the social sciences to history sponsored by the S.S.R.C., to Rye, New York, for the annual meeting of the secretaries of A.C.L.S. societies, to the Mississippi Valley meeting at Madison, to the meeting of the archivists at Williamsburg, and to the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Columbia, S. C. I have also visited the universities of Johns Hopkins, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Arkansas, Illinois, Ohio State, Duke, and North Carolina, as well as the colleges of Hamline, Macalester, and St. Thomas in St. Paul. On these trips my aim has been to listen and learn, to become further acquainted with historians and the problems facing the profession, hoping in this way to make our Association and our *Review* as helpful and representative as possible. I have talked not only to faculty members but also to numerous graduate students. One notable conclusion is that the aims and objectives of historians east, west, and south are remarkably similar, any regional differences notwithstanding. We are one breed, one profession. It is relevant, by way of an aside, to note that these visits have resulted, among other things, in new names for the file of reviewers for the *AHR*. I might add that I intend to visit other institutions, invitations forthcoming, in the future.

Two possible foundation grants have especially interested the headquarters of the Association this year. These might be termed "small grants-in-aid of research," and a grant for a "House of Studies" for scholars doing research in Washington. But until progress can be reported, no further mention need be made of them. About 130 fellowships and grants of varied nature were given to historians this past year by the Ford and Guggenheim Foundations, the Social Science Research Council, and under the terms of the Fulbright Act. There were, of course, additional grants by other agencies.

The single most time-consuming activity of the year resulted from the investigations of the House Committee on Tax Exempt Foundations. At the request of this committee and its investigators, our office had to supply in great detail information concerning the activities and relationships of the Association since the year 1920. Because the investigators required, for example, data concerning all publications and reports and prize awards (including chairmen of committees) since 1920, because it was advisable for the Executive Secretary to attend such meetings of the committee as were open to the public, and because a report had to be prepared in reply to the committee's allegations, our headquarters staff had to expend considerable effort and time which might have been devoted to worthwhile historical activities. Unfortunately, the public hearings of the committee were stopped before the foundations and learned societies had a chance to make open replies to the various allegations.

The Executive Secretary, after consulting the Council, presented a sworn

statement for the record. In this statement the mistaken allegations of the House Committee were factually denied. The House Committee staff, picking one sentence out of context in the 6,307 pages of the sixteen volumes of the Commission on Social Studies, had implied that the Commission on Social Studies, as part of a conspiracy, had made a recommendation concerning the "end of laissez-faire," and that there was an "interlock" among the foundations and "accessory agencies" such as the American Historical Association. The facts were and are that the A.H.A. had neither the power nor the desire to approve of the volumes published by the Commission on Social Studies, and that the commission did not recommend what it was declared to have recommended. President Herbert Hoover said in 1922 (*American Individualism*, pp. 10-11) and in 1934 repeated (*The Challenge to Liberty*, p. 51), "Laissez-faire has been dead in America for generations—except in the books of economic history." The commission, describing conditions of the late 1920's and early 1930's, made a similar observation in the last of its sixteen volumes published in 1934, not as a recommendation but under the heading "Necessarily Conditioning Factors in American Life." The commission asked for "the attainment and spread of accurate knowledge . . . so that all choices may be made with reason . . .," and it desired "unremitting emphasis on the spirit of science and scholarship, liberty of thought and expression, freedom of press and platform, and tolerant study and consideration of the most diverse ideas. . . ." These statements were not mentioned by the House committee. Our reply in 1954 ended with the phrase "freedom is the first requisite." From this stand we will not retreat.

Increasing attacks these past years on "intellectuals" have led many of us to examine again our basic objectives and to think how we might more effectively popularize the values of history and historical study without cheapening and vulgarizing. We are not a political organization but a learned society with interest in the profession and practice of historical research, writing, and teaching. At the same time we cannot, we must not, ignore the need of our society for the spur of intellectual guidance, for the depth of understanding that can come from learning of the past experiences of men, from our specialty. As the foregoing survey of our activities makes abundantly clear, we have been and are taking steps in the direction both of our own interest and the interest of our society. We are now, for example, studying our relation, as we have done several times in the past, to teaching in the schools. This year Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins has headed a fine committee composed of Arthur Bestor of Illinois, Erling Hunt of Columbia, Francis Keppel of Harvard, Joseph Strayer of Princeton, Edgar Wesley of Stanford, and Agnes Meyer (our public representative) of Washington, D. C. This committee is now making recommendations concerning the improvement of teaching in the schools. If its plans materialize and have adequate monetary support, we may hope to offer positive suggestions for good history programs throughout the country.

In order that the Association may increasingly serve its members and the

institutions employing historians, it has established a job register at its Washington headquarters. This register is still in the process of becoming. The details have by no means been perfected. Established in April, 1954, it now contains the names of 145 men and women who were or are now seeking positions. It has received notices of vacancies from 34 institutions. In reply to our queries 42 applicants and institutions have replied that they heartily favor the register, and 9 applicants have told us that they have received inquiries as the result of information we gave institutions. Of the 34 institutions to which we sent information down to December 1, most have indicated they favor our system. There have been suggestions as to ways to improve our service but no opposition has appeared. But we should repeat that we are not a placement agency, that we do not recommend specific individuals, that we simply pass on to inquiring institutions information candidates have supplied us.

But there are other tasks to be accomplished as I suggested at the beginning. We need to know the vital statistics of our profession in order that we may meet not only our daily needs but future demands. We have, it must be bluntly put, only estimates and guesses concerning the number of teachers of history, the number of graduate students actively working for degrees, the number of historians in the various specialties, the level of salaries, and numerous like questions. We know that we are producing over 300 Ph.D.'s annually, many more than any of the social sciences. Is this too many? Will it be, in view of the coming great increase in enrollments? We do not know. We need a survey of our profession such as the A.C.L.S. has done for the Modern Language Association.

Again, we publish a great *Review*. How can we improve our articles and reviews so that the intelligent historian can best learn of studies outside his own specialty? We published in the *Review* this year eleven articles and six "Notes and Suggestions." And of the approximately 1,100 books we received we published 216 long reviews and 254 short. What we need are finely written articles with sweep, vision, perspective, articles which go beyond the bare bones, the details, and show the readers how the information presented fits into the field of history, how it adds to our knowledge and how it changes previous interpretations. What, in short, we need are essays that approach Turner's "Significance of the Frontier" of 1893, Becker's "Everyman His Own Historian" of 1932, or Kantorowicz' "*Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought" of 1951. This is asking for utopia, I know. It is not asking too much.

We are making efforts in this direction. We have, from time to time this past year, asked for essays that we had heard had some of this vision and sweep. We have also succeeded in saving a little space in the *Review*, which has reached its physical limitations in size, by elimination of some duplication. We expect to be able to assign a few reviews of more wordage than we have been able heretofore. We have, to some degree, increased our coverage of foreign books and we have given a good deal of attention, insofar as fields of competence permit, to geographical factors in the choice of reviewers, to full coverage of books in American as

well as foreign history. We have, in addition, considerably extended our file of reviewers, usually with good results. A good number of young men have this past year been asked to review for us and the number will slowly grow in the future. We need now to improve our reviewing. We are suggesting, as it has been done in the past, that the reviewers cover briefly the content of a book, that they critically analyze the book in the light of the author's purpose and in the perspective of the field of its subject, and that finally they tell us, in varied ways, whether the book is worth reading and buying. We do not wish reviews that detail minor errors, especially those typographical in nature, unless these materially affect quality, nor do we wish reviewers to write their own digressive essays or indulge in any personal theses. Again we wish for utopia but it is not too high a goal at which to aim, especially if we wish to gain the public respect for our profession that it deserves.

All of this does not fully answer how we may popularize without vulgarizing. To this problem we must give more and more attention. We have firm foundations. It is for us to build wisely upon them. We can build best, at this juncture in history, by enabling others to enjoy the fruits of our labor. If we are to be free, we must educate our people for the privileges and responsibilities of freedom at an ever-increasing rate, with more attention to fundamentals, with ever greater emphasis on the meaning of what we discover. Recently, I read Justice Douglas' *Almanac of Liberty*. He has tapped the spring of history for liberty without propaganda or sensationalism. Here we too must venture without sacrificing truth, meticulous accuracy, or our minute and detailed studies. Can it be done? There are examples enough to prove that it can. Freedom is for us the basis and condition of thought and action. But we will have freedom only if we share with the people our habits of mind and the results of our researches.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL COMMODORE,
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 27, 1954, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Merle Curti, President; Lynn Thorndike, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Herbert Heaton, Edward C. Kirkland, Sidney Painter, Dexter Perkins, Richard H. Shryock, Joseph R. Strayer, Councilors; Guy Stanton Ford, former President.

President Curti called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1953 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1954, issue of the *Review* (pp. 809-16).

The Executive Secretary's report, having been duplicated and sent to members of the Council, was not read. The Executive Secretary commented upon it briefly.

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, summarized the financial statement for the fiscal year 1953-54. He drew attention particularly to the investment of \$10,000, point-

ing out' that receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded expenditures of such funds by \$11,999.52, compared to \$9,428.57 last year. This investment, it was understood, might be withdrawn if necessary for Association expenditures. The total assets of the Association on August 31, 1954, amounted to \$521,712.64, an increase of \$19,350.21. The increase resulted in part from exchanges in securities and changes in the market value of investments. Of the total assets, \$272,565.97 (including \$78,493.00 in the Matteson Fund) is restricted and \$249,146.67 is unrestricted. The Treasurer announced that, if the Board of Trustees approved, the Matteson Fund would be included in the General Account in the future. The report was approved with one minor change in phraseology made at the suggestion of the Treasurer and with approval of the excess payments for 1953-54 of \$77.64 for office expenses and \$176 for additional copies of the *Review* required by the membership.

The Treasurer, as chairman of the Finance Committee, then reported a draft budget for 1954-55 and 1955-56 for unrestricted funds. The Council approved the budget with the amendment that a slight error of \$10 be corrected if required and with the provision of \$20,000 instead of \$19,500 for 1954-55 and 1955-56 for copies of the *Review* to members. In the new budget, disbursements for the annual meeting are grouped under one heading, the dues to the American Council of Learned Societies are increased from \$100 to \$200 for each of the next two years without these sums being set as a precedent, salary adjustments for the assistant editor, the clerk-stenographer, and the clerical assistant are indicated, the estimates for contingent and miscellaneous expenses and for office expenses (additional mailing charges) are increased, and sums are allotted to pay transportation and partial expenses of two delegates to the International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in Rome in September, 1955. The budget provides for investments of \$10,000 in each of the two years, and the Treasurer, at his suggestion, was directed to invest such sums from the checking and savings accounts of restricted funds as he and the Executive Secretary deem advisable.

The Executive Secretary reported for the Committee on Committees. Without exception the Council approved the recommended committees for 1955.

Committee on Committees.—Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester V. Easum, University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1956; John D. Hicks, University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1955; Edward C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College—term expires December, 1956; Fletcher M. Green,* University of North Carolina, term expires December, 1957.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College; Charles E. Odegard, University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Ralph E. Turner, Yale University.

* New member this year.

Committee on Historians and the Federal Government.—Wood Gray, George Washington University, chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D. C.; Constance M. Green, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Richard A. Newhall, Williams College; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D. C.; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University (ex officio); Dorothy M. Quynn, Frederick, Md.; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Va.; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, University of Rochester, Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Robert B. Eckles,* Purdue University; Hilmar C. Krueger,* University of Cincinnati; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California; William R. Braisted,* University of Texas.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Francis Bowman, University of Southern California, chairman; Henry Hill,* University of Wisconsin; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Sinclair W. Armstrong, Brown University, chairman; Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri; Joseph J. Mathews,* Emory University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—John Tate Lanning, Duke University, chairman; Ralph W. Hidy, New York University; Kenneth M. Stamp, University of California; Alice Felt Tyler, University of Minnesota; Arthur Link,* Northwestern University.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Eugene N. Anderson, University of Nebraska; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, chairman; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pa., chairman; Zechariah Chafee, Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey; Julius Goebel,* Columbia University; David J. Mays,* Richmond, Virginia.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—John B. Brebner, Columbia

* New member this year.

University, chairman; George W. Brown, University of Toronto; Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College; Charles Mowat,* University of Chicago. *Committee on the Watumull Prize*.—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Richard L. Park,* University of California; Robert I. Crane,* University of Chicago.

The Council approved the continuance in office, or the election of, the following delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies*: Charles H. Taylor, Harvard University—term expires December, 1956. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*: Donald C. McKay, Harvard University—term expires December, 1955; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association—term expires 1960. *National Historical Publications Commission*: Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University—term expires December, 1956; Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D. C.—term expires December, 1957. *National Records Management Council*: Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1955. *Social Education*: Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Fred Harrington, University of Wisconsin. *Social Science Research Council*: Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University—term expires December, 1955; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1956; Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago—term expires December, 1957.

Professor Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University, chairman of the Committee on Teaching, discussed the report of his committee, which proposed the establishment of a Historical Service Center. After considerable discussion this report was accepted with the added provision that a new permanent committee of seven to nine be established on the teaching of history, that this committee should co-operate with the Committee on Teaching of the American Council of Learned Societies and, with the aid of the Executive Secretary, should seek funds for a three-year experimental program of the Association.

Reporting on the condition of the Carnegie Revolving Fund, the Executive Secretary pointed out that at the end of the present year the fund will be down to about \$3000 and asked authority for the Committee and Executive Secretary to approach a foundation for an additional sum of \$50,000. This authority was granted. The Executive Secretary informed the Council of the desirability of a change of publisher for the volumes published under the terms of the Beveridge Award. The Executive Secretary and chairman of the Beveridge Committee were directed to select a new publisher. The Executive Secretary brought to the attention of the Council a request to the Beveridge Committee to permit a reprint of Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915*. The Council, believing such a reprinting desirable, authorized the Executive Secretary and chairman of the Beveridge Committee to make such arrangements as are necessary. In response to a request the Committee on International Relations was permitted to change its name to Committee on International Historical Activities. On motion the Executive Secretary was elected the second delegate of the Asso-

* New member this year.

ciation to the meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in September, 1955. The Council discussed the various papers and reports to be given at Rome by Americans but took no action. The Executive Secretary was authorized to pay a suitable honorarium from the Matteson Fund to the compiler of the lists of United States diplomatic representatives for Volume III of the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Lander*. The ad hoc committee on the *Guide to Historical Literature* was asked to continue, to obtain funds, and to arrange for compilation and publication. The Council authorized an appropriation of \$500 from the Matteson Fund for the expenses of this committee for 1955.

The Editor of the *Review* announced the appointment of Professor John Hicks of the University of California to the Board of Editors, to replace Professor Carl Bridenbaugh of the same institution. The Council recommended that members of the Board of Trustees be given subscriptions to the *Review*. The Council elected Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago to replace Professor Ray Billington of Northwestern, whose term expired, as a delegate of the Association to the Social Science Research Council and Professor Fred Harrington of the University of Wisconsin as a representative of the Association on the board of *Social Education*, to replace Professor Robert E. Riegel of Dartmouth, whose term also expired.

The Council discussed at length the feasibility of a declaration of principles on the use of historical manuscripts but decided to table the matter. The question of the relationship of the Association to what have been mistakenly at times called "affiliated societies" received considerable attention. The Council voted that the whole question receive study, that the Executive Secretary report on the matter next year, and that the words "groups meeting jointly" be used for groups meeting with the Association at its annual meetings. The Council agreed that the annual dinner should be continued. It decided to take no further action concerning the allegations of the House of Representatives Committee on Tax Exempt Foundations. The Executive Secretary brought the subject of the Association's responsibilities in regard to the Harmsworth Professorship at Oxford to the Council's attention. The Council decided to authorize the Committee on Committees to appoint a committee of five to submit a panel of names directly to Oxford if the Association were requested to do so.

The Council recommended continuation of the job register and supported the personnel studies of historians being made by the A.C.L.S. It recommended that the Association adopt the following resolution of support for the National Historical Publications Commission:

Resolved: That the American Historical Association endorses the program set forth in the report of the National Historical Publications Commission entitled *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* and urges full support of it by the Association's members and other interested individuals, by the Congress of the United States, by the appropriate authorities of state and local

governments, by the custodians of archives and manuscripts involved in the program, and by foundations and other organizations whose objectives include the increase and diffusion of knowledge of American history.

At the suggestion of the Executive Secretary, the Council endorsed the project for the creation of a bust of J. Franklin Jameson, to be placed in the National Archives and to be financed through voluntary contributions. The Executive Secretary announced that the next two annual meetings will be held in Washington, D. C., at the Mayflower Hotel, December 28-30, 1955, and at St. Louis, Missouri, at the Jefferson Hotel, December 28-30, 1956. The Council approved a hotel reservation in Chicago for 1959. For 1955 the Council approved the selection of Professor Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia as program chairman and Dean Elmer L. Kayser of George Washington University as local arrangements chairman. The latter, it was understood, will try to make arrangements without the usual advance registration. It was the sense of the Council that the American Historical Association should endorse adequate support by the foundations for the general expenses of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Under the heading of new business the Council recommended that the request of the historians of education for a place on the annual program be referred to the program chairman and that it be suggested that they might form an informal group.

The President of the Association was authorized to appoint a committee on resolutions. He appointed Councilors Heaton, Kirkland, and Shryock.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

The Council met again on December 29 at 2:15 p.m. to elect Dexter Perkins, Edward C. Kirkland, Helen Taft Manning, and Sidney Painter to the Executive Committee for 1955. The Executive Secretary and the Treasurer are *ex officio* members.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL COMMODORE,
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 29, 1954, 4:15 P.M.

President Merle Curti called the meeting to order with about 175 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1954, pp. 816-19) were approved.

The Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, read his annual report.

The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, presented a brief summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to those attending the meeting. His report was accepted, placed on file, and will be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1954.

Upon nomination, Mr. Arthur Page of New York was elected to the Board of Trustees.

The chairman of the nominating committee for 1954, Professor Arthur Bestor

of the University of Illinois, reported the following nominations as a result of the mail ballot:

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1955, Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Dexter Perkins of Cornell University; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck of Washington, D. C. Members of the Council, Professor Carl Bridenbaugh of the University of California (Berkeley) and Professor Walter Dorn of the Ohio State University. Members of the Nominating Committee, Professors Theodor Mommsen of Cornell University, W. C. Binkley of Tulane University, and James L. Cate of the University of Chicago.

On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all the nominees, and they were declared elected. Professor Bestor announced that Professor Wesley Frank Craven of Princeton will serve as chairman of the Nominating Committee in 1955, and he reported that the additional enclosure in the 1954 ballot to obtain suggestions from members for nominees had produced numerous nominations. The report of the Nominating Committee was accepted without dissent.

For the information of members of the Association the Executive Secretary reported upon the following actions of the Council: The report of the Committee on Committees together with specific indication of new committee members; the appointment of Professor John Hicks of the University of California to the Board of Editors; the election of Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago as delegate to the Social Science Research Council, of Professor Fred Harrington of the University of Wisconsin as representative to *Social Education*, and of Boyd C. Shafer as delegate to the International Congress of Historical Sciences; the selection of the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, and the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis as the places for the 1955 and 1956 meetings; the appointment as program chairman for 1955 of Professor Oron Hale of the University of Virginia and of Dean Elmer Kayser of George Washington University as local arrangements chairman; the election of Dexter Perkins, Edward C. Kirkland, Helen Taft Manning, and Sidney Painter to the executive committee of the Council; the decision to use the words "meeting jointly with" instead of "affiliated" when referring to groups meeting with the Association; the continuation of the special committee for the *Guide to Historical Literature*; approval of voluntary contributions for a bust of J. Franklin Jameson to be placed in the National Archives; the recommendation that the job register be continued; the future appointment of a committee of five to recommend a panel of names, if requested, for the Harmsworth Professorship at Oxford University; the recommendation that the American Council of Learned Societies continue its personnel studies in the field of history.

For the Committee on Teaching, the chairman, Sidney Painter, summarized its recommendations, which the Council had endorsed, for the establishment of a Historical Service Center. It was pointed out that the Council had approved the

appointment, through the customary method, of a permanent committee on teaching.

Without discussion the Business Meeting approved (the second required time) an amendment to the Constitution giving free membership to those who have held membership in the Association for fifty years; it adopted a resolution supporting the American Council of Learned Societies in its request for foundation aid for its general expenses, and a resolution supporting the work of the National Historical Publications Commission.

Professor Robert Kerner of the University of California presented the annual report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association (to be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1954).

The closing resolution was given by Professor Richard Shryock. It read: Resolved: That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Professor Richard P. McCormick and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the quality and the variety of the offerings they provided; and that the thanks of the Association also be tendered to Professor Bayrd Still and his colleagues on the Committee on Local Arrangements and to all the voluntary workers for their planning, patience, and success in making the arrangements for this meeting.

In accordance with tradition, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson moved adjournment.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

The 1955 annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., December 28-30. Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia is the program chairman, and Dean Elmer L. Kayser of the George Washington University is in charge of local arrangements.

Professor Wesley Frank Craven, Department of History, Princeton University, is chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1955. He will welcome suggestions from members for the offices of Vice-President, two Council members, and two members of the Nominating Committee.

Several teaching members of the Association regularly announce to their advanced classes that student memberships in the Association are available at \$4.00 annually. Last year fourteen students of one professor and eleven of another applied for membership.

From April 1 to February 1, the first ten months of the Association's job register, over 225 historians listed themselves as seeking positions. Many of these were already employed. The Association was informed of about forty positions and sent the names of qualified registrants to the inquiring institutions. By the time this issue of the *Review* appears, over 700 department chairmen will have received postcards reminding them of the existence of this service. It is hoped that

they will pass this information on to those interested and that they will notify the Association of any vacancies in their departments.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received some 4,500 papers of members of the Hale and Everett families of Massachusetts, a gift from Mr. Albert E. Lowmes. The two families were related by the marriage of Nathan Hale, nephew of the Revolutionary War hero, and Susan Everett, in 1816. The largest group in the collection is composed of papers of Nathan Hale (1784-1863). Papers of his son, Edward Everett Hale, date from 1850 to 1900, with most of the correspondence concentrated in the last two decades of this period. The collection also includes a series of letters (1815-40) written by Alexander Hill Everett to his brother, Edward Everett, letters full of information about European and American literary figures and their work.

Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt and Mrs. Merwyn Herbert, daughters of Joseph E. Willard (1865-1924), have presented approximately 25,000 papers of their father and of other members of the Willard family, covering the period from about 1851 to 1924. The early material includes letters of Joseph C. Willard and his brothers, a small amount of diary material for 1862 and later years, and financial papers relating to various business ventures in the District of Columbia in which the Willard brothers engaged. The Joseph E. Willard papers reflect most of his public career: his service in the Virginia House of Delegates (1894-1902), his Spanish-American War service on the staff of Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee in Cuba, and his further service in Virginia as lieutenant-governor and state corporation commissioner. Material for the years during which he was American ambassador to Spain, under President Wilson, includes an extensive personal and diplomatic correspondence.

The papers of the late Kermit Roosevelt have been presented to the Library as a gift from Mrs. Roosevelt. Numbering about 25,000 pieces and covering the period from 1920 to 1938, the papers deal mainly with the operation of steamship lines. Less in bulk, but no less interesting, is Roosevelt's personal correspondence, including letters from his brother, Theodore, Jr., while he was governor of Puerto Rico and, later, governor general of the Philippine Islands.

A substantial collection of papers of U. S. Senator Key Pittman of Nevada have come to the Library as a bequest of Mrs. Pittman. There are letters and other papers which go back into the period of Pittman's residence in Alaska, 1897-1901, and correspondence relating to his candidacy for and election to the Senate, in which he remained for nearly thirty years. From 1933 to 1940 he served as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and as president pro tempore of the Senate. Copies of many, if not all, of his speeches have been preserved, as have photographs and scattered biographical notes. When the papers have been organized, they will be available for study in the Library's Manuscripts Division.

The papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt as governor of New York, 1929-1932, have been deposited by the State Library at Albany on a permanent loan at Hyde Park. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library will supply microfilm of these papers when requested.

The Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association announces its sponsorship of a project to microprint every existent book, pamphlet, and broadside printed in the United States from 1639 to 1800 (inclusive). The project originated with the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, and is under the editorial direction of Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian. The imprints will be microprinted in the numerical order established in the Evans bibliography and its supplements (Charles Evans, ed., *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and including the Year 1820*). The items in the microprint edition will be edited for title identification, author, imprint and text, and at last will bring together authoritatively the thousands of corrections in the original volumes of Evans, including the exposing of the thousands of the "ghost titles" or editions which never in reality existed, but which arose from errors in other bibliographies or from misunderstanding of advertisements. The project will extend over a period of ten years at a cost to each subscriber of \$750.00 a year, total cost not to exceed \$7,500.00. For the first time, these major sources for the study of early American history will become available at a very low cost.

The Historical Division of the Department of State reports considerable progress during the last year in the publication of the series "Foreign Relations of the United States" and "Documents on German Foreign Policy." Eleven volumes in the first series have appeared during the year: five each for the years 1936 and 1937, and a volume on the Far East for 1938. Special priority is being given to the volumes on the World War II conferences of heads of government, and on China for 1942-1950. Several of the conference volumes are expected to be published in the coming year. The volumes on China are scheduled to follow the publication of the Far East volumes through 1941. Series D, Volume VIII, covering the period September 4, 1939-March 18, 1940, of the "Documents on German Foreign Policy," has appeared this year, and Volumes VI and VII, covering March to September, 1939, are in press in both the German and English editions. The English editions of Volumes IX and X, March-October, 1940, are ready for the printer. The Department of State welcomes the continuing helpful interest of the historical profession in meeting the problems attendant upon the publication of these two series.

The National Historical Publications Commission has published *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* (Government Printing Office, 1954, 50 cents). This reviews past publications of historical nature by the

federal government and proposes an ambitious and needed program for the future. What it envisions is not only publication of documents "about our political and military history but also about our economic, social, and intellectual development." Listed are 361 leaders whose papers should be published and various collections of documents including those of the Continental Congress. The excellent list of published historical documents appended is a useful guide for students, but the mass yet to be published is tremendous.

The Historical Division of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany has issued a *Guide to Studies*. In three years, 1950-53, it has prepared more than thirty separate monographs covering "almost every phase of U. S. post-war interest in Germany." This *Guide*, edited by Guy A. Lee, covers the "end-products" to June 30, 1953.

The National Archives has recently issued four more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 72, *Records of the Wage Adjustment Board*, compiled by Leonard Rapport; No. 73, *Cartographic Records of the United States Marine Corps*, compiled by Charlotte M. Ashby; No. 74, *Records of the Joint Congressional Aviation Policy Board, 1947-48*, compiled by Watson G. Caudill and George P. Perros; and No. 75, *Records of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce: Subcommittee to Investigate Interstate Railroads, 1935-43*, compiled by Albert U. Blair and John W. Porter.

Under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies and financed by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Volume XXII (the second supplemental volume) of the *Dictionary of American Biography* is being prepared. It will include biographies of persons deceased between January 1, 1936, and December 31, 1940. Robert L. Schuyler, professor emeritus of history in Columbia University, is the editor.

The first of a new series of volumes of *American Heritage* appeared on December 1, 1954. Bound in hard covers, a "periodical in book form," it will be published six times a year. Bruce Catton, Pulitzer Prize winner, is the editor.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual meeting December 27-29 at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Papers read at eighteen sessions and two luncheon meetings covered a variety of subjects from medieval through recent history. The following awards were granted for 1954: American history: Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton University Press, 1954); European history: Kenneth Pratt, *The Controversy between the Regular and Secular Clergy at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century*; Pacific history: William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford University Press, 1954); Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award: William Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1900: A Shepherded Migration," *Pacific His-*

torical Review, August, 1954, pp. 227-46. Officers elected for the coming year are: John D. Hicks, University of California, president; Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco, vice-president; John A. Schutz, Whittier College, secretary-treasurer; John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles, managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*; Donald W. Rowland, University of Southern California, Leland Creer, University of Utah, and Herbert J. Wood, Washington State College, councilors. The 1955 annual meeting will be held at the University of California, Berkeley. Theodore Treutlein, San Francisco State College, is the program chairman and Walton Bean, University of California, Berkeley, the chairman of local arrangements.

The Société d'histoire de la Révolution française met at the Sorbonne in November, 1954, to elect a new president to succeed the late Professor Philippe Sagnac. Georges Bourgin and B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch were elected joint presidents. The second number of the new series of the *Cahiers d'histoire de la Révolution française* (see *AHR*, January, 1954, pp. 501-502) will be devoted to the work of Professor Sagnac.

The autumn meeting of the Conference on British Studies was held on Saturday, November 13, 1954, at the New York University Faculty Club. Professor H. L. Beales of the University of London read a paper entitled "The Genesis of Civil Service Reform, 1854."

The Midwest Conference on British Historical Studies was formed at a conference held at the University of Chicago on November 13, 1954. The conference will meet in Chicago once a year, for two days, the first meeting to be held in November, 1955. The officers are: chairman, Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota; secretary, C. L. Mowat, University of Chicago; program committee, Richard Glover, University of Manitoba, W. B. Willcox, University of Michigan, G. L. Mosse, State University of Iowa, R. B. Eckles, Purdue University. All persons interested in belonging to the Conference are invited to send their names, and those of colleagues who might be interested, to C. L. Mowat, University of Chicago.

The first Renaissance Conference of the central states area, Missouri and adjoining states, will be held at the University of Missouri, May 13-14, 1955. Inquiries may be addressed to Lewis W. Spitz, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The (British) Joint Committee of Greek and Roman Societies (Hellenic Society, Roman Society, Classical Association, British School at Athens, British School at Rome) has issued a preliminary notice of a meeting to be held in Oxford, August 4-11, 1955. Among the lecturers will be A. H. M. Jones on the "Unimportance of Trade and Industry in the Roman Empire"; A. N. Sherwin-White on the "First Phases in the Populares-movement"; and J. B. Ward-Perkins on "Con-

stantinople as the New Rome." A detailed program of the meeting will be issued in the spring. Those who are not members of any of the participating societies may obtain programs by applying to the secretary of the Committee, Miss Louise B. Turner, Bayston, Cross Oak Road, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, England.

The Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize for 1954 has been awarded to Clinton Rossiter, professor of government in Cornell University, for his manuscript "Conservatism in America." The Beard Prize, inaugurated by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., in 1951, is offered in even years for a work in political science and in odd years for a work in American history. Professor Rossiter is the first recipient of the prize.

Philip Hughes has been awarded the John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic History Association for his three-volume *The Reformation in England* (Macmillan, 1951-54).

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Frank Freidel, associate professor of history in Stanford University, has accepted appointment to the Harmsworth Professorship of History at Oxford University for the academic year 1955-56.

W. Grafton Neally has been appointed professor of history and government in Adelphi College.

Henry B. Parkes has been appointed visiting professor of history and acting chairman of the department of American civilization in Barnard College.

Stephen B. Barnwell has been appointed instructor in history in Carleton College.

In the fall of 1955 Eric McKittrick and Stanley Elkins will join the staff of the department of history in the University of Chicago as assistant professors. William McNeill, formerly of the college of the University of Chicago, will join the department of history as professor of European diplomatic history.

John J. Murray has been appointed professor of history in Coe College.

Erving E. Beauregard has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Dayton.

Robert H. Woody has been appointed director of graduate studies in the department of history of Duke University.

¹ In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements.

Erwin F. Karner has been appointed assistant professor of history in East Tennessee State College.

Winston Babb has been promoted to associate professor of history in Furman University, Greenville, S. C.

Paul H. Buck, professor of history in Harvard University and formerly dean of the faculty and provost of the university, will assume duties next summer as librarian, Harvard College, and director, Harvard University Library. Professor Buck succeeds Keyes D. Metcalf, who is retiring.

The University of Houston announces the appointments of Edwin A. Miles and Richard D. Younger as assistant professors of history and Robert L. Ganyard and Ronald Drew as instructors.

H. Hale Bellot, who has held the Commonwealth Fund Chair of American History in the University of London since 1930, retires at the close of the current session. His successor is H. C. Allen, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford, who will take up his duties in October.

Esson M. Gale, who has retired from the directorship of the International Center at the University of Michigan, where he has also served at various times on the history and political science faculties, is completing the English version of the late Henri Maspéro's *La Chine antique*.

Philip Morrison Rice has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science at North Carolina State College, Raleigh.

Jordan E. Kurland has been appointed instructor in history in the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

The Rev. James P. Gibbons, C.S.C., has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Notre Dame.

The department of history of the Pennsylvania State University announces the promotions of Joseph Dahmus, Kent Forster, and Joseph Rayback to professors of history, John DeNovo to associate professor, and Robert Green to assistant professor.

Harvey A. DeWeerd, formerly of the University of Missouri, has joined the staff of the Rand Corporation at its Santa Monica office.

Susie M. Ames has been promoted to professor of history in Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

Mrs. Kathryn Turner has been appointed instructor in history at Rockford College.

Robert Van Niel has been appointed instructor in history in Russell Sage College.

Philip Africa has been appointed chairman of the department of history in Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, succeeding C. Gregg Singer, who has resigned.

Russell E. Planck, assistant professor of history in Seton Hall University, has been named chairman of the committee on graduate studies of the department of social studies.

J. Jean Hecht has been appointed assistant professor of history in Smith College.

Dorothy Churchill Barck, formerly librarian of the New-York Historical Society, has accepted appointment as historic site superintendent at Washington's Headquarters and Museum, Newburgh, New York.

Robert L. Johnson, Jr., has been appointed instructor in European history in West Virginia University.

Helmuth H. Haeussler has been appointed instructor in history in Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

Hajo Holborn of Yale University will be Fulbright Professor of Political History in the University of Vienna during the coming summer.

RECENT DEATHS

Charlotte Touzalin Muret, an associate of the department of history in Barnard College for eighteen years until her retirement in 1953, died November 25 in Lausanne, Switzerland, at the age of sixty-five. Born in Colorado Springs, Mme. Muret was graduated from Colorado College. She went on to Columbia University, where she took a Ph.D. degree in modern European history. Her dissertation, published in 1934, was *The French Royalist Doctrine since the Revolution*. She contributed many articles and reviews to a variety of journals and collaborated with Denis de Rougemont in a study of Switzerland, *The Heart of Europe* (1941). In the interwar years she lectured widely on European affairs, and during World War II her New York home was a gathering place for many scholars and statesmen.

Ferdinand Schevill, professor emeritus of history at the University of Chicago, died in Tucson December 10, 1954, aged eighty six. He graduated from Yale in 1889 and received his Ph.D. from Freiburg in 1892. He was a junior member of the distinguished faculty gathered by President Harper when the new University of Chicago opened in October, 1892. Schevill thus became one of the Americans who were bringing the scholarly traditions of the European universities to the United States, at a time when few American universities except Johns Hopkins were giving rigorous graduate discipline. Presently he was helping to make the history department at Chicago an outstanding training school for scholars and teachers.

In 1896, with Oliver Thatcher, he published *Europe in the Middle Ages*, widely used as a text. In 1899 appeared his *A Political History of Modern Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day*. Constantly revised and rewritten to include more economic and cultural material and renamed *A History of Europe from 1500*, the volume became one of the most popular undergraduate texts.

Schevill's interest in and sympathetic understanding of Renaissance Italy was revealed in his *Siena* (1909). His *Making of Modern Germany* in 1916 contributed to a more dispassionate understanding of the background of the First World War. His humanistic interest appeared again in his brief biography of his brother-in-law Karl Bitter, the sculptor (1917). There followed his timely *History of the Balkan Peninsula* (1922, revised 1933).

After retiring in 1924 he returned to the campus in 1930 to organize and head the general course in the humanities in the new Chicago College program. After retiring again in 1935 he completed his *History of Florence* (1936), probably his most important work. In 1947 was published his *Great Elector*, and in 1949 his final book, *The Medici*. In 1948 he was an exchange lecturer at Frankfurt.

His historical output was significant and widely useful, but his many students and friends remember him most affectionately as a vivid, many-sided, and truly humane personality.

Charles L. Sherman, professor of history and political science at Amherst College, died December 22 at the age of sixty. He received the A.B. in 1917 and the Ph.D. in 1928 from Harvard University. After teaching Greek and Latin at Ohio Wesleyan, 1920-1922, and at Harvard, 1923-1929, Dr. Sherman went to Amherst in 1929 as associate professor of Latin. In 1933 he shifted to the department of political science, and in 1940 was named professor of history and political science. His published writings are in the history of political thought.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

David Dowd has indicated to me that the reference to his *Pageant Master of the Republic* on page 25 of my article "Iconoclasm during the French Revolution" (*AHR*, October, 1954) gives a misleading impression of his position on "revolutionary vandalism." Although we differ somewhat in our interpretation of this subject, we have found that we are closer together than my reference would seem to show. Those interested in a fuller exposition of Professor Dowd's interpretation are invited to read pages 78-93 in his book.

Michigan State College

STANLEY J. IDZERDA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of the book *German History: Some New German Views*, edited by H. Kohn, in your October issue writes: "In trying to shift the responsibility

for modern mass movements and therefore for Hitler to the West . . . Gerhard Ritter is extremely vulnerable." I never and in no way tried to shift the responsibility for Hitler to the West. Furthermore it is surprising for me to learn from this review that Meinecke, Schnabel, Hofer and other revisionist German historians regard me "as their principal opponent." Meinecke and I were the first ones after the great catastrophe of 1945 who began to revise the traditional picture of German history—in nearly total agreement, political and personal. Who has misunderstood so totally the real German situation: the reviewer or the editor of the book?

Freiburg im Breisgau

GERHARD RITTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Ritter's *cri du coeur* notwithstanding, I find no reason in his *Die Dämonie der Macht und Europa und die Deutsche Frage* to disagree with Kohn's view that Ritter attributes National Socialism (and therefore Hitler) essentially to the influence of Western nationalist ideas and to the spirit of mass democracy which derived from the French Revolution (and the Industrial Revolution). This is also J. A. Rantzau's conclusion in "The Glorification of the State in German Historical Writing," which Kohn reprints in translation from *Die Sammlung*, May, 1950. Rantzau's extensive critique is proof enough that German "revisionist" historians do, in fact, regard Ritter as their principal opponent. I did not, of course, single out Meinecke, Schnabel, and Hofer in this connection.

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of *The Dutch Colonial System* (*AHR*, October, 1954, p. 112) simply disregards the true nature of my book. He deplores that I have followed a chronological approach, though it should have been apparent to any instructed reader that my book is a historical or rather an economic historical one, the object being to *explain* as far as possible the historical development. For this purpose, the book gives an introductory analysis of the forms of cultivation, especially new as far as shifting cultivation is concerned. On this basis an interpretation is given of the historical development which throws new light e.g. on the well-known tribute device, the Culture System. The book, moreover, does not restrict itself to the colonies but tries to elucidate the interrelationships in economic policy and development of motherland *and* colonies. All this is simply disregarded by the reviewer who narrows the range of his review to those subjects which he has occupied himself. Being a reviewer myself, I have an understanding for this thankless work and I am the last to complain of criticism. Neither do I expect the reviewer to share my views, which I still maintain, but I feel it incumbent upon a reviewer to give the readers a true picture of the book in question.

The Hague, Holland

J. J. VAN KLAVEREN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

That Mr. van Klaveren's book is an economic historical study is clear from the first paragraph of my review. I reiterate that the basic problems of colonial

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Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley

SIDNEY FINE

WRITING in the *Outlook* of August 10, 1901, just one month prior to the assassination of President William McKinley, the newspaper correspondent Francis H. Nichols noted that since the assassination of King Humbert of Italy by the anarchist Bresci the question had been many times asked in the United States as to whether the nation's government and the President were themselves secure from anarchist attack.¹ Few though they were in number in the United States in the closing decades of the nineteenth century,² the anarchists, as Nichols suggests, were viewed with alarm by the American community. Anarchism was regarded as "the most dangerous theory which civilization has ever had to encounter," and the anarchist ranks, it was thought, were filled by common criminals and psychopaths

¹ Nichols, "The Anarchists in America," *Outlook*, LXVIII (Aug. 10, 1901), 863.

² The historian Herbert L. Osgood thought that there were probably not more than ten thousand anarchists of all types in the United States in 1889. If anything, this estimate exaggerated anarchist strength. The grand jury impaneled to consider the Haymarket bombing reported that it had learned that the total number of anarchists in the United States who could be considered dangerous was less than one hundred and probably not more than forty or fifty. Osgood, "Scientific Anarchism," *Political Science Quarterly*, IV (March, 1889), 30; Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair: A Study in the American Social-Revolutionary and Labor Movements* (New York, 1936), p. 229.

who were prepared to resort to fire and the sword to subvert the social order and to murder public officials.³

In part, the American fear of anarchism was based on a lack of understanding as to the real nature of the anarchist doctrine. American writers on the subject of anarchism commonly failed to discriminate between individualist anarchists, who were, for the most part, native in origin and believed in free competition and private property (insofar as this term applied to the "total product of a given individual's labor"), and communist anarchists, who arrived late on the American scene, were generally of Russian or German origin, and favored the "collective autonomous commune." Of greater importance, there was little recognition of the fact that violence was not an integral part of the anarchist doctrine and that although some, but by no means all, communist anarchists advocated the use of force to overthrow the state, the individualist anarchists placed their faith in education and passive resistance and were unequivocally opposed to the propaganda of the deed.⁴ "When we speak of the 'anarchist,'" Carl Schurz declared, "we mean to designate with that name a human being who is in a general way the enemy of all that exists, and who seeks to overthrow it by any means, however criminal and atrocious."⁵ Gustavo Tosti conceded that a few anarchists were guilty of nothing more than "speculative intoxication," but these doctrinaires, he insisted, were scattered among "a mob of desperate criminals," and the anarchist theory itself was simply an "impulsive suggestion to crime."⁶

The popular view of anarchism and anarchists was the product to a considerable extent of a series of spectacular acts of violence perpetrated by, or attributed to, anarchists in Europe and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Europe, following the death in 1876 of Michael Bakunin, redoubtable advocate of pan-destruction, social-revolutionary and communist-anarchist leaders concluded that action was more

³ See, for example, Richard T. Ely, "Anarchy," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXVII (Dec. 23, 1893), 1226; Jno. Gilmer Speed, "Anarchists in Hard Times," *Outlook*, XLVIII (Nov. 11, 1893), 840-41; Carl Schurz, "Murder as a Political Agency," *Harper's Weekly*, XLI (Aug. 28, 1897), 847; Gustavo Tosti, "Anarchistic Crimes," *Political Science Quarterly*, XIV (September, 1899), 404, 412-17; and Ernst Victor Zenker, *Anarchism: A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory* (New York, 1897), pp. iv-v.

⁴ On the nature of anarchism, see James J. Martin, *Men against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908* (De Kalb, Ill., 1953), pp. 4-7, 277-78; Eunice Minette Schuster, *Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism*, Smith College Studies in History, XVII (Northampton, Mass., 1931-32), pp. 87-92, 158-63; Zenker, p. 306; Osgood, pp. 18-30; and Victor S. Yarros, "Individualist or Philosophical Anarchism," in William D. P. Bliss, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (new ed.; New York, 1908), pp. 41-45.

⁵ Schurz, "Murder as a Political Agency," p. 847.

⁶ Tosti, "Anarchistic Crimes," pp. 413-14.

important than words in making known the aims of anarchism and in arousing a "spirit of insurrection" and thus in preparing the masses for revolution. The propaganda of words came to be overshadowed by the propaganda of the deed, with the result that the bloody acts of anarchists "became the talk and, to a degree, the terror of the world." Anarchist violence in Europe reached its height in the last decade of the nineteenth century when Vaillant attempted to dynamite the French Chamber of Deputies and President Carnot of France, Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo of Spain, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, and King Humbert of Italy all lost their lives to anarchist assassins.⁷

In the United States social revolutionaries who were gravitating in the direction of communist anarchism found a leader in 1882 when Johann Most arrived in this country from England. Most was at the time an uncompromising advocate of the propaganda of the deed and was soon to author a pamphlet with the horrendous title, *Science of Revolutionary Warfare: A Manual of Instructions in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, etc., etc.* With Most taking the lead, the social revolutionaries met in congress in Pittsburgh in October, 1883, established the International Working People's Association, and issued a manifesto calling for the "Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action."⁸ It seemed to many Americans that the anarchists had indeed gone over to the attack when on May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded in Chicago's Haymarket Square killing one policeman and wounding seventy others, of whom six eventually died. Eight Chicago anarchists who were members of the I.W.P.A. were indicted for this act of murder, and, although the bomb-thrower was not identified, all eight were found guilty.⁹

More than any other event the Haymarket affair conditioned Americans to equate anarchism with violence and murder. As the historian of Haymarket has noted, this incident of terror fixed in the American mind the stereotype of the anarchist as "a ragged, unwashed, long-haired, wild-eyed fiend, armed with smoking revolver and bomb—to say nothing of the dagger he sometimes carried between his teeth."¹⁰ The popular image of the anarchist became even sharper at the time of the Homestead strike of 1892 when

⁷ Paul Eltzbacher, *Anarchism*, trans. Steven T. Byington (New York, 1908), pp. 132-38, 178-79; Robert Hunter, *Violence and the Labor Movement* (New York, 1914), pp. 47-60, 77-87; David, *Haymarket Affair*, pp. 62-68.

⁸ David, pp. 54-107; Charles A. Madison, *Critics and Crusaders: A Century of American Protest* (New York, 1947), pp. 166-68.

⁹ David's *Haymarket Affair* is by far the best account of this subject.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 528. See also Martin, *Men against the State*, pp. 3-4, 6, 9; and Madison, pp. 169-70.

the Russian-born communist anarchist Alexander Berkman shot and stabbed Henry Clay Frick in a futile effort to call attention to what the assailant regarded as the wrongs of capitalism and the unfortunate plight of the workingman.¹¹ It mattered not that individualist anarchists deplored these acts of violence, that not all communist anarchists approved the use of force, and that even Johann Most in 1892 repudiated the propaganda of the deed in a country such as the United States.¹² To many Americans at the turn of the century it appeared that the crazed adherents of anarchism, however few their number, would stop at nothing to achieve their revolutionary ends.

The worst fears of Americans as regards anarchism seemed to be confirmed when on September 6, 1901, President William McKinley was fatally shot by a professed anarchist, Leon F. Czolgosz.¹³ The assassin signed a confession in which he stated that he had killed the President because he regarded it as his duty to do so. He informed doctors who examined him that he had studied anarchism for several months, that he did not believe that there should be any "rulers," that he understood perfectly well what he was doing when he shot the President, and that he was willing to take the consequences.¹⁴

Although the assassin's connections with anarchism were of the most tenuous sort and although insanity rather than anarchism may have prompted his actions,¹⁵ there was a general disposition among a public conditioned to think of anarchism in terms of Haymarket and Berkman's attack on Frick to hold anarchism itself responsible for the death of the President and to view Czolgosz as but the instrument of an alien and noxious doctrine

¹¹ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (1-vol. ed.; New York, 1934), pp. 87-88.

¹² *Freiheit*, Aug. 27, 1892.

¹³ McKinley was operated upon less than an hour after he was shot, staged a brief recovery, but died on September 14. For accounts of the assassination, see Louis L. Babcock, "An Account of the Assassination of President McKinley and the Trial of Czolgosz," *Buffalo Historical Society Museum Notes*, I (September-October, 1931), 2-12; Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (Boston, 1916), II, 313-33; and Robert J. Donovan, "The Man Who Didn't Shake Hands," *New Yorker*, XXIX (Nov. 28, 1953), 88 ff.

¹⁴ Babcock, pp. 10-11; Vernon L. Briggs, *The Manner of Man That Kills: Spencer-Czolgosz-Richeson* (Boston, 1921), pp. 242-46; *New York Daily Tribune*, Nov. 3, 1901.

¹⁵ The doctors who examined Czolgosz at the time declared that he was sane, but the more extensive investigations conducted by Doctors Channing and Briggs after Czolgosz' execution suggest insanity as a more likely explanation for the crime. The subject is discussed in the following: Carlos F. MacDonald, "The Trial, Execution, Autopsy and Mental Status of Leon F. Czolgosz, Alias Fred Nieman, the Assassin of President McKinley. With a Report of the Post-Mortem Examination by Edward Anthony Spitzka," *Journal of Mental Pathology*, I (December, 1901-January, 1902), 185-94; Briggs, pp. 332-39; Walter Channing, "The Mental Status of Czolgosz, the Assassin of President McKinley," *American Journal of Insanity*, LIX (October, 1902), 268-78; Charles Hamilton Hughes, "Medical Aspects of the Czolgosz Case," *Alienist and Neurologist*, XXIII (January, 1902), 49; G. Frank Lydston, *The Diseases of Society* (5th ed.; Philadelphia, London, 1908), pp. 253-54; Allen McLane Hamilton, *Recollections of an Alienist, Personal and Professional* (New York, 1916), pp. 363, 365-66. For Czolgosz' ties with anarchism, see Briggs, pp. 284-85, 299, 316-22; Channing, pp. 245-52; Goldman, *Living My Life*, pp. 289-91; and *Cleveland Press*, Sept. 7, 1901.

that regarded assassination as a legitimate weapon to employ against government and constituted authority.¹⁶ It was therefore deemed necessary not merely to try and to execute the assassin,¹⁷ as was promptly done, and to apprehend those who might have conspired with him, but to take action against resident anarchists in general, since they were all, in effect, accessories to the crime.

Buffalo police authorities let it be known soon after Czolgosz was apprehended that they were quite certain that fellow anarchists had aided him in the planning and execution of the crime.¹⁸ Suspicion immediately centered upon Emma Goldman, the high priestess of the communist anarchists, and the group of Chicago anarchists associated with the publication of *Free Society*, the leading English-language communist-anarchist periodical in the United States. Czolgosz had heard Emma speak in Cleveland on May 5, 1901, and had been so impressed with her that he had sought her out in Chicago and had spoken to her briefly on July 12, 1901, as she was leaving the city. Miss Goldman introduced him to some of her Chicago anarchist friends, including Abe Isaak, Sr., editor of *Free Society*. Isaak invited Czolgosz to his home and promised to find him lodgings and a job but was unable to comply with his request for funds.¹⁹ Although this was the last either Miss Goldman or Isaak saw of Czolgosz and although Isaak apparently came to suspect Czolgosz as a possible spy and so informed the readers of his journal on September 1, 1901, five days before the attack on McKinley, Buffalo authorities nevertheless suspected them of complicity in the assassination and requested their arrest.²⁰

On the night of the assassination Chicago police arrested Abe Isaak, Sr., his wife, his son, and his daughter, and five other Chicago anarchists. All were charged with conspiracy to kill the President, although only Isaak Sr.'s

¹⁶ See, for example, *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1901; *Philadelphia Press*, Sept. 16, 19, 1901; *Literary Digest*, XXIII (Oct. 5, 1901), 391; *Public*, IV (Sept. 28, 1901), 388; George Gunton, "Can We Stamp Out Anarchy?" *Gunton's Magazine*, XXI (October, 1901), 349-50; Murat Halstead, *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley Our Martyred President* (n.p., 1901), pp. 98-99, 257; *Review of Reviews*, XXIV (October, 1901), 389; Theodore L. Jouffroy, "Warnings and Teachings of the Church on Anarchism," *Catholic World*, LXXIV (November, 1901), 203; and Charles P. Neill, "Anarchism," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXVII (January, 1902), 173, 178-79.

¹⁷ For accounts of Czolgosz' trial, see *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 24, 25, 1901; MacDonald, "Trial of Czolgosz," pp. 181-84; and Halstead, pp. 450-61.

¹⁸ *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1901; *Detroit News-Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1901; *Detroit Evening News*, Sept. 11, 1901.

¹⁹ Goldman, *Living My Life*, pp. 290-91; *Free Society*, Oct. 6, 1901; Channing, "Mental Status of Czolgosz," pp. 247-51; Briggs, *Manner of Man That Kills*, pp. 316-19. In her Cleveland speech, Emma denied that anarchists favored violence but declared that she did not wish to condemn too severely the crimes which some anarchists had committed because of the high motives that had inspired these crimes. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 6, 1901.

²⁰ *Free Society*, Sept. 1, Oct. 6, 1901. Czolgosz was not mentioned by name in the September 1 warning.

arrest had been requested by Buffalo. The following day the number of prisoners was raised to twelve with the arrest of three more anarchists then residing in Chicago. The prisoners were arraigned on September 9, 1901; the men were remanded for ten days without bail, and the women, of whom there were three, were first allowed to bail and then later in the day released.²¹

The bag of anarchist prisoners in Chicago was increased by one on September 10 with the arrest of Emma Goldman. Miss Goldman had been in St. Louis when news arrived that McKinley had been slain, that her Chicago friends were under arrest, and that she herself was wanted by the Chicago police for alleged participation in a conspiracy to assassinate the President. Apparently deciding to give herself up, Emma entrained for Chicago, arrived there on September 9, and was apprehended the following morning.²²

Miss Goldman was arraigned on September 11, but bail was refused her pending a decision on a plea for writs of habeas corpus already initiated by attorneys for the Chicago anarchists. Hearings on the latter matter and on the conspiracy charge were several times postponed, chiefly because of the failure of Buffalo authorities to supply any supporting evidence. Bail was eventually fixed on September 18 at \$15,000 for the Isaak group and at \$20,000 for Emma. The hearings on the conspiracy charge were finally held on September 23, but since the Buffalo police had been unable to produce any evidence of conspiracy or to find any grounds for requesting extradition, the prisoners had to be released.²³

In addition to the arrest of the Chicago anarchists and Emma Goldman, the theory that McKinley had been assassinated as a result of an anarchist conspiracy led to the apprehension of Antonio Maggio, Carl Nold, and Harry Gordon. Maggio was rumored to have predicted some time prior to Czolgosz' act that McKinley would be assassinated by October 1, 1901. After the assassination, Maggio was arrested in the territory of New Mexico by a United States marshal and bound over to a federal court on a charge of conspiracy to murder, but he was subsequently released.²⁴ Gordon and Nold were arrested in Pittsburgh on September 9 on request from Buffalo. Gordon had been Emma Goldman's host when she had visited Pittsburgh late in August, 1901, and Carl Nold was not only an associate of Emma's but had previously been imprisoned for complicity in Alexander Berkman's

²¹ Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 7, 8, 9, 10, 1901; *Free Society*, Oct. 6, 1901.

²² Goldman, pp. 295-304; Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 11, 1901. Emma claimed in her autobiography that she had planned to give the Chicago *Tribune* an exclusive interview for \$5,000 before giving herself up and expected to use the money to fight the case. Goldman, p. 298.

²³ Goldman, pp. 305-11; Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 12, 13, 14, 19, 24, 25, 1901; *Free Society*, Oct. 6, 1901.

²⁴ Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 10, 13, 15, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 9, 13, 14, 1901, Apr. 13, 1902.

attack on Frick. Both men were released on September 11 for lack of evidence.²⁵

Because Czolgosz' deed served to make an always unpopular doctrine still more unpopular, even anarchists who were not suspected by police authorities of actual participation in a conspiracy to assassinate McKinley were placed in a difficult position. Most prominent among the anarchists who although not charged with any direct complicity in the President's assassination nevertheless felt the sting of the law as its consequence was the fiery communist anarchist, Johann Most. Most, who had several times been jailed both in Europe and America for his revolutionary utterances, was this time the victim of an embarrassing coincidence. In the September 7 issue of his journal, *Freiheit*, an issue which had been printed on September 5 and distributed on September 6 several hours before the assassination, he had included as filler material a piece entitled "Mord contra Mord" (Murder against Murder) which consisted of extracts from articles published in 1849 by the German revolutionary Karl Heinzen in which the latter accepted tyrannicide as the "chief means of historical progress." "The greatest of all follies in the world," the *Freiheit* extract declared, "is the belief that there can be a crime of any sort against despots. . . . Despots are outlaws . . . to spare them is a crime. . . . We say murder the murderers. Save humanity through blood, poison and iron." Most, who had used Heinzen's articles as filler material before, noted parenthetically that the views therein expressed were "still true today."²⁶

When Most learned of the assassination of McKinley, he ordered the withdrawal from circulation of the issue of *Freiheit* in question; but a few copies had already been sold, and Most's troubles had begun. He was arrested on September 12 and jailed and four days later was ordered by a New York City police court magistrate to stand trial in the Court of Special Sessions.²⁷ Within a few days Most was back in jail, this time having been arrested at a picnic on a charge of inciting to riot. The complaint was dismissed, however, when it turned out that the only evidence in the possession of the prosecution was a large red flag seized at the place of the arrest.²⁸

Exonerated of one charge, Most now had to stand trial for his publication of the Heinzen article. He was charged with the violation of Section 675

²⁵ Philadelphia Press, Sept. 12, 1901; Chicago Tribune, Sept. 10, 12, 1901.

²⁶ Freiheit, Sept. 7, 1901; Morris Hillquit, *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life* (New York, 1934), pp. 123-25; Rudolf Rocker, *Johann Most: Das Leben Eines Rebellen* (Berlin, 1924), pp. 401-403; Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-1880)* (Chicago, 1945), pp. 73-75.

²⁷ Freiheit, Sept. 21, 1901; Hillquit, p. 125; New York Daily Tribune, Sept. 13, 14, 15, 17, 1901.

²⁸ Freiheit, Sept. 28, Oct. 5, 1901; New York Daily Tribune, Sept. 24, 30, Oct. 1, 3, 1901.

of New York's penal code, a catch-all section which made it a misdemeanor to commit an act which "seriously" disturbed "the public peace" or "openly" outraged "public decency" and for which no other punishment was provided in the code. Most's attorney, the socialist Morris Hillquit, argued that the Heinzen piece was directed against kings rather than against the elected officials of a democracy, that it was over fifty years old, and that it had been reprinted many times. His client's freedom of the press, he insisted, was being abridged by the application of the vague terms of Section 675.²⁹

Unimpressed by Hillquit's argument, Justice Hinsdale on October 14 sentenced Most to one-year imprisonment on Blackwell's Island. The justice pointed out that Section 675 was applicable to the teachings of anarchy, which he defined as "the doctrine that the pistol, the dagger and dynamite may be used to destroy rulers." It was unnecessary, Hinsdale asserted, to prove any connection between the publication of the article and the assassination of McKinley: the offense was the same as if the latter had never occurred since the advocacy of crime was in itself a crime irrespective of whether there was any connection between the advocacy and an overt act.³⁰

The decision of the lower court was upheld on appeal by both the appellate division of the Supreme Court³¹ and the Court of Appeals. Speaking for the Court of Appeals, Justice Vann argued that the article in question "held forth murder as a duty and exhorted . . . readers to practice it upon their rulers." "The courts," Vann added significantly, "cannot shut their eyes to the fact that there are elements in our population, small in number but reckless and aggressive, who are ready to act on such advice and to become the assassins of those whom the people have placed in authority." The justice also pointed out that although the New York constitution guaranteed the freedom of the press, it specifically exempted abuses of this right and certainly did not authorize the publication of articles like the Heinzen piece.³² Sentence was pronounced on June 20, 1902, and thus a chain of events whose most important link was the assassination of McKinley by an avowed anarchist ended in the imprisonment for one year of Johann Most.³³

²⁹ Hillquit, pp. 125-27.

³⁰ *People v. John Most*, 16 N. Y. Crim. Reports (1903), 105-11; *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1901.

³¹ *People v. Most*, 71 App. Div. N. Y. 160 (1902); *Freiheit*, Apr. 19, 1902.

³² *People v. Most*, 171 N. Y. 423 (1902), 428-32. "Most was convicted," Hillquit wrote, "not so much because of the fortuitous and ill-timed reprint of the hoary Heinzen article as for his general anarchist propaganda." Hillquit, p. 127.

³³ Before the Court of Appeals handed down its decision, Most once again found himself in the toils of the law. At a farewell meeting called in his honor, he applauded the anarchist William McQueen's attack on government in general and the United States government in particular. He was arrested when the meeting was over but was released three days later. *Freiheit*, May 10, 1902; Rocker, *Most*, p. 413; *Free Society*, May 18, 1902.

Anti-anarchist sentiment also made itself felt in the Pacific Northwest, where the object of disapprobation was the small anarchist colony of Home, in Pierce County, Washington. Following the President's assassination, Tacoma newspapers directed a storm of abuse at the little colony, and it appeared for a time as if steps would be taken to destroy it. The Tacoma *Ledger* equated anarchy with crime and assassination and refused to print a letter from James F. Morton, one of the leading figures of the colony and the editor of its journal, *Discontent*, which set forth the peaceful character of the individualist anarchists. In a front-page headline of September 11, the Tacoma *Evening News* asked the question, "Shall Anarchy and Free Love Live in Pierce County?" and, as if to answer this query, a Loyal League was formed in the county whose announced object was "the annihilation of anarchists and Anarchism."³⁴

Although violence was avoided, Home Colony was nevertheless subjected at this time to a series of petty persecutions by public authorities which must be viewed in the light of the prevailing sentiment as regards anarchism. Shortly after the assassination the federal government, in two separate actions, brought several members of the colony to trial for violation of the Comstock Act;³⁵ and, in addition, postal authorities took steps to impede the dissemination of the colony's journal. Efforts in the latter direction culminated in the abolition of the Home post office on April 30, 1902, and in the forced suspension of further publication of *Discontent*.³⁶

The desire of Pierce County inhabitants to purge the anarchists from their midst was shared by the residents of the little coal-mining town of Spring Valley, Illinois, which numbered some three hundred to five hundred anarchists among its population of seven thousand and according to at least one Chicago newspaper was "the banner anarchist city of the United States."³⁷ Like most of the town's inhabitants, the anarchists were Italian in origin and, like many of the foreign-language anarchist groups in the United States, accepted violence as a legitimate method of furthering the anarchist cause. Their organ, *L'Aurora*, extolled Czolgosz' deed, and *L'Aurora's* editor, Ciancabilla, hailed Czolgosz as a martyr. This was more than Spring Valley's nonanarchist inhabitants could bear, and it was therefore

³⁴ E. E. Slosson, "An Experiment in Anarchy," *Independent*, LV (Apr. 2, 1903), 779-85; *Discontent*, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1901; Tacoma *Evening News*, Sept. 11, 1901. Morton was a *summa cum laude* graduate of Harvard and the grandson of the Rev. S. F. Smith, author of "America."

³⁵ As amended in 1876 the Comstock Act provided penalties for sending through the mails printed materials or pictures of an indecent character.

³⁶ For the details with respect to these matters, see *Discontent*, Nov. 13, 20, Dec. 18, 1901, Jan. 1, Mar. 19, 26, Apr. 23, 30, 1902; and *Lucifer*, Aug. 7, 1902. Home was without an official journal until March 11, 1903, when the *Demonstrator* made its first appearance.

³⁷ (Chicago) *Sunday Inter Ocean*, Sept. 29, 1901.

decided at a mass meeting of September 21 to suppress *L'Aurora* and to drive its editor from town. After the meeting a delegation went to wreck the offices of the journal only to find that the equipment had been removed to one of the nearby coal mines. A few days later Ciancabilla was ordered to leave the community, but he refused to do so. However, he was arrested on September 27 by a United States deputy marshal on a charge of publishing lottery advertisements in his journal and thereby violating postal regulations. He was jailed when unable to provide \$5,000 bail and was eventually fined \$100. Pressed for funds, *L'Aurora* was forced to suspend publication, and its editor went to work for *Free Society*.³⁸

Throughout the United States in the days and months after McKinley's assassination anarchists were made the objects of vilification and abuse and sometimes of outright violence. On the night of September 15 a band of thirty armed men raided the anarchist settlement of Guffey Hollow, Pennsylvania, and forced twenty-five anarchist families to leave the area.³⁹ The same night a mob attacked the office of the New York Yiddish-language anarchist organ, *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, did considerable damage to property, and caused those present in the office to flee for their lives.⁴⁰ Cleveland police suppressed the meetings of the Liberty Association, the anarchist group before which Emma Goldman had delivered the speech that Czolgosz claimed had influenced him.⁴¹ The Ithaca *Journal* advised inhabitants of Ithaca to boycott Henry Bool, a well-to-do local furniture dealer and individualist anarchist, and both the *Journal* and the Ithaca *Daily News* refused to print communications from Bool which set forth the nonviolent character of individualist anarchists. "We all hold you in the highest esteem and believe you to be absolutely honorable and honest in your convictions," the business manager of the *Daily News* informed Bool, "but the public pulse, at the present time, will not stand anything in the line of the doctrine of anarchy."⁴²

In Rochester, where Emma Goldman's family resided and where Emma was an occasional visitor, Justice Davy of the New York Supreme Court ordered a grand-jury investigation of the city's one hundred anarchists and directed that "every person found to be a member of the local society was

³⁸ *Ibid.*; *Free Society*, Oct. 6, Dec. 22, 1901; *Discontent*, Jan. 1, 15, 1902; Halstead, *McKinley*, p. 77; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 16, 22, 28, 1901.

³⁹ Halstead, p. 83; *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 18, 1901.

⁴⁰ *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, Sept. 20, 1901, Feb. 16, 1901.

⁴¹ *Free Society*, Dec. 29, 1901; *Freiheit*, Dec. 14, 1901.

⁴² Henry Bool, *Henry Bool's Apology for His Jeffersonian Anarchism*, pp. 4-12, 25; M. M. Dayton to Bool, Oct. 8, 1901, Bool Papers, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. See also Bool to George E. Priest, Nov. 2, 1901, *ibid.*; and Steven T. Byington to Bool, Nov. 9, 1901, Byington Papers, Labadie Collection.

to be indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the government." After considering the matter, however, the grand jury reported that it had not obtained sufficient evidence to justify bringing in any bills of indictment, but it recommended continuation of the investigation.⁴³ The Newark Excise Board, after an incident involving two anarchists in a local saloon, decided not to award any licenses to anarchist establishments and to revoke licenses granted to establishments that permitted anarchists to congregate on their premises and to demonstrate against government.⁴⁴ The anarchists Charles Martino and Mrs. Quintevalli were driven from their homes in Union Hill, New Jersey.⁴⁵ The mayor of Paterson, New Jersey, residence of a numerous colony of Italian-born anarchists, and the chiefs of police of such cities as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia announced that they were prepared to "go to the extreme lengths of law" in dealing with the "reds."⁴⁶

Accepting the doctrine of guilt by family association, the landlord of Czolgosz' family in Cleveland ordered his tenants to move, and the Cleveland *Leader* demanded that the assassin's father, who had a city job digging water trenches, be fired.⁴⁷ Even as late as May, 1903, when Theodore Roosevelt was visiting Los Angeles, the police, on the advice of the Secret Service, arrested John Czolgosz, Leon's brother, and kept him in custody until the President left the city.⁴⁸

Although anarchists bore the brunt of the resentment engendered by Czolgosz' assassination of McKinley, they were not the only ones to suffer the wrath of the public. The socialists in particular were subjected to considerable annoyance,⁴⁹ a fact which is probably accounted for by the tendency of the unthinking to identify socialism with its ideological opposite, anarchism. As a Baptist clergyman wrote to the anarchist Henry Bool: "Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists are all one to the general public,—and all enemies of the present social order as they regard it."⁵⁰ Quite apart from ideological factors, all persons who made derogatory remarks about the

⁴³ *Literary Digest*, XXIII (Oct. 5, 1901), 391; New York *Evening Post* (semi-weekly edition), Oct. 31, 1901.

⁴⁴ New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 16, 17, 19, 1901; Halstead, *McKinley*, pp. 83-84, 92.

⁴⁵ New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 18, 1901. The mayor of Cliffside Park, New Jersey, ordered Mrs. Bresci, the wife of Humbert's assassin, to move from the area but after consulting legal authorities reconsidered his decision. *Ibid.*; Philadelphia *Press*, Sept. 20, 1901.

⁴⁶ New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 7, 8, 10, 11, 24, 1901; Halstead, *McKinley*, pp. 77-79; Philadelphia *Press*, Sept. 10, 15, 1901; New York *Evening Post* (semi-weekly edition), Sept. 9, 1901.

⁴⁷ New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1901; *Public*, IV (Sept. 28, 1901), 386.

⁴⁸ New York *Daily Tribune*, May 8, 9, 1903.

⁴⁹ For evidence on this point, see *Worker*, Oct. 6, 1901; Philadelphia *Press*, Sept. 10, 22, 1901; Detroit *Evening News*, Sept. 16, 1901; *Discontent*, Oct. 2, Nov. 27, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 14, 18, 21, 1901; New York *Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 26, 1901; and Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 10, 1901.

⁵⁰ R. T. Jones to Bool, Nov. 5, 1901, Bool Papers.

martyred President in the weeks after the assassination were likely to find themselves in trouble.⁵¹

The attacks on individual anarchists did not, of course, dispose of "the monster of anarchy," popularly viewed as the real cause of the President's death, any more than did the trial and execution of the President's assassin. There was, however, no lack of suggestions as to how this problem might be met. The solution most frequently proposed in the months after the assassination was the exclusion from the United States of anarchist immigrants, a proposal based on the erroneous but widely held assumption that anarchism was not indigenous to the United States and one which overlooked the obvious fact that the President's assassin was native born.⁵² The corollary of the thesis that immigrant anarchists be excluded was the strongly held view that anarchists already in the United States (many advocates of this idea would have included citizens as well as aliens) be banished, preferably to some Pacific island.⁵³ It was also proposed that assaults on the president and other high-placed federal officials should constitute a federal offense regardless of where perpetrated, should be punished more severely than assaults on private persons, or should be regarded as treason, that a detail

⁵¹ The newspapers of the time are replete with evidences of this fact. Two of the more important persons who were affected were Detroit's single-tax advocate, Tom Bawden, and Maryland's Senator Wellington. Bawden was arrested on September 10 and fined for a speech in which he declared: "He [Czolgosz] is one of the many throughout the country who know that they are oppressed. I wish to God that there were a lot more just such men in the country." *Detroit Evening News*, Sept. 11, 17, 1901. Senator Wellington's remark that he was "totally indifferent in the matter" of the assassination brought his expulsion from the Union League Club of Maryland and inspired a demand that he be expelled from the Senate. *Literary Digest*, XXIII (Sept. 21, 1901), 337-38. A particular object of criticism after the assault upon McKinley was the Hearst press. Hearst's *New York Journal* had been exceedingly reckless in its criticisms of McKinley ever since 1896, and at times it appeared even to sanction assassination as a means of ridding the country of the President. A boycott of the Hearst papers was declared by many groups after the assassination. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950* (rev. ed.; New York, 1950), pp. 540-41; *McKinley the Martyr: Extracts from Mr. Hearst's Papers* . . . (n.p., n.d.). The apogee of folly amidst the general hysteria following the attack on the President was attained by the Virginia Constitutional Convention, which on September 17, 1901, decided to omit the guarantee of free speech contained in the Virginia Bill of Rights in good part because of its belief that it was the right of free speech that had led to the death of the President. Cooler heads eventually prevailed, however, and the section in question was restored. *Nation*, LXXIII (Sept. 26, 1901), 235-36.

⁵² *Public Opinion*, XXXI (Sept. 19, 26, 1901), 360, 390; *Literary Digest*, XXIII (Sept. 21, 1901), 335; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1901; *Philadelphia Press*, Sept. 9, 12, 1901; *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 8, 9, 10, 1901; *Chicago Post*, Oct. 28, 1901; *Boston Globe*, Dec. 12, 1901; Halstead, *McKinley*, p. 107; Lew Wallace, "Prevention of Presidential Assassinations," *North American Review*, CLXXIII (December, 1901), 723-24; *Gunton's Magazine*, XXI (October, 1901), 302-304, 353.

⁵³ *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., p. 216; "An Anarchist Experiment Station," *Independent*, LIII (Nov. 7, 1901), 2661-63; Andrew D. White, "Assassins and Their Apologists," *ibid.*, LIV (Aug. 21, 1902), 1990; Halstead, *McKinley*, pp. 100-101; *Public Opinion*, XXXI (Sept. 19, 26, Dec. 19, 1901), 360, 390, 781-82; *Literary Digest*, XXIII (Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 1901), 335, 391; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 7, 11, 1901; *Philadelphia Press*, Sept. 10, 1901; *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 23, 1901; *Boston Globe*, Dec. 12, 1901.

of secret-service men be assigned to guard the president, that the law deal severely with those who by the spoken or written word advocated violence and the assassination of public officials or urged the overthrow of the government by force, that anarchist publications be banned and anarchist meetings suppressed, that anarchist assassins be made to suffer cruel and unusual punishments or even be subjected to lynch law, that anarchism be treated by international agreement as piracy, and that anarchists be subjected to "police control."⁵⁴ Few indeed were the persons who distinguished between philosophical anarchists and anarchists who advocated the use of force and between anarchist thought and anarchist crime, who protested proposed curbs on anarchists which trenched on constitutional guarantees, and who castigated Americans who seemed ready to barter away the essentials of freedom in the interests of security against a minor and temporary danger.⁵⁵

It remained for Congress, and such state legislatures as saw fit to act, to transform suggestions into legislation and to devise appropriate measures for dealing with anarchism and particularly with its more violent manifestations.⁵⁶ The opening shot in the campaign of the federal government to cope with the problem presented by the assassination of McKinley was fired by the nation's new president, Theodore Roosevelt, in his first message to Congress. Roosevelt, who believed "that we should war with relentless efficiency not only against anarchists, but against all active and passive sympathizers

⁵⁴ Eugene Wambaugh, "The Nation and the Anarchists," *Green Bag*, XIII (October, 1901), 461-62; S. C. T. Dodd, "Congress and Anarchy: A Suggestion," *North American Review*, CLXXIII (October, 1901), 433-36; Edgar Aldrich, "The Power and Duty of the Federal Government To Protect Its Agents," *ibid.*, CLXIII (December, 1901), 746-57; George C. Holt, "The Defects of the United States Criminal Law," *Independent*, LIII (Sept. 26, 1901), 2282-85; Wallace, "Prevention of Presidential Assassinations," pp. 723-26; J. M. Buckley, "The Assassination of Kings and Presidents," *Century*, XLI (November, 1901), 142; Arthur T. Pierson, "The Spirit of Anarchy and the Weapon of Assassination," *Missionary Review of the World*, XXIV (November, 1901), 803; "Anarchism and the Law," *Independent*, LIII (Sept. 12, 1901), 2187-89; "Anarchy and Its Suppression," *Harper's Weekly*, XLV (Oct. 5, 1901), 997; *Educational Review*, XXII (October, 1901), 321-22; "Anarchism—Its Cause and Cure," *Outlook*, LXIX (Oct. 5, 1901), 253-54; *Gunton's Magazine*, XXI (October, 1901), 304-305; *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 8, 9, 11, 12, Oct. 16, 18, 1901; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 23, 24, 26, 29, Oct. 5, 16, 1901; *Philadelphia Press*, Sept. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 1901; *Chicago Post*, Oct. 28, 1901; *Detroit Evening News*, Sept. 16, 1901; *Boston Globe*, Dec. 12, 1901; *Public Opinion*, XXXI (Sept. 12, 19, 26, 1901), 324, 359-60, 390; *Literary Digest*, XXIII (Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 1901), 335-36, 391-93; *Nation*, LXXIII (Sept. 26, 1901), 235; Robert A. Pinkerton, "Detective Surveillance of Anarchists," *North American Review*, CLXXIII (November, 1901), 609-17; Secretary of the Treasury, *Annual Report on the State of the Finances for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902* (Washington, 1902), p. 52.

⁵⁵ Particularly noteworthy as a deplorer of the popular hysteria was Louis F. Post, editor of the single-tax journal the *Public*. See, for example, *Public*, IV (Sept. 14, 21, 28, Oct. 12, 1901), 353-55, 371, 388-94, 422-24. Moderate views were also expressed by the social gossamers R. Heber Newton, Washington Gladden, and Lyman Abbott; by Illinois' former governor, John Peter Altgeld; by the editor of the *Arena*, B. O. Flower; and by such journals as the *New York Evening Post*, the *Detroit Evening News*, the *Nation*, and the *Chautauquan*.

⁵⁶ For earlier attempts by Congress to deal with the problem of anarchism, see J. C. Burrows, "The Need of National Legislation against Anarchism," *North American Review*, CLXXIII (December, 1901), 727-45.

with anarchists,"⁵⁷ declared that McKinley had been killed "by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike." Both the advocates of anarchy and the apologists for anarchism were, he insisted, "morally accessory to murder before the fact." Roosevelt suggested to Congress that it exclude from the United States anarchists who extolled assassination and that it deport alien anarchists who espoused this view. The federal courts, he recommended, should be given jurisdiction over attempts on the life of the president or officials in the line of presidential succession, and he thought that even unsuccessful attempts should be severely punished. Roosevelt also proposed that treaties be drawn up making anarchy an offense against the law of nations similar to piracy and the slave trade.⁵⁸

The Fifty-seventh Congress was confronted not only by the recommendations of the President but by a multitude of anti-anarchy bills presented by its own membership. Debate was however confined to the Ray Bill in the House and the Hoar Bill in the Senate. The former provided the death penalty for persons who killed the president, vice-president, those in the line of presidential succession, and ambassadors of foreign countries accredited to the United States while these officials were performing their official duties, or because of their official character, or because of their "official acts or omissions." Attempts to accomplish the above were to be punished by not less than ten years' imprisonment. Persons who aided, incited, or conspired with anyone to perpetrate such deeds were to be deemed principal offenders, and accomplices after the fact were to receive sentences of from one to twenty-five years. Fines and imprisonment were stipulated for persons who advocated or justified the killing or assaulting of public officials. Persons who disbelieved in or who were opposed to "all organized government," or who were members of organizations entertaining such beliefs, or who advocated the killing of public officials because of their official character were not to be permitted to enter the United States, nor were they to be naturalized.⁵⁹

The Hoar Bill was of somewhat narrower scope than its House counterpart. It provided the death penalty for persons who willfully killed or attempted to kill the president, the vice-president, any officer upon whom the duties of the president might devolve, or the sovereign of a foreign nation. Persons instigating or counseling such crimes or conspiring to accomplish same were to be imprisoned for twenty years, whereas persons who by the

⁵⁷ Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, Sept. 9, 1901, Elting E. Morison, *et al.*, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1951-54), III, 142.

⁵⁸ Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 24 vols. (memorial edition; New York, 1923-26), XVII, 93, 96-99.

⁵⁹ *House Reports*, No. 433, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 16-18.

spoken or written word threatened to kill or advised the killing of any of the aforesaid were to receive ten-year terms. Accomplices after the fact were to be punished as principals. Further to insure the safety of the president, the measure provided that the secretary of war was to detach officers and men from the regular army to guard the chief executive. The Hoar Bill passed the Senate on March 21, 1902, by a vote of 52 to 15, despite protests from southern senators that to make an assault upon high-placed federal officials a federal offense constituted an invasion of the domain of the states and that to provide greater punishment for such attacks than for attacks upon ordinary persons was to enact class legislation.⁶⁰

The House Committee on the Judiciary, to which the Hoar Bill was referred, found the measure unacceptable. In reporting the bill back to the House on April 4, it preserved only the Senate number of the measure and substituted for the original text the Ray Bill with one new section added. The latter stipulated that in prosecutions under the act for attacks on the president, vice-president, or persons in the line of presidential succession, it was to be presumed, unless the contrary was proved, that these officials were, at the time of the commission of the alleged offenses, engaged in the performance of their official duties. Congressman Ray of New York explained that the Hoar Bill was unconstitutional insofar as it defined and punished as crimes offenses against high officials simply because of their office irrespective of whether they were engaged in the performance of official duties, and that it threatened the nation's liberty by theoretically permitting the secretary of war to assign the entire regular army to the task of guarding the president.⁶¹ Objections in the House to the new version of the Ray Bill were similar to those voiced in the Senate with respect to the Hoar Bill, but the measure passed on June 9, 1902, by a vote of 179 to 38.⁶²

Prompted by its Committee on the Judiciary, the Senate refused to concur in the House amendments to its bill, and the measure had to be referred to a conference committee. The latter's report, which recommended a bill somewhat closer to the House version than to the original Senate measure, was not submitted to the House until February 19, 1903, and to the Senate until four days later. It provided the death penalty for persons who caused the death of the president, vice-president, and anyone upon whom the duties of the presidency had devolved, and a similar penalty for causing the death of foreign ambassadors and ministers accredited to the United States and

⁶⁰ *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1495, 2269, 2275-76, 2288, 2299, 2356, 2428-35, 2483-92, 2907, 2953-63, 2995-3006, 3045-66, 3113, 3115-23, 3126-29.

⁶¹ *House Reports*, No. 1422, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1-12.

⁶² *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3701, 6235-45, 6246-52, 6283-6305, 6332-60, 6361, 6392-6420, 6421-26, 6450-59, 6460-67, 6468-76, 6506-6508.

officials in the line of presidential succession provided they were engaged in the performance of their official duties or were killed because of their official character or duties or because of their official acts or omissions. The measure further provided that any person who aided or advised the killing of the officials named or conspired with any person to this end, as well as accomplices after the fact, should be deemed principal offenders. The remaining sections of the measure were derived from the Ray Bill.⁶³

The conference report was accepted by the House on February 20, 1903, but it ran into difficulties in the Senate. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts asked his colleagues to accept the report without debate, but when the measure was taken up on March 3, 1903, the last day of the session, Senator Bacon of Georgia insisted that it was an altogether different proposal from the one previously considered by the Senate and must therefore be debated at length. Hoar pressed for a vote, but when Senator Teller of Colorado assured him that the measure would not pass, Hoar withdrew his motion, and the measure died. Thus, although the House and Senate had separately approved bills designed to deal with one or another aspect of the problem of anarchy, the two houses, in the press of business during the closing hours of the session, were unable to agree on a compromise measure.⁶⁴

The country was not, however, to be without some congressional legislation on the subject of anarchy. Since there was relatively little difference of opinion in the Congress or in the nation as a whole with regard to the necessity of shutting off the alleged flow of anarchist immigrants, it is not surprising that this legislation took the form of anarchist-exclusion amendments to the immigration legislation. Section 2 of a measure designed to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States, which was passed by the House on May 27, 1902, added to the list of excluded immigrants "anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of all governments, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials." At the instigation of Senator Bacon, the Senate, while retaining Section 2, added to the measure as Section 38 the much more sweeping provisions of the Ray Bill, which excluded not only advocates of the forcible overthrow of government but also persons who disbelieved in or were opposed to all government, or who were members of or affiliated with organizations teaching such views, or who advocated the assassination of public officials because of their official character, forbade such persons to become naturalized, and fined those who aided such individuals either to enter the United States or to become naturalized. It was in this form that the measure ultimately

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6564-65, 6838; *ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., p. 2407.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 2419-20, 2703-2704, 2953, 2956-64.

passed the Congress on March 3, 1903, receiving the approval of the President the next day.⁶⁵

The inability of Congress to agree on legislation for the control of domestic anarchists was not matched by three of the states: New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. New York became the first state to take action when its governor signed into law on April 3, 1902, a measure which struck at criminal anarchy, defined as "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means." It was made a felony punishable by not more than ten years' imprisonment, or by a fine of \$5,000, or both to advocate criminal anarchy by the written or spoken word, to justify assassination so as to advocate criminal anarchy, to organize, or help to organize, or become a member of, or voluntarily assemble with any group formed to advocate such doctrines, and for two or more persons to assemble to advocate or teach such doctrines. It was made a misdemeanor punishable by two years' imprisonment, or \$2,000 fine, or both for the owner or caretaker of a hall or building to permit its use for an assemblage advocating criminal anarchy.⁶⁶

Enacted as a result of pressures stemming from the assassination of McKinley and designed to curb anarchists who were addicted to violence, the New York criminal anarchy law turned out to be of singularly little significance as an anti-anarchist measure. Although there were some abortive attempts to apply it to anarchists in the years after McKinley's death⁶⁷ and although the measure figured in a minor slander suit,⁶⁸ it lay dormant for all practical purposes until it was applied in 1919 not to an anarchist but to a prominent leader of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist party (later Communist party), Benjamin Gitlow, who had published a manifesto advocating the destruction of the existing state and its replacement with a dictatorship of the proletariat. Although Justices Pound and Cardozo of the New York Court of Appeals protested that to advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat was not to advocate criminal anarchy and that the statute in question aimed historically only at the latter, the court ruled that Gitlow was guilty

⁶⁵ *House Reports*, No. 982, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2-3; *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2984, 6014, 6044; *Senate Reports*, No. 2119, 57 Cong., 1 sess.; *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 2805-2806, 2809, 2867-68, 2894-95, 2918-19, 2949-50, 3010-11, 3077; *United States Statutes at Large*, XXXII, 1214, 1221-22.

⁶⁶ Clevenger-Gilbert, *Criminal Law and Practice of New York . . . as Amended to End of Legislative Session of 1948* (Official ed.; Albany, New York, 1948), Penal Law, Article 14, Sections 160-64.

⁶⁷ *Freiheit*, Apr. 12, 26, May 10, 17, 24, 1902; *Free Society*, May 18, 1902; Goldman, *Living My Life*, pp. 390-92, 396.

⁶⁸ *Von Gerichten v. Seitz*, 94 App. Div. N. Y. 130 (1904).

under the terms of the act of 1902.⁶⁹ The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which in a celebrated opinion, Holmes and Brandeis dissenting, upheld the constitutionality of the New York law and maintained that the defendant had not been deprived of the liberty guaranteed to him by the Fourteenth Amendment.⁷⁰

Twenty-seven days after the New York criminal anarchy law was approved, New Jersey responded by legislation to the existing anti-anarchist sentiment by enacting a statute which went further than the New York law in that it struck not only at the advocacy of the overthrow of government by force but also at the encouragement of "hostility or opposition to any and all government." The measure punished by a fine of not more than \$2,000, or imprisonment at hard labor for not more than fifteen years, or both any person who advocated anarchy, as defined, or who belonged to an organization, or attended a meeting, or circulated literature which had this purpose in view. The death penalty or, at the discretion of the jury, life imprisonment was to be imposed on persons who assaulted "with intent to kill and with intent thereby to show his or her hostility or opposition to any and all government," or who incited or aided others to assault, or who conspired to kill the president, vice-president, any official in the line of succession to the presidency, the governor of New Jersey or the chief executive of any state, or the heir apparent or presumptive to the throne of any foreign state.⁷¹

The third and last state to fall in line was Wisconsin, which on May 22, 1903, put into effect a measure modeled almost word for word upon the New York law.⁷² Thus did the attack on McKinley inspire legislation which was to serve as a precedent for the criminal anarchy and criminal syndicalist laws of a later day.

II

The anarchists themselves were far from agreed in their reaction to the President's assassination. Individualist anarchists, as might have been expected, unequivocally condemned Czolgosz' action, disavowed any connection between anarchism and assassination, and insisted that they sought to achieve their objectives by "peaceful persuasion." "It cannot be too emphatically insisted on," declared James F. Morton, "that there is absolutely nothing in the Anarchist philosophy which constitutes, directly or indirectly, an in-

⁶⁹ *People v. Gitlow*, 234 N. Y. 132 (1922).

⁷⁰ *Gitlow v. N. Y.*, 268 U. S. 652 (1925).

⁷¹ *Revised Statutes of New Jersey Effective December 20, 1937*, 4 vols. (n.p., 1938), Title 2, pp. 483-84.

⁷² *Journal of Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Session of the Wisconsin Legislature. In Senate. 1903* (Madison, 1903), p. 1285; *Wisconsin Statutes, 1949* (20th ed.; Racine, n.d.), Ch. 347.14-347.18, pp. 3119-20.

citement to assassination. This is true in the fullest sense, without reservation or equivocation."⁷³

Communist anarchists, on the other hand, were divided in their attitude toward the assassination as toward the question of the use of force in general. Generally speaking, however, they were more inclined to accept Czolgosz' act than were the individualist anarchists and, at the very least, tended to picture the deed as "a part of that great human tide constantly rising against oppression in direct response to natural law." Emma Goldman thus found it possible to "bow in revered silence before the powers" of the assassin's soul, and Kate Austin accepted the assassination "as the supreme protest of a brave and generous heart against 'the curse of government.'" *Free Society* apologized to the assassin for having suspected that he was a spy and, after some equivocation on the subject, concluded that "the logic of revolutionary thought" required anarchists to accept deeds such as that of Czolgosz.⁷⁴ The individualist anarchist Edwin C. Walker justly complained that *Free Society* was "through and through . . . a scarcely-veiled apology for the killing of McKinley."⁷⁵

If anarchists were of different minds in their estimate of Czolgosz' deed, they were united in their opposition to the various proposals put forward after the assassination for dealing with the anarchist problem in the United States. Anarchism, they insisted, could not be stamped out by legislative or administrative fiat, as was being suggested. Since laws and persecution were powerless to kill a real truth, just as they were unnecessary to demolish error, anarchism would survive despite all the measures that might be taken to combat it.⁷⁶ Concentrating increasingly on the free-speech aspects of the problem, anarchists charged that the attack on them was but a prelude to

⁷³ *Discontent*, Sept. 18, 1901. See also *ibid.*, Sept. 25, Oct. 9, 1901; Bool, *Henry Bool's Apology for His Jeffersonian Anarchism; Henry Bool's Creed*, reprint from the *Weekly Ithacan* of Oct. 24, 1901; *Who's Who? A Discussion between an Autocratic Democrat and a Government-by-Consent Anarchist* . . . ; *Free Comrade*, November, 1901; *Lucifer*, Sept. 14, 21, 28, Oct. 31, 1901.

⁷⁴ *Free Society*, Oct. 6, 13, Dec. 8, 15, 1901, Mar. 9, Oct. 12, 26, 1902; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 6, 7, 1901; *New York Daily Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1901. Czolgosz' action is also defended in Jay Fox, *Roosevelt, Czolgosz and Anarchy* (New York, 1902). Most's *Freiheit* reiterated its view that propaganda of the deed should not be employed in countries such as the United States where other kinds of propaganda were still possible to anarchists. *Freiheit*, Sept. 14, 21, Oct. 5, 1901. See also *Down with Anarchists* (New York, 1901), a pamphlet prepared by Most. For criticism of Czolgosz' act by other communist anarchists, see Goldman, *Living My Life*, pp. 323-24 (views of Alexander Berkman), *Philadelphia Press*, Sept. 12, 1901 (views of Carl Nold), *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1901 (views of Oscar Neebe and Lucy Parsons), and *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, Sept. 13, 20, 27, 1901. Emma Goldman was particularly disturbed at the attitude toward the assassination assumed by English-speaking and Jewish anarchists but was satisfied with the reaction of French, Italian, and Spanish groups. Goldman, pp. 316, 318.

⁷⁵ Walker to Bool, Dec. 15, 1901, Bool Papers.

⁷⁶ *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 14, 1901; *Free Society*, Dec. 29, 1901, Apr. 20, June 8, 1902, Mar. 29, Nov. 15, 1903; *Discontent*, Oct. 2, 9, Dec. 18, 1901; *Freiheit*, Nov. 30, 1901, Mar. 15, 22, 1902; *Constitutional Freedom or New Jersey Tyranny Which?* (n.p., [1902]).

efforts to suppress all unpopular views, all expressions of dissent. Americans were urged to resist this tendency and to check any encroachment on the right of free speech.⁷⁷

The anarchists were provided with an opportunity to exploit their free-speech views when the federal government enforced for the first time the anarchist-exclusion sections of its new immigration legislation by arresting the English anarchist and trade-unionist John Turner, who had arrived in New York in October, 1903. A series of lectures was arranged for Turner by American anarchists, the first of which was delivered in New York on October 23, 1903, on the subject of trade-unionism and the general strike. At the conclusion of his address Turner was arrested for having entered the United States in violation of the immigration legislation. Turner was searched, and on his person were found a copy of *Free Society*, a pamphlet prepared by Johann Most, and a schedule of lectures indicating that he was to have spoken on such subjects as "The Legal Murder of 1887" and was to have addressed a mass meeting with Most in commemoration of the hanging of the Haymarket anarchists.

The day following his arrest Turner received an administrative hearing before a board of special inquiry of the Department of Commerce and Labor and was ordered deported. This decision was upheld by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and, on appeal, by the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.⁷⁸

Pending deportation Turner was held at Ellis Island. He was locked in a 9 by 6 foot cage designed for insane immigrants and for a time could be visited only by his counsel and not even by him on a private basis.⁷⁹ Wishing to push the case to the United States Supreme Court, the anarchists, with Emma Goldman taking the lead, asked Turner if he would be willing to remain at Ellis Island while his case was appealed. Turner agreed to remain not, he said, because he thought the case would be decided in his favor but because he believed that public opinion might be sufficiently aroused to bring about the repeal of the legislation in question or to forestall his being deported.⁸⁰

On November 14, 1903, a group of Turner's supporters, several but not all

⁷⁷ James F. Morton, Jr., *Do You Want Free Speech?* (Home, Washington, [1903]); George Pyburn, *The Conspiracy against Free Speech and Press* (New York, 1902); *The Free Speech League, Its Declaration* (n.p. [1902]). These three pamphlets are available in the Labadie Collection.

⁷⁸ *United States ex rel John Turner v. William Williams, Brief and Argument of Appellant* (Chicago, 1904), pp. 4-7; *Free Society*, Oct. 25, 1903.

⁷⁹ *Free Society*, Nov. 29, Dec. 6, 1903; *Demonstrator*, Dec. 1, 1903; *Public*, VI (Feb. 20, 1904), 722.

⁸⁰ *Free Society*, Nov. 22, 1903; Goldman, *Living My Life*, pp. 347-48.

of whom were anarchists, formed themselves into a Free Speech League and assumed direction of his case. The League engaged Clarence Darrow and his partner, Edgar Lee Masters, as counsel for Turner and decided to concentrate its attention on the free-speech aspects of the affair. "The sole question at issue," the League informed the public, "is: Shall the Federal Government be a Judge of beliefs and disbeliefs?" "Tyranny," it declared, "always begins with the most unpopular man or class and extends by degrees: it should be resisted at the beginning."⁸¹

That the anarchists were beginning to win a measure of outside support by playing up the free-speech angle of the Turner case was clearly evidenced when they arranged a mass meeting in New York City's Cooper Union on December 3, 1903, to protest the threatened deportation of John Turner. Although the anarchists had provided the impetus for the meeting, the list of vice-presidents for the affair included such prominent nonanarchists as Felix Adler, Ernest H. Crosby, Henry George, Jr., Franklin Giddings, Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr., Horace White, Carl Schurz, and the Reverend Leighton Williams. Resolutions were adopted at the meeting which protested "so much of the Immigration Law as authorizes the exclusion and deportation of an alien solely because of his opinions" and also the administrative process by which Turner had been seized and detained.⁸² Similar meetings were held in Philadelphia and in Buffalo, and the government's actions were also protested by several labor organizations.⁸³

Criticism of the immigration legislation insofar as it provided for the exclusion of peaceful anarchists was also voiced by some of the leading newspapers and magazines in the country. The New York *Evening Post*, the New York *Daily News*, the New York *World*, the Springfield *Republican*, the *Independent*, and the *Outlook* all argued that in barring aliens from the country because of their opinions alone, the federal government was striking at the vital principle of freedom of speech and freedom of thought.⁸⁴

Criticisms of this sort failed, however, to sway the nation's highest court,

⁸¹ *Free Society*, Nov. 22, 1903; Goldman, pp. 348-49; Free Speech League, *The Imprisonment of John Turner. Free Speech and the New Alien Law* (n.p., 1903). The anarchist Edwin C. Walker had organized a Free Speech League on May 1, 1902, which was closely related to the new League in terms of personnel. See undated pamphlet in the Labadie Collection giving demands and constitution of the 1902 organization.

⁸² *Free Speech and the New Alien Law* ([New York], 1903); *Free Society*, Dec. 13, 1903.

⁸³ *Free Society*, Dec. 13, 20, 1903, Jan. 3, 10, 24, 31, Feb. 7, 1904; *Public*, VI (Dec. 26, 1903, Feb. 13, 20, 1904), 594-95, 717, 723. For the Buffalo meeting, see newspaper clippings in envelope labeled "John Turner Case," Labadie Collection.

⁸⁴ Views of New York *Post* and New York *Daily News* cited in *Free Speech and the New Alien Law*; views of Springfield *Republican* cited in *Demonstrator*, Dec. 30, 1903; New York *World*, Jan. 31, 1904; "Liberty of Opinion Denied," *Independent*, LV (Dec. 10, 1903), 2940-41; *Outlook*, LXXV (Nov. 21, 1903), 678-79; *ibid.*, LXXVII (May 28, 1904), 205-206. But see also *Literary Digest*, XXVII (Dec. 19, 1903), 855-57.

which took up the Turner case on April 6, 1904. In his majority opinion upholding anarchist exclusion, Chief Justice Fuller rejected the argument of Darrow and Masters⁸⁵ and declared that Congress has the power to exclude aliens and to prescribe terms for their entry, that it can deport those who have entered in violation of the law, that it can have executive officers enforce these provisions, and that such action does not deprive aliens of due process of law or of freedom of speech or of the press. Fuller thought that it was not an unjustifiable inference from the evidence in the case that Turner contemplated the use of force to attain his ideals, but he insisted that the act would have been constitutional even if Turner had been merely a philosophical anarchist, because it was to be presumed that "Congress was of opinion that the tendency of the general exploitation of such views is so dangerous to the public weal that aliens who hold and advocate them would be undesirable additions to our population."

In a separate concurring opinion Justice Brewer declared that since it appeared that Turner was an anarchist of the type who sought the overthrow of the government by force, it was unnecessary to consider what his rights would have been were he simply a philosophical anarchist. It is difficult to see how Brewer could have maintained this position in view of the language of Section 38.⁸⁶

With the trial of John Turner and the upholding by the Supreme Court of the constitutionality of the anti-anarchist provisions of the immigration legislation of 1903, the anti-anarchist phase of the assassination of William McKinley was brought to a close. The passions engendered by the assassination had long since been quieted, and now the issue as a whole ceased to be of public interest. Traces of the affair remained only in the legislation enacted by Congress and the states of New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin and in the writings of the communist anarchists who chose to add Leon Czolgosz to their list of anarchist martyrs.⁸⁷

The lot of the anarchist in this country remained a troubled one, however, and when the United States entered World War I the federal government intensified the attack upon anarchism which it had initiated following the assassination of McKinley. Alarmed at the implications of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and overly concerned with the threat to the nation's stability

⁸⁵ United States *ex rel* John Turner *v.* William Williams, *Brief and Argument of Appellant*, pp. 24-187.

⁸⁶ U. S. *ex rel* John Turner *v.* Williams, 194 U. S. 279 (1904), 289-90, 293-94, 296.

⁸⁷ For the martyrization of Czolgosz by communist anarchists, see particularly [Voltairine de Cleyre], *McKinley's Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint* (n.p., [1907]); and the October issues of *Mother Earth* for 1906, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1916. For an expression of individualist anarchist disgust with communist-anarchist martyrization of Czolgosz, see Edwin C. Walker, *Liberty vs. Assassination* (New York, [1906]).

represented by alien radicals, Congress in 1917 and 1918 provided for the deportation of "aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes" and in so doing adopted a solution for the anarchist problem much discussed after Czolgosz' attack on McKinley. Acting under the authority of this legislation, federal officials in late 1919 and early 1920 arrested approximately three thousand aliens for possible deportation. The great majority of this number were apparently communists or suspected communists, but anarchists were also included in the total; and when the *Buford* on December 21, 1919, sailed for Finland and Russia, fifty-one anarchists were among its cargo of 249 deportees. The most prominent of the "Red Ark's" anarchist passengers were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, both of whom had but recently completed jail terms of twenty-one months for violation of the Espionage Act.⁸⁸

Insofar as anarchists had associated themselves with the syndicalist-minded Industrial Workers of the World, they also ran afoul of the criminal syndicalist laws⁸⁹ enacted by various state governments during the war years and immediately thereafter. As a result of this combined assault of state and federal governments between 1917 and 1920, the anarchist movement in the United States was almost completely disrupted; and although the subject of anarchism was to be a factor in the celebrated Sacco-Vanzetti case, anarchism no longer attracted significant public attention after 1920.⁹⁰ The fears which it had at one time inspired had by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century been transferred to the far more serious problem of communism, and it was the communist dictatorship of the proletariat rather than the anarchist propaganda of words or the deed that now seemed to constitute the more important threat to the nation's security.

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⁸⁸ Jane Perry Clark, *Deportation of Aliens from the United States to Europe* (New York, 1931), pp. 216-21; Louis F. Post, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty: A Personal Narrative of an Historic Official Experience* (Chicago, 1923), p. 27.

⁸⁹ Twenty states enacted such laws between 1917 and 1920. Eldridge Foster Dowell, *A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 21. In addition, Massachusetts and Vermont adopted criminal anarchy laws in 1919. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 585, 595.

⁹⁰ Madison, *Critics and Crusaders*, pp. 170-71.

The Ethical Revolt Against Christian Orthodoxy in Early Victorian England

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I

NINETEENTH-century free thought (the Victorians generally called it "Rationalism") made its grand assault on Christian orthodoxy¹ during the twenty years or so following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. It was then that advanced theological liberalism, twice rebuked in the Court of Arches, was twice vindicated by the Privy Council, that Oxford and Cambridge were opened to nonsubscribers to the Thirty-nine Articles, that scholarly clergymen like Leslie Stephen, J. R. Green, and J. E. Thorold Rogers felt it a duty of conscience to resign their orders, and that such stalwart soldiers of truth as T. H. Huxley, John Tyndall, G. J. Holyoake, and Charles Bradlaugh were marching from victory to victory. This was undoubtedly the climax of the story, but there is no need to rehearse it in detail. It is more worth-while to analyze the forces that lay behind it, and this will focus our attention on the two or three decades immediately preceding 1859.

The factors usually cited in explanation of the decline of nineteenth-century orthodoxy are the rise of the concept of evolution as a scientific hypothesis in geology and biology, and of the "higher criticism" in Biblical scholarship. The prevailing impression seems to be (a) that, because Lyell and Darwin had shown that neither the origin of the earth nor the origin of man as described in Genesis can be reconciled with the findings of science, therefore thinking people became atheists or agnostics; and (b) that, because a number of German scholars had shown that neither the Old nor the New Testament can be taken at face value, therefore honest men had no recourse but to abandon Christianity altogether.

Not only is this implausible on the face of it. It has also obscured the fact that the Victorian religious crisis was produced by a fundamental conflict between certain cherished orthodox dogmas (of which the infallibility of the

¹ "Orthodoxy" should be understood here as meaning, not a specific theological position, but the policy of refusing to come to terms with the increasingly secular and meliorist spirit of the age. In the Church of England, it includes Evangelicalism and Tractarianism alike, but excludes the Broad Church; in Dissent, it embraces virtually everything except Unitarianism.

letter was perhaps the least important) and the meliorist² ethical bias of the age. Contemporary developments in geology, biology, and Biblical scholarship provided indispensable ammunition once the attack on orthodoxy was under way, but they did not generate the attack. The attack was generated by a sensed incongruity between a vigorous and hopeful meliorism and the doctrinal legacy of the Christian tradition.

The point is strikingly illustrated in the personal histories of three individuals who achieved a certain notoriety as freethinkers around the middle of the century: Francis William Newman (1805-97), James Anthony Froude (1818-94), and Mary Ann Evans (1819-80). Brought up in the Established Church, all three were, in their youth, deeply in earnest about their religion, and all have left interesting records of the intellectual and emotional experiences that led them eventually to repudiate that religion. All three were gradually and at first unconsciously alienated from their early orthodoxy by a variety of factors that had nothing to do with the question of the literal veracity of Holy Writ. Prominent among these factors, in each case, was a growing repugnance toward the ethical implications of what they had been taught to accept as essential Christian dogma; and the root of their repugnance was their sense of incongruity between this Christian dogma and the meliorist bias of their time. All of them were well advanced on the road to skepticism before they had more than the dimmest notion of the significance of contemporary Biblical scholarship. None of them appears to have read Lyell, and each made his decisive break with orthodoxy from ten to twenty years before the appearance of *The Origin of Species*.

II

Francis William Newman's religious home background, like that of his elder brother, the celebrated John Henry Newman, is best described as one of neutral Anglicanism. John Newman senior, a moderately successful banker with a house in Bloomsbury Square until the post-Waterloo financial panic, is said to have been "an admirer of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson"³ and to have been opposed to the slave trade.⁴ Works ranging from the Quaker Barclay's *Apology* and various Evangelical sermons and

² As here used, "meliorism" refers to the notion, more often taken for granted than expressly stated, that the life of man on this earth both can and should be progressively improved through a sustained application of human effort and intelligence. Because it served as a substitute for the otherworldly-salvation motif that has so dominated the history of Christianity, it tended to bring Christianity itself into question, and to put all forms of orthodoxy on trial.

³ F. W. Newman, *Contributions Chiefly to the Early History of the Late Cardinal Newman* (London, 1891), p. 6.

⁴ Eleanor Ruggles, *Journey into Faith: The Anglican Life of John Henry Newman* (New York, 1948), p. 15.

tracts to the essays of Hume and Paine were not only available in his library but, apparently, read by his sons.⁵ As for Mrs. Newman, we have it on the testimony of both Francis and one of his sisters that she made no attempt to instill in her children any sort of partisan religious bias but simply taught them certain broadly Christian principles.⁶ The Newman home tended to open doors rather than to indoctrinate.

In their teens, however, the boys acquired an intense Evangelical bias from a Reverend Walter Mayers who taught at the school in Ealing where they received their secondary education, and they each took this bias with them when they went up to Oxford.⁷ Evangelicalism, including the modified Calvinism that went with it, must, therefore, be regarded as the point of departure for the intellectually conscious parts of their respective religious pilgrimages.

Part of the driving force behind Francis' pilgrimage was a clash between his radically Protestant temperament and that of his brother, the future cardinal. That he resented the latter's efforts to guide and steer his religious development is shown in two episodes in his career as an undergraduate at Worcester College (1822-26), both recounted by himself in later years:

In the earliest period of my Oxford residence, I fell into uneasy collision with him concerning Episcopal powers. I had on one occasion dropt something disrespectful against bishops or a bishop,—something which, if it had been said about a clergyman, would have passed unnoticed: but my brother checked and reproved me,—as I thought, very uninstruclively—for “wanting reverence towards Bishops.” I knew not then, and I know not now, why Bishops, *as such*, should be more revered than common clergymen; or Clergymen, *as such*, more than common men. In the World I expected pomp and vain show and formality and counterfeits: but of the Church, as Christ's own kingdom, I demanded reality and could not digest legal fictions.⁸

And again:

While I was arranging furniture in my new rooms (1824), I suddenly found a beautiful engraving of the “Blessed Virgin” fixed up. I went to the print-shop and begged its immediate removal, and then learned that my brother had ordered it. I am sure he thought me an ungrateful brother. My own act made me unhappy; yet the more I ruminated, the more I judged that to resist from the beginning was the wisest way.⁹

⁵ Charles Frederick Harrold, *John Henry Newman: An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought, and Art* (London and New York, 1945), pp. 3-4. Also, Ruggles, p. 15.

⁶ Ruggles, p. 25.

⁷ I. Giberne Sieveking, *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman* (London, 1909), pp. 9-10. But also see F. W. Newman, *Early History of Cardinal Newman*, pp. 14-15.

⁸ Francis William Newman, *Phases of Faith: or, Passages from the History of My Creed* (3d ed.; London, 1853), p. 7.

⁹ Newman, *Early History of Cardinal Newman*, p. 18.

Throughout his undergraduate career, Francis strove valiantly not only to walk steadfastly in the light of his Evangelical and Calvinist faith but also to understand that faith. To be sure, he recognized that some mysteries cannot be penetrated by the understanding, but he felt that such mysteries should be frankly recognized as incapable of human statement and not erected into formal creedal propositions. As he remarked concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, ". . . whatever the depth of the mystery, if we lay down anything about it *at all*, we ought to understand our own words."¹⁰ Thus, it is not surprising that all sorts of doubts and enigmas began to arise before him, so that, by the time of his graduation, his "faith," although by no means lost, was visibly coming untied from its intellectual moorings. His bad conscience for having subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles in order to receive his bachelor's degree¹¹ was but an outward sign of a profound change maturing within him.

It is noteworthy that, in his own account of this stage of his development in *Phases of Faith* (which, however, was written a quarter of a century later), he had very little to say about the credibility or incredibility of the Bible. On the contrary, what chiefly disturbed him were the (to him) ethically outrageous implications of such cardinal Christian doctrines as Election, Reprobation, Baptismal Regeneration, and Vicarious Atonement. A good random sample of his perplexities is his reflection on the notion that the blood of Christ atones for sins:

Before long, ground was broken in my mind on a still more critical question, by another Fellow of a College; who maintained that nothing but unbelief could arise out of the attempt to understand *in what way* and *by what moral right* the blood of Christ atoned for sins. He said that he bowed before the doctrine as one of "Revelation," and accepted it reverentially by an act of faith; but that he certainly felt unable to understand *why* the sacrifice of Christ, any more than the Mosaic sacrifices, should compensate for the punishment of our sins. . . . It appeared to him a necessarily inscrutable mystery, into which we ought not to look.—The matter being thus forced on my attention, I certainly saw that to establish the abstract moral *right* and *justice* of vicarious punishment was not easy, and that to make out the fact of any "compensation"—(*i.e.*, that Jesus really endured on the cross a true equivalent for the eternal sufferings due to the whole human race,)—was harder still.¹²

But it was another decade or more before he actually repudiated this or any other doctrine. For a while he was under the influence of John Nelson Darby, one of the originators of the Plymouth Brethren, to whom, however, he refers only as "the Irish clergyman."¹³ In 1830 he went to Baghdad to join a group of Brethren missionaries.¹⁴ His contact with the Moham-

¹⁰ Newman, *Phases of Faith*, p. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

medans seems to have undermined his faith still more, and it certainly broadened him.¹⁵ Upon his return in 1833, he was very coolly received by many of his former friends, including Darby, and also by his family. His brother, who had recently returned from the Mediterranean, took exception to his speaking before religious meetings, apparently on the ground that he was thereby usurping the priestly office.¹⁶ In 1836, still striving to reconcile himself with Christianity, he was immersed as a Baptist, but soon found his new position as a Baptist no more tenable than his former position as an Anglican.¹⁷ If we may trust his subsequent recollection of his state of mind around 1836, he still subscribed to most of the objectionable doctrines but constantly had to mortify both his understanding and his conscience in order to do so:

As to moral criticism, my mind was practically prostrate before the Bible. . . . Against no doctrine did I dare to bring moral objections, except that of "Reprobation." To Election, to Preventing Grace, to the Fall and Original Sin of man, to the Atonement, to Eternal Punishment, I reverently submitted my understanding; . . .

As to miracles, scarcely anything staggered me. I received the strangest and the meanest prodigies of Scripture, with the same unhesitating faith, as if I had never understood a proposition of physical philosophy, nor a chapter of Hume and Gibbon.¹⁸

The actual transformation of his opinions proceeded in stages lasting through most of the 1840's. First, he reviewed and renounced one after another of the ethically offensive doctrines. Again, his treatment of the Atonement will serve as a convenient illustration:

What should we think of a judge, who, when a boy had deserved a stripe which would to him have been a sharp punishment, laid the very same blow on a strong man, to whom it was a slight infliction? Clearly this would evade, not satisfy justice. . . . So, to lay our punishment on the infinite strength of Christ, who (they say) bore in six hours what it would have taken thousands of millions of men all eternity to bear, would be a similar evasion. . . . I shuddered at the notions which I had once imbibed as a part of religion; and then got comfort from the inference, how much better the men of this century are than their creed. Their creed was the product of ages of cruelty and credulity; and it sufficiently bears that stamp.¹⁹

The crucial step, then, was his "shuddering" at his early religion, with the accompanying reflection, "how much better the men of this century are than their creed." Although he had read Paley's *Horae Paulinae* as early as 1827 and had thus learned something of the technique of historical criticism as applied to the New Testament,²⁰ it was not until this time that he ven-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40, 41-42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

tured to take the second step, which was to criticize systematically the claims of the various parts of the Bible to be divinely inspired and verbally infallible; and only after his own investigations were well advanced did he become acquainted with the German higher criticism.²¹ Part of the fruit of his Biblical researches is contained in his *History of Hebrew Monarchy*, first published in 1847. Finally, he decided that what is called "historical Christianity" is not only untenable but quite irrelevant to the effort to approach perfection in moral and spiritual character, which to him was the great end of existence and purpose of Creation. With this last step, we may pronounce Francis Newman a complete freethinker.

There is a sense, however, in which, while he ceased to be a Christian, he never ceased to be a Protestant. If one accepts Troeltsch's view that the distinctive mark of Protestantism is the principle of the "priesthood of all believers," then his whole pilgrimage was, among other things, a Protestant's determined effort to rely solely on his direct and immediate relationship with God and dispense with the intercessory machinery of creeds and sacraments—in other words, to be his own priest. On this basis, he was never more completely a Protestant than at the very climax of his career as a freethinker, and the two books that he produced at this juncture (*The Soul* in 1849, and *Phases of Faith* in 1850) are milestones in the history of Protestant witness.

But, if he was indeed a Protestant at this time, he was also something more. To take the place of the Christianity he had renounced, he worked out a theory of spiritual and moral progress, which is the main burden of *The Soul* and is also implicit throughout *Phases of Faith*. Briefly, he contended that the history of man is a history of the gradual progress of moral and spiritual character, that Christianity represents but one rung, long since passed, on this evolutionary ladder, and (this was implied rather than stated) that British civilization in the nineteenth century was the highest rung yet attained.²² Why did he feel that Christianity is obsolete in modern times?

Those who stick closest to the Scripture do not shrink from saying, that "it is not worth while trying to mend the world," and stigmatize as "political and worldly" such as pursue an opposite course. Undoubtedly, if we are to expect our Master at cockcrowning, we shall not study the permanent improvement of this transitory scene. To teach the certain speedy destruction of earthly things, as the *New Testament* does, is to cut the sinews of all earthly progress; to declare war against Intellect and Imagination, against Industrial and Social advancement.²³

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 169 ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Francis Newman, in a word, was not only a Protestant but also a humanitarian meliorist. Although he continued to believe in a personal deity and in the immortality of the soul (he eventually joined the Unitarians), it was this life and this world that he cared about. He was sooner or later bound to clash with orthodoxy, not only because it seemed to be the product of "ages of cruelty and credulity" but also because its ingrained pessimism about life here below seemed positively obstructive of progress toward a better society and a higher civilization. His "shuddering" at the religion of his youth can be explained only as a revulsion of his Protestant and meliorist conscience. Only when he had become thoroughly alienated from Christianity for ethical reasons did he draw on the idea of evolution and the techniques of scholarship to construct a new theological position.

III

Unlike the Newman brothers, James Anthony Froude was at no time an Evangelical. Before his brother Hurrell came home from Oxford with his head full of Catholic ideas, the Froude home at Dartington Rectory in Devonshire had been dominated by the "high and dry" churchmanship of his father, the archdeacon of Totnes.²⁴ Superficially, the change produced by Hurrell's ascendancy when Anthony was still a boy was scarcely a change at all—merely a rejuvenation of what had always been the High Church point of view. Certainly, the practical, unintellectual archdeacon, who is said to have "upheld the Bishop and all established institutions, believing that the way to heaven was to turn to the right and go straight on,"²⁵ seemed unconscious of any change whatever; and even Hurrell was probably not fully aware of his role as an innovator. But the High Church that arose out of the Oxford Movement is rather distantly related to the High Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both, to be sure, have always insisted on the close observance of liturgical forms and stressed the importance of the sacraments and the Apostolic Succession. But with the old High Church it was at bottom a matter of maintaining the Elizabethan Catholicism-minus-Popery formula as the readiest means of steadying the ship of state, whereas with the modern High Church it has been a matter of maintaining Catholic doctrine for its own sake. Thus, the old High Church was always more patriotic than religious, and hence more Erastian than Catholic; whereas the new High Church earned its original reputation through its resistance to the claims of the state, and has been so far out of tune with English nationalist tradition as to deplore the Reformation and yearn wistfully for its eventual undoing.

²⁴ Herbert Paul, *The Life of Froude* (New York, 1905), p. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

To which High Church, then, did Anthony belong? As a boy, he appears to have been well adjusted to the political and nationalist religion that was the family inheritance. If he was indeed converted to Tractarianism, either by his brother at home or by J. H. Newman at Oxford, it was a conversion of the mind, not of the heart. His heart seems to have remained with that bundle of John Bullish attitudes and prejudices that constituted the old High Church, while his mind, seeking a coherent theology, turned to the new High Church reluctantly and by default. He did not so much participate in the Oxford Movement as hover uncomfortably on its fringes.²⁶ When J. H. Newman asked him to contribute to the *Lives of the English Saints*, he agreed to write a life of St. Neot but, instead of writing it in the spirit of piety and studied credulity that Newman desired, produced instead a quite secular biographical sketch of his subject.²⁷

In 1849 he published *The Nemesis of Faith*, signaling his complete break with Tractarianism and reflecting the growing influence of Carlyle on his thinking. This little narrative essay (he called it a "tragedy") contains, among other things, a penetrating critique not only of the Oxford Movement but also of the state to which Christianity as a whole had been reduced. His skeptical tendency was not lost on the current defenders of orthodoxy, Evangelical as well as Tractarian. The book quickly achieved the signal compliment of being publicly burned by William Sewell in an Oxford lecture hall, and its author resigned his tutorship at Exeter College under pressure.²⁸

Roughly the first third of the volume consists of a series of confidential letters by its protagonist, Markham Sutherland. It seems that Markham was induced by his father and against his better judgment to take holy orders, found not only his position as a clergyman but even his profession of Christianity intellectually and morally untenable, resigned his orders after explaining his difficulties to his bishop, and retired to Lake Como to think it over. In these letters the idea of evolution and knowledge of the higher criticism are plainly evident, but not as motivating forces. On the contrary, Markham was more and more disgusted and horrified at the ethical implications of the same orthodox doctrines that disgusted and horrified Francis Newman. For example, he complained as follows:

No, Arthur, no! I can never teach this. . . . I believe that we may find in the Bible the highest and purest religion—most of all in the history of Him in whose name we are called. . . . But I must have no hell terrors, none of these fear doctrines; they were not in the early creeds, God knows whether they were

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34. Also, Alfred William Benn, *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1906), II, 39 ff.

²⁸ Paul, *Froude*, pp. 47–48.

ever in the early gospels or even passed His lips. He went down to hell, but it was to break the chains, not to bind them.²⁹

Also, when it became necessary to explain his views to his bishop, he did not waste time on fine points of science or Biblical scholarship, but came straight to the main point: the intolerable ethical primitiveness of the vicarious-atonement principle:

I will be candid. I believe God is a just God, rewarding and punishing us exactly as we act well or ill. . . . That each should have his exact due is *just*—is the best for himself. That the consequence of his guilt should be transferred from him to one who is innocent (although that innocent one be himself willing to accept it), whatever else it be, is not *justice*. We are mocking the word when we call it such. . . . To suppose that by our disobedience we have taken something away from God, in the loss of which He suffers, for which He requires satisfaction, and that this satisfaction has been made to Him by the cross sacrifice (as if doing wrong were incurring a debt to Him, which somehow must be paid, though it matters not by whom), is so infinitely derogatory to His majesty, to every idea which I can form of His nature, that to believe it in any such sense as this confounds and overwhelms me.³⁰

Curiously enough, although Froude twice caused Markham to refer to this interpretation of the Atonement as "the Catholic doctrine,"³¹ it was the same doctrine that Francis Newman attacked as typically Calvinist. Was there, then, so broad a gulf between the Catholicism of the Tractarians and the Calvinism of the Evangelicals?

The letters are followed by a little essay purportedly written by Markham in his retirement in the Italian Alps and entitled "Confessions of a Sceptic." This is anything but a defense of skepticism, although it might be described as a sad-hearted commentary on the inevitability of skepticism in modern times. Its initial premise is that religion is at bottom a matter of childhood memories and associations—that is, of the heart, not of the mind. As it grows up in the heart of a young boy, it has little enough to do with theological speculations, and even its obvious ethical anomalies produce no anxiety:

So I was at about sixteen. Young boys take what they are told with readiest acquiescence, and difficulties are easily put away by a healthy mind as temptations of the devil. Cruelties said to have been committed by God's order in the Old Testament never struck me as cruelties; I glided on without notice over the massacres of women and children, much as good sensible people nowadays slide over the sufferings of "the masses;" condensing them into one short word, and dismissing them as briefly as the lips dismiss the sound. If misgivings ever for a moment arose, I had but to remember they were idolaters; and what was

²⁹ J. A. Froude, *The Nemesis of Faith* (London, 1849), pp. 18–19.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69–71.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 72.

too bad for a people so wicked as to be that? I remember thinking it odd that I should be taught to admire Hector, and Aeneas, and Ulysses, and so many of them, when all they were idolaters too. What had we to do with the wisdom of Cicero, when he was as great a sinner as these Canaanites? But I readily laid the blame on the defects of my own understanding, I was sure it was all right; and, though I read Hume and Gibbon, I hated them cordially, only doubting whether they were greater fools or greater knaves. Why an all-knowing God, too, should require us to pray to Him, should threaten to punish us if we did not, when He knew what we wanted better than we knew ourselves; . . . nay, more, why, when as I began to be taught we could not pray without He gave us Himself the wish to pray, and the words to pray in, He yet should be angry with us when we did not do it, when He had not made us wish—this, too, seemed very odd to me, but I dismissed it all as it came, as my own fault, and most likely as very wrong.³²

Inasmuch as Markham is clearly, in this passage at least, Froude's autobiographical mouthpiece, we may reasonably conclude that the seed of Froude's skepticism, although nurtured by the tension between the two High Churches, was planted by his growing youthful awareness of the ethical anomalies of Christian teaching as he had originally received it.

The remainder of the "Confessions" is given over to a review of the whole state of Christianity in the middle of the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on the meaning of the Tractarian movement. First, the Tractarian estimate of the desperate plight of Christianity is sympathetically presented, and Protestantism thus disposed of.³³ Then, in a few exceptionally powerful pages,³⁴ the Tractarian solution is shown to be both impossible and grotesque. The gist of the argument is that the secular spirit of modern civilization was radically hostile to Christianity (Froude had not sat at the feet of John Henry Newman for nothing), and (this is where he broke with Newman) that any attempt to take one's stand on "faith" and forthrightly oppose this modern spirit was merely to clarify matters, and thus make the "nemesis of faith" all the more patent.

But even this is not quite all of Markham's (and Froude's) indictment of Tractarianism. Although he recognized the force of the Tractarian criticism of "private judgment" (Froude never had anything but contempt for Protestant theology), he nevertheless blamed the Tractarians for seeking to undo the Reformation and thus, he felt, subvert the solid virtues and distinctive character of the English nation:

Unquestionably the English were Protestants in the fullest sense of the word; yet, in spite of this unhealthy symptom, the English Church had retained, apparently providentially, something of a Catholic character. . . . The question with the Tract writers was, whether, with the help of this old framework they could

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-54.

unprotestantize its working character, and reinspire it with so much of the old life as should enable it to do the same work in England which the Roman Church produced abroad; to make England cease to produce great men—as we count greatness—and for poetry, courage, daring, enterprise, resolution, and broad honest understanding, substitute devotion, endurance, humility, self-denial, sanctity, and faith. This was the question at issue.³⁵

Here, at last, the old High Church reasserted itself against the new. Even if Christianity itself be the victim, the legacy of the English Reformation must be preserved.

Froude has not favored us with an explicit statement of his practical conclusions, but these may be inferred by contrasting the subsequent careers of Markham (the tragic example to be avoided) and of himself.

Markham, while still residing on the shores of Lake Como, met and fell in love with a lonesome English lady whose husband did not understand her, developed an intense feeling of guilt on account of this love (which, exasperatingly, had never been consummated), and was finally rescued from the very brink of suicide by an English priest and former acquaintance (presumably one of those who had "gone to Rome" with J. H. Newman a few years earlier) who happened to be in the neighborhood. He thereupon broke down completely and recounted the whole story of his religious doubts, freely admitting that in allowing himself to doubt he had sinned. The priest straightway conducted him to an Italian monastery, where he remained for the rest of his days, completely broken in spirit. Being somewhat deficient in most of the Anglo-Saxon virtues enumerated above, he never resolved his dilemma: when at last he died, his doubts were as strong as ever, and likewise his conviction that doubt was sin.

But not so Anthony Froude. Except for *The Cat's Pilgrimage*, published the following year, he rarely reverted to these theological questions. Instead, with an admirable display of "broad honest understanding," he turned without further ado to the more practical aspect of the problem—the upholding of the political and cultural legacy of the Reformation against the subversive wiles of the Scarlet Beast and its English agents. The result, of course, was his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, appearing in twelve stout volumes from 1856 to 1870.

Like Francis Newman, Anthony Froude sensed the incongruity between the otherworldly salvationism of his youth and the this-worldly meliorism of his time. He realized that, in an age as full of promise, or seeming promise, for the progressive amelioration of the condition of man as the nineteenth century, it was idle to tell healthy-spirited men that "the next was the only

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

real world, and this but a thorny road to it, to be trod with bleeding feet, and broken spirits";³⁶ and he shared the sense of outrage, natural to men under such circumstances, at the conception of God suggested by orthodox teaching. But, unlike the younger Newman, he was never a passionate meliorist, complete with a robust belief in the reality of human progress. It seems not to have occurred to him that his contemporaries were "better than their creed." He merely felt that Protestants (especially Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were obviously superior in intellect and moral character to Catholics (especially Irish and Latin Catholics). But, where Francis Newman looked at the ethical anomalies of orthodoxy and recoiled in righteous indignation, Anthony Froude looked at the same anomalies and concluded that Christianity was doomed.

IV

Mary Ann Evans never wrote a personal testament comparable to *Phases of Faith* or *Nemesis of Faith*, but she has left a collection of letters extending from her nineteenth year to the end of her life. In dealing with her, we have a type of source material that is comparatively free from distortion of memory and unconscious self-editing, but one that provides only fleeting glimpses of her religious experiences and reflections. Fragmentary as it is, however, the evidence in these letters confirms our thesis that the higher criticism and the idea of evolution were effective solvents of "faith" only in minds already alienated from Christianity as a system.

Mary Ann's father, Robert Evans, like Newman senior, was a self-made businessman, being the agent for a number of Midland landowners and a much sought consultant on matters of farm management.³⁷ In his practical and conservative temperament, his uncritical loyalty to the Establishment, and his tendency to deprecate both political and religious nonconformists,³⁸ he was a humbler, less arrogant version of Archdeacon Froude. Both he and Mrs. Evans, said to have been the prototype of Mrs. Poyser in *Adam Bede*,³⁹ were conscientious church people, but, lacking bookish tastes and attainments, were innocent of partisan involvement in the theological controversies of their day. The Evans home at Griff in rural Warwickshire, like the Newman home in Bloomsbury Square, got along without benefit of any definite theological orientation, although it also got along without anything approaching John Newman's library.

Consequently, it was not Mary Ann's parents but a Miss Lewis, prin-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³⁷ J. W. Cross, ed., *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals*, 3 vols. (New York, 1885), I, 8-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 3-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 9.

cial governess at the grammar school in Nuneaton, who first indoctrinated her in Calvinistic Evangelicalism.⁴⁰ This influence was continued and deepened at a secondary school in Coventry conducted by the Misses Franklin, where she soon earned a reputation for exemplary piety.⁴¹ From the time of her mother's death in 1836 to the time when she and her father moved to Coventry in 1841, her piety was not only exemplary but anxious. Writing to Miss Lewis in August, 1838, she could "only sigh for those who are multiplying earthly ties which, though powerful enough to detach their hearts and thoughts from heaven, are so brittle as to be liable to be snapped asunder at every breeze," and felt that "those are happiest who are not fermenting themselves by engaging in projects for earthly bliss, who are considering this life merely a pilgrimage, a scene calling for diligence and watchfulness, not for repose and amusement."⁴² In March, 1839, she complained to Miss Lewis of the spiritually harmful effects of fiction reading. Amusingly enough, she exempted from her otherwise sweeping condemnation "standard works, whose contents are matters of constant reference, and the names of whose heroes and heroines briefly, and therefore conveniently, describe characters and ideas," mentioning specifically *Don Quixote*, *Hudibras*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gil Blas*, and the works of Byron, Southey, and Scott!⁴³ As for the rest, however, she inquired, "Have I, then, any time to spend on things that never existed?"⁴⁴

But, while her mentors were cultivating her Evangelical zeal, her reading was setting up in her a subconscious countercurrent. Around the age of eight she is said to have read part of one of the *Waverley* novels.⁴⁵ In view of her assertion in later life that Scott had been the first to unsettle her orthodoxy,⁴⁶ it would appear that her orthodoxy had been undermined before it was established. Scott's influence, of course, is to be attributed, not to his celebrated role as romanticizer of the Middle Ages, but to his catholicity of outlook, his tendency to show that there is no correspondence between a given set of religious beliefs and a given type of moral character. That the point was not lost on her is shown by her comment on the homiletical little tales of the Reverend William Gresley in a letter to Miss Lewis, May 21, 1840:

... they are sure to have a powerful influence on the minds of small readers and shallow thinkers, as, from the simplicity and clearness with which the author,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 19, 113.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 29.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, 36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁴⁵ Edith Simcox, "George Eliot," *Nineteenth Century*, IX (June, 1881), 779.

⁴⁶ Leslie Stephen, *George Eliot* (New York, 1902), p. 27.

by his *beau-idéal* characters, enunciates his sentiments, they furnish a magazine of easily wielded weapons for *morning-calling* and *evening-party* controversialists. . . . But it appears to me that there is unfairness in arbitrarily selecting a train of circumstances and a set of characters as a development of a class of opinions. In this way we might make atheism appear wonderfully calculated to promote social happiness. I remember, as I dare say you do, a very amiable atheist depicted by Bulwer in "Devereux;" and for some time after the perusal of that book, which I read seven or eight years ago, I was considerably shaken by the impression that religion was not a requisite to moral excellence.⁴⁷

This is a revealing letter. From it we may reasonably infer (1) that her "impression that religion was not a requisite to moral excellence," although suppressed, was not eradicated; (2) that, for her, religion had never been an end in itself, but was to be judged according to its tendency to foster or hinder the development of "moral excellence"; and (3) that her criterion of "moral excellence" was its capacity to inspire behavior "calculated to promote social happiness." Anyone who takes such a position is already receptive to any attack on orthodoxy made in the name of a utilitarian or meliorist ethic.

Various other experiences dating from the five years or so prior to her removal to Coventry in 1841 had a similar tendency. For example, her brother Isaac had returned from a school in Birmingham imbued with High Church ideas. Although he never attained the ascendancy over her that John Henry Newman had for a while attained over Francis, or that Hurrell Froude had had over Anthony, he did manage to impress upon her that Calvinistic Evangelicalism was not the only possible approach to religion⁴⁸ and was doubtless responsible for her reading the *Tracts for the Times*.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1840, therefore, she was delighted to come across the earlier installments of Isaac Taylor's *Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrine of the Oxford Tracts*, a learned refutation of the historical part of the Tract writers' case.⁵⁰ Taylor's main argument was that by the fourth century, on which the Tractarians so heavily relied, the Church was already corrupt, and hence that pronouncements from this period had no valid claim on posterity. It occurred to Miss Evans, as it apparently did not to Taylor, that a similar argument might be used to cast a shadow on still earlier pronouncements—for example, on the Gospels. She did not immediately conclude that Christianity had not, in any period of its history, shown itself to be "requisite to moral excellence," but Mrs. John Cash (then in her teens and shortly to become Miss Evans' pupil) subsequently maintained that Taylor's work "had its influence in unsettling her views of Christianity."⁵¹

⁴⁷ Cross, I, 47.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 51.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 52.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 41.

By about 1840 Miss Evans was clearly ripe for a radical change in her religious opinions, but the actual change did not come until toward the end of the following year. Early in November, 1841, she struck up a close intellectual companionship with Charles Bray,⁵² Coventry ribbon manufacturer, phrenologist, atheist, and author of *The Philosophy of Necessity*, the burden of which is that human behavior and character are determined solely by biological and environmental factors. At Bray's prompting, she read Charles Christian Hennell's *Inquiry concerning the Origins of Christianity*, a work that confirmed in her mind the skeptical reflections to which her perusal of Taylor had given rise.⁵³ By the middle of December she had openly renounced Christianity.⁵⁴ In February she wrote to Bray's sister, Mrs. Pears, defining her new position as follows:

Meanwhile, although I cannot rank among my principles of action a fear of vengeance eternal, gratitude for predestined salvation, or a revelation of future glories as a reward, I fully participate in the belief that the only heaven here, or hereafter, is to be found in conformity with the will of the Supreme; a continual aiming at the attainment of the perfect ideal, the true *logos* that dwells in the bosom of the one Father. . . . Good bye, and blessings on you, as they will infallibly be on the children of peace and virtue.⁵⁵

Now, Miss Evans did not first read Hennell, and then conclude that, for purely intellectual reasons, she was obliged to discard her childhood religion; rather, she first began to suspect that neither her own nor any other form of orthodoxy was "requisite to moral excellence," and then was relieved and heartened to discover that the Bible could be convincingly interpreted in a quite unorthodox sense. Again, it was not as though she had first been persuaded that human conduct is more plausibly explained in terms of biological and social conditioning than in terms of a depraved will, and had thereupon exchanged the latter opinion for the former; on the contrary, she first sensed a certain unreality in the Calvinist theory, and consequently was receptive to Bray's alternate theory. Besides, Bray's most important effect on her seems to have been of a different kind. By treating her as a young lady whose opinions and reflections might be of some value, he apparently drew her out and stimulated her to verbalize doubts that had been maturing in her for several years.⁵⁶

Her failure to publish a defense of her new position comparable to *Phases of Faith* or *Nemesis of Faith* was intentional. For one thing, she was convinced that the world was moving in her direction anyway, and

⁵² *Ibid.*, I, 67.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 67-68, 74.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 75.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 77.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 114-15. Also, Charles Bray, *Phases of Opinion and Experience during a Long Life: An Autobiography* (London, n.d.), p. 73.

that "this assuredly will occur without my proselytizing aid. . . ." ⁵⁷ For another thing, she felt that a deliberate dissemination of infidel opinions could only deprive people of the "crutch of superstition" ⁵⁸ that all of us still need occasionally, and that the proper business of an infidel meliorist is "to sow good seed in good (*i.e.*, prepared) ground, and not to root up tares where we must inevitably gather all the wheat with them." ⁵⁹ It was in this spirit and with this constructive object in mind that she later turned to the writing of novels.

At times, however, she was capable of expressing her contempt for the ethical teachings of her former religion in vigorous language. Mrs. Cash recalled that

"On one occasion at Mr. Bray's house at Rosehill, roused by a remark of his on the beneficial influence exercised by evangelical beliefs on the moral feelings, she said energetically, 'I say it now, and I say it once for all, that I am influenced in my own conduct at the present time by far higher considerations and by a nobler idea of duty, than I ever was while I held the evangelical beliefs.'" ⁶⁰

What she chiefly resented, however, was not so much orthodox teaching as orthodox clergymen who liked to scold and sneer at all who presumed to question such teaching. In "Evangelical Teaching: Dr. Cumming" (*Westminster Review*, October, 1855) she singled out a then popular London preacher as a particularly offensive example. The following excerpt deftly puts the finger on the root of the attack on Christian orthodoxy, and shows that in essence it had nothing to do with either science or Biblical scholarship:

Now Dr. Cumming invariably assumes that, in fulminating against those who differ from him, he is standing on a moral elevation to which they are compelled reluctantly to look up; that his theory of motives and conduct is in its loftiness and purity a perpetual rebuke to their low and vicious desires and practice. It is time he should be told that the reverse is the fact; that there are men who do not merely cast a superficial glance at his doctrine, and fail to see its beauty or justice, but who, after a close consideration of that doctrine, pronounce it to be subversive of true moral development, and therefore positively noxious. ⁶¹

V

It remains to relate the experiences of the three individuals considered to their time. For, despite their marked differences in temperament and background, their respective histories indicate a common pattern. In tracing this pattern, it is difficult not to feel that we have identified one of the more important themes in the religious and intellectual history of the Victorian era.

⁵⁷ Cross, I, 76. ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 88. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 89-90. ⁶⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, I, 115.

⁶¹ George Eliot, *Essays*, in *Works of George Eliot* (Boston, n.d.), p. 134.

To begin with, their respective brands of orthodoxy, whether Evangelical or Tractarian, all revolved around the same set of interrelated doctrines—Original Sin, Reprobation, Baptismal Regeneration, Vicarious Atonement, Eternal Punishment. Froude's Anglo-Catholicism and the Calvinism of the younger Newman and Miss Evans were but variations of the same *Weltanschauung*, the focal point of which was that this life is significant only as a preparation for the next.

But "salvationism," as G. B. Shaw has called it, had lost the note of authenticity it had once had. In an earlier age men did not argue that this world is but a vale of tears that must be passed through on the way to eternal bliss or eternal damnation; they felt it and took it for granted. In the age when Francis Newman, Anthony Froude, and Mary Ann Evans were growing up, men often insisted stringently on this point because in their hearts they suspected that it might not be true. Since the late Middle Ages a quite opposite idea had gradually taken hold in men's minds and fired (or seduced) their imaginations—the idea that the world was susceptible to systematic improvement through a sustained application of human effort and intelligence. Meliorism, once an impossible utopian dream, had become for many the most meaningful and satisfying approach to life, and salvationism had been reduced to a self-conscious and openly challenged orthodoxy.

Therefore, when Francis Newman and Miss Evans were inspired by Evangelical schoolteachers and when Anthony Froude was overawed by his brother's Anglo-Catholicism, they were not initiated into an environment of "faith"; they were indoctrinated in what had become a reactionary ideology. Utilitarianism, the Industrial Revolution, the Chartist agitations, the literature of skepticism inherited from the eighteenth century, the propaganda against religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, the various evidences of hostility to the Establishment—all of these things were as much a part of their environment as ever. In such an environment, their theological indoctrination could only call their attention to the incongruity between the theology inculcated and the spirit of the age.

In attempting to reconcile these incongruous elements, they unconsciously appraised theological doctrines in terms of meliorist ethical values (rather than the other way around, as in John Henry Newman's case), and so eventually reached the point of rebelling against these doctrines as ethically outrageous. In doing so, they probably reflected the majority tendency—even during the 1830's when the Oxford Movement was in full swing. In fact, the Tractarians seem to have been much more successful in convincing their countrymen of the necessity of choosing between Christian orthodoxy and

the spirit of the time than in persuading them to choose the former and renounce the latter. As Froude has so clearly shown, there was a note of desperation in the Tractarian appeal that made the cause of Christianity seem ultimately hopeless. This unwitting betrayal of inner weakness played a major part in alienating Froude himself from Christian orthodoxy, although in the cases of Francis Newman and Miss Evans the evidence suggests that it played only an incidental part.

Once this sense of alienation became fixed, it created a need for a substitute *Weltanschauung*. Then, and only then, did they give serious attention to the higher criticism and the idea of evolution. The former encouraged them to challenge the authority of the Bible when it seemed to support orthodox teachings that they could no longer stomach. The latter pointed the way to an interpretation of life more in harmony with the trends and interests of the time.

Now, all three arrived at this juncture within a span of about ten years—Francis Newman, probably in the late thirties; Miss Evans, late in the autumn of 1841; Anthony Froude, possibly not until the middle or late forties. Significantly, this was also the time when the higher criticism and the idea of evolution began to attract popular notice. Lyell had published his *Principles of Geology* in 1830–1833, but it was not until 1844, when Robert Chambers anticipated Darwin with his *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, that evolution became a topic of general interest and anxiety. Similarly, the tendency of German Biblical scholarship had been known to some Englishmen even in Coleridge's time, but produced no general excitement until the appearance of Miss Evans' translation of Strauss in 1846.

In short, it was not until the mid-forties that a sufficient number of people had arrived at precisely that stage of dissatisfaction with the received orthodoxy where they needed to emancipate themselves from it intellectually. In the twenties and thirties, both the evolutionist principle and the higher criticism had been available but, not meeting a widely felt need, had been largely ignored; in the forties and fifties, they were avidly seized upon precisely because they did meet a widely felt need. *Nemesis of Faith* and *Phases of Faith*, appearing respectively in 1849 and 1850, unmistakably suggest that this need emanated from a growing revulsion against the ethical implications of Christian orthodoxy.

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Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism

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THOUGH the literature on nationalism is now extensive,¹ especially with regard to its place in European and American history, it remains an elusive subject, as difficult to define and explain as it is important to understand. And interpretations of it vary widely. Subjective treatments may exalt it in almost religious terms or condemn it as the curse of mankind,² and even objective and scholarly studies are by no means in complete agreement about its nature or its effects.

Nevertheless it is possible, I think, to set down certain points of agreement about nationalism which may be used as a frame of reference for this paper. (1) Nationalism is a relatively recent phenomenon³ which arose first in western Europe as late as the eighteenth century and which has since spread around the world. (2) Nationalism is a mass phenomenon, perhaps propelled at first by a single group or class but in the end affecting all people possessed of a like cultural heritage and inhabiting a rather clearly defined geographical area. (3) Nationalism is preceded by "national consciousness," a growing awareness of and interest in this common cultural and geographical condition, which is usually first observed by intellectuals. (4) Nationalism produces strength, for it brings vigor and unity to the pursuit

¹ This was not the case as late as the 1920's, when Carlton J. H. Hayes undertook pioneer studies in the field; see bibliographical note in C. J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, 1926), pp. 277-79. Since then, of course, much excellent work has been done by Hayes, Hans Kohn, Walter Sulzbach, Karl Deutsch, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (*Nationalism*, Oxford, 1939), and others. Lately there have appeared studies in Asian nationalism, e.g., William L. Holland, ed., *Asian Nationalism and the West* (New York, 1953); Rupert Emerson, "Paradoxes of Asian Nationalism," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, XIII (February, 1954), 131-42. Probably the best studies of Japanese nationalism are those of Masao Maruyama of Tokyo University: "Meiji Kokka no Shisō" (Ideas of the state in the Meiji period), *Nihon Shakai no Shiteki Kyūmei*, ed. Rekishigaku Kenkyū Kai (Tokyo, 1949), pp. 181-236; *Nihon Seiji Shisō shi Kenkyū* (Historical study of Japanese political ideas) (Tokyo, 1952); *Nationalism in Postwar Japan* (Tokyo, 1950); "The Ideology and Movement of Japanese Fascism," *Japan Annual of Law and Politics*, No. 1 (1952), pp. 95-128; and by Delmer M. Brown of the University of California, *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley, 1955). The author is indebted to Professor Brown for use of this study in manuscript, and gratefully acknowledges his reference to it on several important points in this paper.

² Hayes remarks on this in his *Essays*, chapter 8, "Nationalism Curse or Blessing." See Edward Shillito, *Nationalism: Man's Other Religion* (Chicago, 1933) for a sample denunciation, and Masanobu Tsuji, *Underground Escape* (Tokyo, 1952) for an ultranationalist's rationale. M. N. Roy calls Asian nationalism an "unmixed evil." "Democracy and Nationalism in Asia," *Pacific Affairs* (June, 1952), p. 145.

³ See Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1951), p. 3; Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples* (New York, 1947), p. 3; Walter Sulzbach, *National Consciousness* (Washington, 1943), pp. vii, 6, 14.

of common goals. (5) There seem to be, at least, three types of nationalism: (a) revolutionary or popular nationalism (hopeful, enthusiastic, defiant of authority, often violent), which seeks to overthrow an oppressive autocratic or alien rule and establish a self-determined nation whose people rule themselves; (b) liberal or democratic nationalism (responsible, humanitarian, moderate, pacific, tolerant, confident, relaxed), which seeks to maintain the interests of its people but which is anxious for dealings with others, especially trade. At home the open society and vigorous commercial activity become characteristic of this type and its overseas manifestations may include a sort of unconscious imperialism, growing out of trade. A third type (c) is integral or state nationalism (irresponsible, arrogant, intolerant, egocentric, fearful, immoderate, aggressive), which demands strict conformity at home and engages in militant expansion abroad. It is characterized by deliberate irrationality and frantic enthusiasm, and may be rooted in economic insecurity. Its instruments are the army and the secret police.⁴

The question immediately arises whether these are really different types of nationalism or whether they are merely different stages in the process of its development, the last vicious "type" being the climax of a long course of development from the stage of national consciousness.⁵ This "stage" interpretation, of course, would make "liberal nationalism" merely a preliminary sweet dream to the nightmare of integral nationalism. And under it national feeling would stand indicted as incapable of any sustained liberalism, just as under Marxist interpretation "bourgeois" enterprise stands indicted as incapable of any sustained liberal relationship with the working class.

Here we may pose the question whether the case of Japan serves to illustrate such an automatic acceleration of nationalism in a modern state from something good (or neutral) to something very bad indeed. To answer this question the author undertook to look carefully into the nature of nationalism in Japan, but in so doing he quickly became aware of the key role *expansionism* played in the shaping of this nationalism, and of the need to uncover its operative effects and at least some of its roots. Indeed its role

⁴ In formulating these ideas a number of sources were helpful: Royal Institute, Kohn, Hayes, Brown; Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London, 1945); Holland, Maruyama. Hayes in *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931) speaks of humanitarian, Jacobin, traditionalist, liberal, and integral nationalism. But the first he calls a "prototype." The others except "traditionalist" are clearly represented in these definitions, and "traditional nationalism" would seem to have some similarity to what I call "official" state nationalism later in this paper. In Hayes see especially p. 305. Royal Institute combines "revolutionary" and "liberal" nationalism in one type and differentiates this from an "aggressive" state type (pp. 330-34). Brown uses the terms "confident" [liberal?] and "fearful" [aggressive?] (pp. 5, 148, 199). Holland uses the terms "struggling," "flexible and progressive," and "ossified" to describe types of nationalism (pp. 3-4).

⁵ Royal Institute, pp. 331-32.

seemed crucial enough to justify inclusion of the word "expansionism" even in the title of this article.

Turning first to the vocabulary of nationalism, we find that the Japanese have rather more precise terms than we do. They have three words for nationalism, which, if used carefully, can render needless the long series of adjectives which I have employed to make the three types intelligible. These words are *minzoku shugi*, *kokumin shugi*, and *kokka shugi*,⁶ each translatable as nationalism. *Shugi* in each case is simply "ism," but what is the difference between *minzoku*, *kokumin*, and *kokka*? The striking thing about *minzoku* is that there is no country in it. There are people (*min*) and clan, relations, type, sort (*zoku*), thus people of a like type, a race, a people. *Minzoku* is used in *minzoku jiketsu shugi* (principle of national self-determination); and national consciousness is *minzoku ishiki*. Clearly *minzoku* is our type (a) nationalism.

Kokumin combines country (*ko*) and people (*min*), one would presume in happy combination (liberal nationalism).

In *kokka* there is country (*ko*), but there are no people, hence *kokka* means literally national house,⁷ or pigs under a national roof,⁸ and it is not surprising that ultranationalism, literally "nation-almighty-ism" (*kokka bannō shugi*), should stem from *kokka shugi*.

Despite the understanding of nationalism implicit in their terminological description of it, the Japanese have been victims of its workings. How has this happened? Is Japan in fact an all too ominous example of the "natural" course of nationalist development whether European, Asian, or for that matter American,⁹ through successive stages from national consciousness, through revolutionary and liberal nationalism, to integral nationalism. Superficially, at least, this would seem to be true, if we dismiss, as it seems we must, the idea that Japan was somehow unlike other modern nations peculiarly nationalistic from ancient times, because of a combination of factors—the god-emperor concept, a fierce sense of loyalty, geographical isolation, *bushidō*, and so on. In spite of the fact that modern Japan's ultranationalists liked to believe this and that most prewar Japanese historical writings took it for granted, it is not so.¹⁰ In spite of the island setting,

⁶ A nationalist is usually a *kokumin shugisha*.

⁷ Brown suggests also "kingdom house" as perhaps the earliest meaning of this term (p. 10).

⁸ The character *ka* (also read *uchi*) is actually a humble word, its reference being to *my* house, not yours. It is composed of Chinese radical no. 152 (pig) under radical no. 40 (roof). The arrogant use of this humble concept by extreme nationalists is itself an interesting, if unconscious, comment on nationalism.

⁹ Hayes in his *Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* finds that "integral nationalism is far advanced among us [Americans]" (p. 320).

¹⁰ Brown seems to me to point clearly to this conclusion. (See below notes 11 and 12.) Postwar Japanese students of nationalism do point to certain "peculiarities" in the develop-

the emperor system, the blatant preachings of Nichiren (1222-1282), the "national" history of Chikafusa (ca. 1340), the nationalistic-sounding letters of Kanenaga to the Ming court (1370's), the ambitious schemes of Hideyoshi (1590's), the writings of the Mito school (from 1660) and Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), and the antforeignism of the Imperial party (1854-1867), there was at most "national consciousness" in Japan before 1868. And this had only recently become articulate among the few intellectuals who rediscovered the "old literature."¹¹ As Delmer M. Brown says, "We sometimes forget that the powerful outside clans of Tokugawa Japan were more like independent states than part of a united nation."¹² Certainly the divisive forces of pre-1868 Japan, whether the barriers be horizontal (feudal classes), or vertical (the fiefs), were much too strong to allow the development of nationalism.

Could we say then that, from late Tokugawa national consciousness, we have emerging revolutionary nationalism which in 1867-1868 ousted the old Tokugawa regime, then ended feudalism, then worked toward representative government in Japan and toward making *la patrie* strong and rich, safe from foreign encroachments. Accomplishing this by 1900 Japanese nationalism would then enter the stage of liberal nationalism, confident, proud, yet welcoming foreigners and evaluating foreign ideas, expansive—with the Japanese merchant marine plying the sea lanes of eastern Asia, indeed the whole world, and thousands of Japanese subjects going abroad. Then in the 1930's, with depression, insecurity, fear, comes intolerant, aggressive, integral nationalism. Nationalism had run its "natural" course. Indeed, if this truly represents the Japanese case, will a similar pattern be forthcoming in India, Indonesia, and other Asian states which have recently experienced or are now experiencing revolutionary nationalism?

For Japan, at least, this manifestation of the "stage" interpretation seems to have much to commend it—on the surface. But let us look below the surface to see how well it holds up.

In the first place there was little nationalism in the leadership of the Restoration. Our first inkling of this comes in the nature of the *coup d'état* which ousted the shogun. At its climax in Kyoto in December-January, 1867-1868, we see Chōshū-Satsuma clan representatives, ably abetted by Iwakura of the court, plotting secretly to reject and sabotage the Tōsa proposal

ment of Japanese nationalism. E.g., Maruyama, *Nationalism in Postwar Japan*, p. 6, emphasizes the unusual strength of its feudal, medieval roots. Round-table discussants of the subject, "Patriotism Anatomized," *Contemporary Japan* (January-June, 1951), pp. 98-101, speak of Japan's moving from "egocentrism to aggression in a single leap," unlike Western countries. But the prewar idea that some mystical nationalism pervaded Japan from earliest times (e.g., Kenzo Akiyama, *The History of Nippon* [Tokyo, 1940]) seems abandoned.

¹¹ Brown, pp. 1-90.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

that the Imperial party accept the shogun's resignation but that it unite with the Tokugawa to present an all-Japan united front behind the emperor.¹³ They rejected this in favor of civil war which, indeed, if the Westerners had chosen to make it so, could have been ruinous to Japan's existence as an independent state. Why? Because the leaders of the *coup* were republicans, because they wanted an end to warrior-class rule in Japan? Certainly not. The Restoration itself, far from being a nationalistic revolution, may perhaps be better understood as the successful effort of a new, more up-to-date shogunate, the Hanbatsu oligarchy of Chōshū-Satsuma *samurai*, to seize power in Japan.¹⁴ Having done so in 1868, they made a supreme effort to stabilize themselves in power—just as the Tokugawa had done in the period 1600–1641. But their methods were different. Where the Tokugawa had used *sankin kōtai* (hostages at Edo), they used *sonnō* (exaltation of the emperor, who was securely in their control); where the Tokugawa redistributed the fiefs into the *fudai-tozama* system, they called in the feudal land registers; where the Tokugawa excluded the Westerners, they sought to learn Western techniques; where the Tokugawa adopted Neo-Confucianism as a social cement, they tried Shinto. But all to the same purpose, to stabilize control, this time in the hands of the Sat-Cho clique.¹⁵ Of course, the logic of time and situation lay behind the methods adopted. The imperial institution, re-accredited by Motoori and others, and conveniently near to Chōshū-Satsuma strongholds, had already served in the assault on eastern Japan which ended Tokugawa supremacy; the *daimyō* were by 1869 in sufficient economic trouble to look favorably on a generous financial settlement for their land registers, not the case in early Tokugawa; the Westerners were now too strong to be ousted in the seventeenth-century manner; Shinto was a natural alternative to Confucianism, and the Meiji leaders' efforts to manipulate imperial and Shintoist symbols to their advantage was not unlike the Tokugawa support of the Hayashi official Neo-Confucian school.

Where then does nationalism come in?

In the years after the Restoration the Sat-Cho oligarchy, in their newly won control of the government of Japan, faced the outside world with a more national view than that represented in their handling of the *coup d'état* of 1867–1868. It was now a part of their own self-preservation that Japan

¹³ Nobutaka Ike, *The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 3–6; James Murdoch, *A History of Japan* (London, 1925–26), III, 767–75; Brown suggests that subsequent nationalist feelings caused writers to overlook or minimize the internal political rivalries (p. 89). Cf. Robert A. Scalapino, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, 1953), p. 51.

¹⁴ Scalapino suggests this (pp. 43 and n. 4, 44–45, 51).

¹⁵ Scalapino devotes a chapter to pointing out similarities between Meiji and Tokugawa (pp. 1–35).

should be secure from foreign encroachments. Clearly, if foreigners controlled Japan they would not, and it is natural enough that they should represent the Japanese national interest in the effort to render Japan fully sovereign and secure. We may say that the Tokugawa had done this too, when they could, and that this is group self-interest, not nationalism. Yet it is also clear that these Meiji government leaders organized the inculcation of loyalty on the mass level for the emperor and for state Shinto, in short the symbols of the regime they created and which they controlled. To promote this they soon had not only a centralized police system, a bureaucracy trained in and loyal to their precepts, a set of hand-picked successors to themselves, a *Genrō-in* to maintain their individual influence over the course of state affairs long after they ceased active participation, but also they had such modern media as a universal education system, conscription, telecommunications, and railroads to draw the nation together, and a powerful press. These insured the penetration of "loyalty" to every corner of Japan.

Certainly we can say that this government-sponsored loyalty program fostered nationalism, nationalism of the *kokka* (state) variety, for clearly it was neither revolutionary nor liberal. It made the Japanese people conscious of their duties as subjects, humble before their gods and their emperor. But is this alone sufficient to explain the development to the all out *banzai*, do or die, nationalism of the late 1930's? I think not. The government-sponsored nationalism seems somehow cold and official. And a curious fact strikes us. For all the loyalty-inculcation machinery at their command, the oligarchs and the government they controlled were themselves unpopular from beginning to end. A long succession of mob rallies in opposition to government policies, press attacks despite censorship, assassinations and attempted assassinations of government leaders, popularly condoned, gives ample evidence of the oligarchs' desperate need for some imperial skirts to hide behind. Indeed one gets the impression that the government, for all the nationalism it cultivated, was generally on the defensive. At most it created a lukewarm "official" nationalism, which we might define as state nationalism without its fire. Yet at critical junctures we find the government oligarchs in the role of willing, or unwilling, custodians of as fiery a brand of state nationalism as ever Hitler had. What put the fire into "official" nationalism?

To understand this we must look into the wellsprings of discontent in modern Japan and into the government's abiding compromise with that discontent—expansionism. The Sat-Cho oligarchs of the 1870's set the course of modern Japan according to the following essentials: as to structure, control must remain in the hands of the oligarchs and their hand-picked successors;

as to program, sufficient modernization and Westernization must be undertaken to insure Japan a place alongside the most powerful Western nations. Combining the two we may define this course set by the Sat-Cho oligarchs and entrusted to their successors as "controlled modernization." It was a job of such magnitude that even aside from personal desire for power, which was certainly not lacking in the oligarchs, they could claim the necessity of the most careful and steady guidance of the ship of state by the men who knew the perils best—themselves.¹⁶

However, everyone in Japan was not pleased with the structure or the program of the new government. Ultimate roots of discontent lay very deep in Japanese society, in the great mass of common people, the non-*samurai* class, who had endured centuries of oppression from their superiors and who after the Restoration reordering saw no relief in sight. We see their discontent at Shimabara,¹⁷ again in the long series of desperate but futile peasant revolts in later Tokugawa times;¹⁸ we see it far below the surface of the Restoration as commoners took up arms with a peculiar enthusiasm to attack the Tokugawa engineers of their past oppression;¹⁹ we see it operating silently in emigration, strong enough to break even family ties.²⁰ This deep-laid discontent was a powerful force, and it had a large effect upon Japanese nationalism, but not in the way one might expect. It never became a really independent force for popular rights. This was because it came to the surface only through catalyzing agencies. Within itself it was voiceless. Its role was as a mute reservoir of support for upper-class enemies of the Sat-Cho oli-

¹⁶ Most historians of Meiji Japan agree that the Sat-Cho oligarchs reigned supreme from 1873. E.g., Scalapino, p. 41, n.2; even before 1873, *ibid.*, p. 44, n.7; and long after, *ibid.*, p. 174. Professor Tōyama in his recent reappraisal of the Meiji Restoration suggests a progression in the first years of Meiji from four-clan rule (Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, Hizen) to two-clan rule (Satsuma-Chōshū) to Iwakura-Ōkubo absolutism to the supremacy of Ōkubo; Tōyama Shigeki, *Meiji Ishin* (Tokyo, 1951), p. 320. Even if this be true Ōkubo's assassination in 1878 made the one-man absolutism short-lived if indeed it had ever reached that point. Government by Sat-Cho clique seems more the norm for the whole Meiji era. With the institution of a peerage in 1884 they added a gilding to their power, a peerage from which their rivals, Gotō, Itagaki, Okuma, were conspicuously omitted; Chitoshi Yanaga, *Japan since Perry* (New York, 1949), pp. 168-69. In his *The Western World and Japan* (New York, 1950), Sir George Sansom likens this to a situation in England "if all Whigs in high position should come from Lancashire or Yorkshire" (p. 336). Tokyo University played a large role in helping the oligarchs perpetuate their system, for it trained the bureaucracy in "sciences important to the state." Shinobu Seizaburo, *Taishō Seiji Shi* (Political history of the Taishō era) (Tokyo, 1952), III, 794.

¹⁷ It seems clear that Christianity was less the reason for the revolt than social and economic unrest. See Murdoch, II, chap. 22.

¹⁸ Hugh Borton, "Peasant Uprisings in Japan of the Tokugawa Period," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (hereafter *TASJ*), 2d Series, XVI (1938), pp. 1-258; see also E. Herbert Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (New York, 1940), pp. 20-21; *id.*, "Andō Shōeki: The Anatomy of Japanese Feudalism," *TASJ* (1949).

¹⁹ E. H. Norman, *Soldier in Japan: The Origins of Conscription* (New York, 1940); Hyman Kublin, "The 'Modern' Army of Early Meiji Japan," *Far Eastern Quar.*, IX (November, 1949), 20-41.

²⁰ Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii* (Berkeley, 1953), pp. 60-64.

garchs, the rival *samurai* groups who fought them so bitterly in early Meiji times and who formed the core of the "Liberal" opposition to the oligarchy on the one hand and the "Reactionary" opposition on the other. Utilizing lower-class discontent to generalize their own antagonism to the oligarchs, they succeeded in producing an "unofficial" nationalism so intense that the oligarchs twice almost perished in the heat before they succeeded by frantic measures in incorporating it into their anemic "official" variety and focusing it outside Japan.

The *samurai* opposition to the Sat-Cho oligarchs was built around the men who fell out or were pushed out of the Restoration coalition in 1873 and thereafter. They included the Tosa and Hizen element, Itagaki, Gotō, Etō, Okuma, and the reluctant dragon of Satsuma, Saigō. The common basis of their hatred of the government was that theirs were not the controlling voices in it. We differentiate between them as Liberals and Reactionaries because they employed different methods of attacking the Sat-Cho system, though one should bear in mind their similarity of origin and, as we shall see, the similar effect of their contributions to nationalism in Japan. Although the Liberal and Reactionary opposition were both at work through the whole course of "controlled modernization" from the 1870's to World War II, it seems proper to consider the Liberals first, for they reached their peak effectiveness early, in the 1880's and the 1890's, had most of their teeth pulled in the mid-nineties, and dragged on into the twentieth century, less and less able to command and voice the deep-laid discontent in Japanese society. The Reactionaries, on the other hand, floundered for years in voluble incoherence, then suddenly in the late 1920's amidst the bankruptcy of the Liberals, found themselves the principal voice of popular dissatisfactions; their teeth were pulled in 1936.

The Tosa-Hizen Liberals of the 1870's and 1880's had no quarrel with the oligarchy's Westernization program as such; in fact they stood on a platform demanding greater progress, which they claimed was being thwarted by Sat-Cho tyranny. After an attempt at Revolt led by Etō failed, they sought to force their way back into power by organizing political parties (the Jiyūtō and the Kaishintō) and by focusing popular discontent through them against the oligarchs. In this they spoke in the vocabulary of popular nationalism, accusing the oligarchs of betraying the interests of the people and the nation, of appeasing foreigners, and they demanded representative institutions (that their voices might be heard). Thus the gulf between the leadership of the parties (Itagaki was so class-conscious that he once advocated nine grades of *samurai*) and the populace below was obscured. Lower-class discontent rein-

forced the rancor of disgruntled *samurai*, and the two together swelled into a roar of popular disapproval of the oligarchs and all their doings, reaching its climax in the Diet struggle, 1890-1894, the supreme effort to smash the Hanbatsu system. But in the end the gulf was very real, for the leadership of the original parties sold out to the government without forcing the establishment of a responsible parliamentary system, and the parties which followed, after the turn of the century, proved so much subject to influence from above that they became objects of scorn rather than genuine and consistent spokesmen for popular discontent. Moreover, in the process of turning aside the threat of popular nationalism which the party-populace coalition had produced in the 1880's, the oligarchs discovered a magic formula for turning the heat off themselves—expansionism. Of course, their own evil genius was not alone responsible for this. The Liberals themselves invited it. In the 1880's we see them, first in their enthusiasm and then in discouragement, as they met frustrations in their fight against the oligarchs in Japan, turning considerable attention toward Korea, organizing Korean "progressives," plotting the overthrow of the old regime on the peninsula in the hope that somehow, somewhere, in the Orient a base for Liberal operations might be secured. Thus "on to Korea" became a part of the creed of the Liberals in Japan.²¹ But the liberal purpose behind it became obscured in the nationalist fury which they helped fan to flame against the "stupidly unprogressive" Korean government and the "viciously reactionary" Chinese who pulled the strings. At first, this nationalist fury was vented against the oligarchs in Japan too, for they were cautious of foreign involvement (lest it bring down the wrath of Western nations), but at last, having set up the affair in the best possible light with the West, the oligarchs climbed astride the pawing steed of popular nationalism and rode it out of Japan into Korea. During the Sino-Japanese war that followed they enjoyed unprecedented popularity, as popular enthusiasm fired official nationalism. But anticipating serious international complications they reined in as soon as possible. Complications there were—Triple Intervention, war with Russia—but compromise settlements were effected, aroused national feelings calmed or suppressed, and nationalism again became "official." Of course, some concession to popular nationalism had to be made, and the oligarchy broadened itself somewhat to take in former Liberal leaders.

However, the deep-laid discontent had only been thwarted, not really

²¹ The author treated this subject in some detail in "The Japanese Seizure of Korea," a paper read at the Far Eastern Association meeting in Cleveland, April, 1953. The study will soon be ready for publication as a monograph. See also Marius Jansen, "Ōi Kentarō: Radicalism and Chauvinism," *Far Eastern Quar.*, XI (May, 1952), 305-16; Oka Yoshitake, "Jiyūtō Saha to Nashiyonarizumu, Ōi Kentarō no Baai" (The left wing of the Liberal party and nationalism, the example of Ōi Kentarō), *Shakai Gaku Hyōron* (May 1951), pp. 9-14.

eased, and, failing to find satisfaction through Liberal leadership, it turned gradually to reinforce the Reactionaries. The reactionary opposition to the Meiji oligarchy was built around those *samurai* who never wanted or who quickly tired of the sort of foreign innovations which a modernization program required. They gathered in the 1870's under the banner of Saigō Takamori in military revolt against the new regime, were defeated and scattered, but re-emerged in militant form as the Genyōsha, Kokuryūkai, and other *rōnin*-led societies²² and more respectably as Confucianist groups,²³ which though unable to build a case for return to Tokugawa isolation, could badger the oligarchs on the subject of betraying the "national essence" and presumably the Japanese people in going "Western style." In highly emotional terms they spoke of the virtues of Eastern civilization and called for its preservation and revival in the face of Western onslaughts.²⁴ In doing this they touched the consciences of vast numbers of Japanese who felt oppressed or at least uncomfortable as cogs in the machinery of modernization; sometimes they shamed even the oligarchs themselves.

But like the Liberals they too were susceptible to the enticements of expansionism, in enthusiasm envisioning themselves as stalwart champions of Confucianist virtues on the Asiatic continent as well as in Japan²⁵ or, in discouragement at frustrations in Japan, seeing the mainland as a place where they would be more successful. Consequently in the early days they found their chief effectiveness not in promoting a back-to-the-old-order political movement at home but like the Liberals in "on to Korea" expansion—to rescue Korea from Western (chiefly Russian) encroachment rather than from its Confucian heritage. The Russo-Japanese war was peculiarly their war, as the Sino-Japanese war had been the Liberals', though both occasions found both opposition groups for their separate reasons urging the reluctant oligarchs to stronger measures.

²² Hilary Conroy, "Government versus 'Patriot': The Background of Japan's Asiatic Expansion," *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (February, 1951), 31-42; E. H. Norman, "The Genyōsha: Origins of Japanese Imperialism," *Pacific Affairs*, XVII (September, 1944), 265-83; Taketora Ogata, "Mitsuru Toyama," *Contemporary Japan*, IX (January-December, 1940), 818-29.

²³ Warren Smith has done excellent work on these in his "Confucianism in Modern Japan" (unpub. M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley). Noting dominant trends from the founding of the Shibun (Confucian Culture) Society in the 1880's to the establishment of the Nippon Jukyō Senyōkai (Japanese Society for the Promotion of Confucianism) in 1934, he points to the progressive Japanese "nationalization of Confucianism," and finds it much accelerated in the 1930's. See also Kiyowara Sadao, "The Japanization of Oriental Thoughts," *Contemporary Japan*, XIII (July-September, 1944), 726.

²⁴ Conroy, "Government versus 'Patriot,'"

²⁵ Smith shows this clearly in his section on Confucianism in Korea (chap. 4). Cf. Conroy, "The Japanese Seizure of Korea"; *id.*; "Japan's War in China: An Ideological Somersault," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXI (November, 1952), 367-79; Chu Funata, "Outline of the New Political Party," *Contemporary Japan*, IX (1940), 994-95, says, "This conflict [Sino-Japanese, 1937] is a war between Japan and the European powers on the stage of China" and "for the awakening of the Chinese people."

However, although the Reactionaries could bring considerable pressure to bear on the oligarchs during the Sino-Russo-Japanese war period, it was largely through conscience pricking and/or gang tactics. They were not yet marshals of popular discontent. But their day was coming. In the 1920's a depression swelled the ranks of the discontented, the major parties, now almost indistinguishable from the bureaucracy itself, could not represent them and new parties at the farmer-labor level, with no Itagakis or Okumas to lead them, were easily squelched. In this situation it is not surprising, especially in view of the fact that the sentiments of the conservative rural population loomed large in the thinking of principal spokesmen for the discontent that the long-standing Reactionary argument, which held the root of all ills in Japan to be the poison of Westernization, should serve as a congenial basis of agreement between old-style *rōnin*-Confucianist reactionaries and new-style Fascist-like revolutionary rightists. The program for Japan was to be "national renovation," purification of the national polity, a return to the traditional Eastern morality. This required the purging of Western-style oligarchs, bureaucrats, politicians, and capitalists who since Meiji times had controlled the government, stood between emperor and subjects, and oppressed the latter.²⁶

Right-wing revolution was brewing in Japan in the early 1930's, but expansionism saved the government again. For even as they plotted the overthrow of the oligarchy in Japan, the rightist rebels in their enthusiasm, or perhaps in anticipation of eventual failure at home, became intent upon fashioning their model state in Manchuria, then in China proper. And now again in the hour of adversity the successors to the Sat-Cho oligarchs did less skillfully what their masters had done in 1894—after hasty efforts to justify the action in Western eyes, they leaped astride the galloping popular nationalism and rode it out of Japan. Once again with the February 26, 1936, affair the revolutionary discontent was thwarted and its nonrevolutionary leaders bought off. The price paid included embracing ultranationalists like Araki²⁷ and Tōjō²⁸ and pursuing expansion to its ultimate disastrous consequences. For the apostles of expansionism, now divorced from the revolutionary protest which had helped them to power, could not afford to let the nationalist ardor cool, and the years after 1937 found them employing the whole state

²⁶ Conroy, "Government versus 'Patriot.'"

²⁷ Araki came into the vitally important position of minister of education (1938); see Brown, pp. 210-11. But he was now divorced from his revolutionary faction, which was squelched in 1936.

²⁸ Tōjō was a "Control" man, brought to terms with Konoye in 1937 and supported by Kido. Yanaga, *Japan since Perry*, pp. 521, 598-99. He became war minister in 1939 and premier in 1941.

machinery to keep "official nationalism" at white heat. Clearly this was integral nationalism.

In résumé, what was the character of nationalism in prewar Japan? In the last analysis it was *kokka* (state) nationalism all the way. But to say this is not enough, for it does not explain its tremendous variations in intensity, for instance the mild, almost liberal nationalism of the 1910-1925 period versus the tension-packed brand of 1895-1896 and 1937-1941. The Sat-Cho oligarchy set the framework of Japanese nationalism by inculcating through the land its brand of state nationalism (I have called it "official" nationalism). The stress in this was on acquiescence, unquestioning acquiescence by "subjects" to whatever the emperor (meaning the oligarchs) prescribed for them, whether it be service in a military campaign, stoic acceptance of Western innovations, even insults from foreigners, or a life of poverty. There was a certain mildness about this, when the "subjects" did not try to get out of line, for the oligarchs were not madmen; they were cautious captains of the ship of state. At times it could almost pass for liberal nationalism, except that the duties of the subjects were handed down from above, not assumed voluntarily by a responsible citizenry. And public officials were bosses not servants of the people. However, "subjects" were not robots, and when their distress was keenest (in the 1880's and the late 1920's) their discontent, rising to the surface from the depths of Japanese society, gave real power to the anti-government shoutings of the Liberal and/or Reactionary opposition. In the end they did themselves no good, because the zeal and fire they engendered only served to change the relatively mild official type of state nationalism into virulent integral nationalism—once the government safety valve of expansionism had been opened.

A final word on expansionism should point out that harassed government oligarchs were apparently lulled by success into thinking expansionism a happier safety valve than it was. The initial experiment with it (Formosa in 1874) produced no serious complications; in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars the oligarchs were able to call a halt when serious trouble loomed; but in the 1930's expansionism proved unmanageable.

And a final word on nationalism should say that the case of Japan does not provide support for the "stage" theory of nationalist development, which holds that out of revolutionary and liberal nationalism will surely come ultra or integral nationalism; rather it indicates that in prewar Japan liberal nationalism, succumbing to the enticements of expansionism, never had a chance.

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Adolf Hitler: Taxpayer

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HITLER'S tax files, maintained in the Munich Finance Office from 1925 to 1935, answer many questions with regard to the size of his income, his responsibility as a taxpayer, his claimed deductible expenses, his early indebtedness, his income from *Mein Kampf*, and his tax position during his first two years as Führer and Reich Chancellor. They reveal also that he was negligent in filing returns, frequently in arrears, and that at the end of 1934, when he was declared tax exempt by the Reich Ministry of Finance, he was delinquent in his tax payments in the amount of 405,494 Reichsmarks. His tax files also leave many important questions unanswered—the source and amount of income aside from his writings, his financial relations to the National Socialist party, and the number and amount of private gifts alleged to have been made to him.¹

In the tax files, and on all declarations, Hitler was listed as "Schriftsteller," or "Writer," until 1933 when the occupational designation on the original file-folder was struck out and replaced by "Reichskanzler." Throughout the period the fiction was maintained by both Hitler and the tax authorities that his only income was derived from his work as a political writer. Only once was he queried as to the source of income—when he acquired an automobile, in 1925, costing 20,000 RM. The figure reported on the tax declarations was always accepted as valid, and Hitler was held to the payment of the exact amount of tax, plus penalty assessments. But the files do not indicate that his finances were ever made the subject of inquiry or investigation by the Reich tax authorities.²

Whether Hitler was assessed for taxes prior to 1924 is not revealed in the records. While he was confined in Landsberg prison (November 11, 1923, to December 20, 1924), an assessment form was filled out in the Finance Office

¹ Hitler's tax files for 1925-35 contain over two hundred items of which seventy-five are income and turnover tax returns and assessment forms; thirty are registry covers and receipts; and the remainder official notifications, account cards, correspondence, and memorandums. A microfilm copy of the records is in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia.

² German tax laws and procedures, at this time, did not require self-employed or professional persons to disclose in detail the sources of income or the nature of services rendered. Estimates of deductions, rather than provable figures, were also accepted. In general, investigations, prosecutions, and penalties for tax avoidance and falsification were considerably less rigorous than under United States laws and regulations.

but no data entered. It bore the notation, "presently in Landsberg Prison," and a later notation, "still in Landsberg."³

Upon release from confinement, Hitler withdrew to Berchtesgaden, where he lived at an inn for the greater part of the next two years. He was in fact on parole, fearful of deportation as an undesirable alien, and prohibited from making political speeches in Bavaria by order of the state authorities.⁴ During this period he completed and published the first volume of *Mein Kampf*, in July, 1925, and composed the second volume, which was published in December, 1926.

On May 1, 1925, Hitler was notified by the Munich Finance Office that he had failed to file a return for 1924, as well as the required quarterly declaration for the first period of 1925. A blank form was enclosed, to be returned within eight days under a penalty of a 10 RM fine, or one day in jail. Hitler complied with the regulations by returning the filing notice with the following marginal note: "Munich, May 19, 1925. I had no income in 1924 or in the first quarter of 1925. I have covered my living expenses by raising a bank loan."⁵ Although Hitler ignored the summons to file quarterly returns for 1925, he acquired in February a large automobile (costing 20,000 RM), which he used for his trips to Munich and for travel incidental to reorganizing the National Socialist party. The tax office was interested and wrote requesting Hitler "at the earliest possible, to inform this office of the source of the funds used to purchase this automobile." To this inquiry Hitler crisply replied that he had raised a bank loan for the purchase of the car.⁶

When Hitler continued to ignore his obligation to file quarterly returns, the Finance Office issued a penal order (*Strafverfügung*) against him, imposing a 10 RM fine, or one day in jail. Hitler's explanation that he had been away from Munich for some months and upon his return the summons had gone undiscovered "under the mountain of mail," was brusquely rejected, as was also his request that the penal order be revoked.⁷

Fourteen days after the filing deadline, Hitler signed and returned from Dresden the required declaration for the third quarter of 1925. This is the

³ Tax Assessment Form 1924, in the name of "Adolph Hitler, Writer, Thierschstrasse 41; born 20 April, 1889, Braunau; Catholic."

⁴ To reduce the risk of deportation, Hitler formally renounced his Austrian citizenship by letter of April 7, 1925, to the authorities of the city of Linz, his legal Austrian domicile. The declaration was promptly accepted by the Austrian government, but Hitler's announced intention to acquire German citizenship was not fulfilled until 1932. (Hitler's letter, and other documents are reproduced in facsimile in the pictorial weekly, *Revue* [Munich], No. 51, Dec. 20, 1952.)

⁵ Tax Declaration Notice, May 1, 1925, and Hitler's marginal note.

⁶ Finance Office to Hitler, July 23, and Hitler's reply, Aug. 14, 1925.

⁷ Hitler's declaration form and attached statement, Sept. 16; Finance Office reply, Sept. 28, 1925. Hitler's explanation is not too credible as all tax communications were sent by registered post.

first voluntary return, reporting income, made by Hitler after his release from Landsberg prison. He reported a gross income of 11,231 RM for the quarter, deductible professional expenses of 6,540 RM, and interest payments on debts of 2,245 RM, leaving a net taxable figure of 2,446 RM.⁸ The return was accompanied by a three-page typewritten statement, also signed and dated at Dresden, explaining and justifying the deductions for "professional expenses."⁹ While there is no reference to previous correspondence or discussions, the argumentative tone of the communication suggests that Hitler's dispute with the tax authorities over professional expenses, which continued for eight years, had already begun.

In justifying his claimed deductions from income, Hitler stated that after his release from Landsberg he had raised a bank loan to cover his living costs. His trial had put him to great expense, and it was only by borrowing that he had been able to complete and publish his book. His deduction for interest on his obligations was therefore a justifiable professional expense. With regard to his other expenditures—travel expenses, and salaries of his private secretary, assistant, and chauffeur—he argued vehemently and at length that these were also deductible in as much as his political activity provided him with the materials he needed as a political writer, and also increased the sales of his book. "Without my political activity my name would be unknown, and I would be lacking materials for the publication of a political work." Maintaining that travel costs were a legitimate deduction for a writer of travel literature and that research expenditures were chargeable against a scientific book, he declared: "*Accordingly, in my case as a political writer, the expenses of my political activity, which is the necessary condition of my professional writing as well as its assurance of financial success, cannot be regarded as subject to taxation.*" In a concluding paragraph he warmly affirmed his own probity:

I am quite willing at any time to make a sworn statement with regard to my personal expenses and expenditures. The Finance Office can then see that out of the income from my book, for this period, only a very small fraction was expended for myself; *nowhere do I possess property or other capital assets that I can call my own.* I restrict of necessity my personal wants so far that I am a complete abstainer from alcohol and tobacco, take my meals in the most modest restaurants, and aside from my minimal apartment rent make no expenditures that are not chargeable to my expenses as a political writer. I instance all this so that the Finance Office will see in my representations not an attempt to avoid a tax obligation, but rather a sober proven statement of the actual circumstances. *Also the*

⁸ Preliminary Income Tax Declaration, third quarter 1925, Oct. 31, 1925.

⁹ The term is *Werbungskosten*, which was defined in German tax law as the costs of acquiring, maintaining, or securing the reported income. It is roughly equivalent to "costs of doing business."

*automobile is for me but a means to an end. It alone makes it possible for me to accomplish my daily work.*¹⁰

Under date of November 11, 1925, the Finance Office acknowledged receipt of Hitler's quarterly return and the explanation of deductions. But in the final audit and determination of Hitler's income tax for the year 1925, only one half of the deductions were allowed. Upon receipt of the final statement, Hitler protested the disallowance of his deductions and the matter went before the tax review committee of the Finance Office.¹¹ The committee upheld the original assessment and in rendering the decision stated the reasons quite bluntly:

This taxpayer travels mainly in order to spread his political ideas among the people and to attend to Party affairs. Also his employees are for the most part engaged in work of this kind. The stated expenditures are not in and of themselves professional expenses within the meaning of the income tax law. Since, however, this activity at the same time provides material for his work as a political writer and increases the sales of his book, one half of the claimed expenditures for travel and salaries is allowed as a deduction from income.¹²

Although his protest was rejected, Hitler thereafter continued to claim deduction of the full amount of his travel, secretarial costs, and chauffeur's wages in each annual return. The Finance Office held just as firmly to the decision made in 1926 and allowed only one half the deductions claimed.

In addition to the income tax Hitler was subject to the property tax (*Vermögenssteuer*) and the turnover tax (*Umsatzsteuer*) on the sales of *Mein Kampf*. He was required to file a property return in December, 1925, and in the section for reporting property used in professional work, he wrote: "Owned on 1 January, 1925, besides a writing table and two bookcases with books, no property. Highest value 1000 M." Filled out in his own hand and dated at Kissingen, it is the only property return in his tax files and presumably the only one he ever made.¹³

Publication of *Mein Kampf* and the semiannual receipt of royalties created a new tax obligation for Hitler. In 1926, when he received his first turnover tax declaration form for reporting receipts from sales of his book, he signed and returned it blank to the Finance Office. Thereupon the tax

¹⁰ Hitler's italics. Itemized deductions for the quarter were: 2,245 RM interest on loans; 3,000 RM repayment of a loan; 1,500 RM travel expenses; 900 RM salary of a private secretary; 600 RM salary of an assistant; and 540 RM salary of a chauffeur.

¹¹ Hitler to the Finance Office, Aug. 19, 1926. He also protested the amount of the quarterly advance payments assessed for 1926, pointing out that "In this year the author's advance honorarium, which I received in 1925 for my book *Mein Kampf*, will not be received again." This protest was accepted and his advance payment reduced from 1500 RM to 750 RM, for the year.

¹² Tax Assessment Protest, Aug. 10, 1926, and Assessment Decision, Jan. 27, 1927. Hitler had to pay the costs of the appeal, amounting to 20 RM.

¹³ Property Declaration for the calendar year 1925, dated Dec. 15.

inspector assessed him for back taxes in 1925 as well as turnover tax due for 1926.¹⁴

Hitler contested his liability for this tax and appointed one of his political henchmen, the lawyer Hans Frank, later governor general of Poland, to represent him in his disagreement with the Finance Office. Before entering a suit, Frank wrote to the Finance Office seeking clarification. In his letter he argued that Hitler had never paid a turnover tax and that from his activity as a writer he had no income that could be considered subject to that tax. All of Hitler's writings, he declared were handled by the Franz Eher Verlag, which concern paid a turnover tax on the sales of Hitler's works. In view of this, Frank wished to know if the tax authorities still maintained that Hitler was subject to this levy. The issue was not put to a test, but after telephone conversations between one of Frank's assistants and the tax officials the complaint was withdrawn and the tax liability admitted.¹⁵ Thereafter, until 1934, the turnover tax was assessed and collected, with occasional penalty assessments for late filing and nonfiling.¹⁶

The source of Hitler's income in these years was the subject of much speculation and gossip in Munich political circles. His income tax returns do not clarify the picture, for Hitler throughout the nine years of tax history recorded in these files reported as personal income only the payments received for his writings. Are we to assume, as did the Reich tax authorities, that he had no other income? Were all the gifts known to have been made to Hitler personally turned over to the party treasurer? Did he receive no salary, honorariums, or reimbursement for expenses from the party? From what sources did he pay off the bank loans which he contracted between 1925 and 1928, as reported in his tax returns? From what income did he rent, furnish, and staff the luxury apartment on Prinzregentenplatz in 1929? And, beginning in 1928, from what income did he lease and maintain Villa Wachenfeld on the Obersalzberg at Berchtesgaden? One must conclude that his reported income covered only a part of his actual expenditures, particularly between 1925 and 1930. And the assumption is strongly indicated that he reported only his receipts as an author because the accounts of his publisher were subject to inspection. Hitler's known attitude toward financial affairs

¹⁴ Turnover Tax Declaration, 1926, filed Mar. 15, 1927; Turnover Tax Assessment Forms, 1925 and 1926, prepared July 28, 1927.

¹⁵ Hans Frank to Finance Office, Oct. 5; Frank's representative to Finance Office, Dec. 21, 1927.

¹⁶ The assessed turnover tax amounted to 254 RM in 1925, reached a low point of 91 RM in 1928, rose in 1930, with the issuance of a cheap edition of *Mein Kampf*, to 412 RM, and in 1933, when sales reached the million mark, amounted to 24,646 RM. The rate on gross receipts was 0.75 per cent until 1930, 0.85 per cent from 1930 to 1932, when it was increased to 2 per cent.

suggests that all other income went unreported because it was undocumented.

The years 1925-1928 were particularly lean years for Hitler, and he had difficulty meeting his tax assessments even on reported income. He secured two postponements of the balance due on his 1925 taxes, and his quarterly payments in 1926 were made belatedly and incompletely. In January, 1926, Rudolf Hess, Hitler's private secretary, was authorized access to Hitler's tax records and appears to have handled the details thereafter.¹⁷ Hess wrote to the Finance Office on July 24, acknowledging the payment-due notice for the second quarter taxes. A hundred marks had been paid, he wrote, and "Herr Hitler requests that payment of the balance be deferred."¹⁸ In September, a letter, signed by Hitler, acknowledged tax arrears of 275 RM, as well as the quarterly payment coming due within the next week. Hitler requested postponement of the total until the beginning of December, at which time he expected to have the money in hand "from the publication of the second volume of my book." He would pay all accumulated taxes, plus interest, at that time. "At the moment I am not in a position to pay the taxes; to cover my living expenses I have had to raise a loan."¹⁹ Still without the means to pay at the end of the year, Hitler requested that the balance due be deferred until the outstanding accounts with the bookstores for the sale of his book were settled, "which is anticipated in the near future." He explained that owing to the unexpectedly high extra charges on his 1925 income and church taxes it had not been possible for him to meet his original commitment.²⁰

Hitler was still in arrears in 1927, owing a final payment on his 1926 taxes as well as part of his current quarterly payments. In October he wrote to the Finance Office stating that he had paid 300 RM on the current account and requesting that he be allowed to pay the balance in monthly installments.²¹ Beginning in 1928, Hitler met his tax obligations with less difficulty. While he was frequently overdue, this appears to have been the result of negligence rather than inability to pay.

From 1925 to 1928 Hitler also contracted considerable indebtedness. In 1925, he reported that his living expenses had been covered by a loan and he

¹⁷ Hitler to Finance Office, January, 1926. Although Hitler was hard pressed financially, his later description of personal hardship suffered in this period—"For years I lived on Tyrolean apples, and so did Hess"—is hard to reconcile with his expenditures for a private secretary, a personal aide, and a 20,000 RM motor car. *Hitler's Secret Conversations* (New York, 1953), p. 180.

¹⁸ Hess wrote on an imposing letterhead: "Chancellery of Adolph Hitler, Munich 2, Schellingstrasse 50. Private Secretary (R. Hess)."

¹⁹ Hitler to Finance Office, Sept. 23, 1926. Postponement to Dec. 10, with interest at 6 per cent, was granted.

²⁰ Hitler to the Finance Office, Dec. 28, 1926.

²¹ Oct. 1, 1927. His request was granted. Hitler owed at this time 1,245 RM on which he made a payment of 300 RM.

had purchased his automobile on credit. In making his tax return for the same year he claimed deductions of 2,245 RM interest on debts and 3,000 RM repayment of a note. In 1926 he reported a gross income of 15,903 RM and expenditures of 31,209 RM. The deficit, he stated, had been met by a bank loan. Another deficit of 1,958 RM in 1927 had been covered in the same way. In that year he also claimed a deduction of 1,706 RM for interest paid on loans. In the year following, his income exceeded reported expenditures and in 1929 the item of interest on loans disappears from his appended statement of deductions. Although Hitler's reported gross income in 1929 was slightly less than in 1925-1926, a financial miracle had been wrought and he had liquidated his indebtedness.²²

As to Hitler's claimed deductions for professional expenses, the amount and the items remained fairly constant until 1930. His private secretary received 300 RM monthly, an assistant 200 RM, and his chauffeur 200 RM. Social insurance payments amounted approximately to 800 RM annually and automobile insurance and tax to about 2000 RM. His travel costs were by far the largest item. In 1926 and 1927 he deducted 240 RM for "continuation of professional training" (*Ausgaben für die Fortbildung in dem Beruf*). He deducted 1,692 RM for the purchase of books in 1930, and similar amounts in 1931 and 1932. Hitler greatly increased his deductions for travel in 1930, claiming 4,980 RM for transportation and 12,000 RM for general travel expenses. Comparable expenditures were claimed in 1931, and in 1932 a total of 26,000 RM was reported as travel costs and expenses.²³ In itemizing his claimed deductions, Hitler always maintained that the travel item was "only a fraction" of his actual expenditure.

In 1930, Hitler and the Nazi party skyrocketed to national and international prominence as they began to harvest the political fruits of the economic collapse of Germany. With the September elections to the Reichstag, in which the National Socialists won 107 seats, Hitler became a leading political figure in central Europe. This year also marks a turning point in his financial fortunes as *Mein Kampf* suddenly became a best seller in the German book stores.

Through a fortunate circumstance it is possible to determine exactly Hitler's income from sales of *Mein Kampf*, and to compare his royalties ac-

²² The improvement in Hitler's personal financial position corresponded to the improvement in the Nazi party's fortunes. In 1929 the Nazis joined Hugenberg's Nationalists in a campaign to defeat the Young Plan and thereby gained access to the financial resources of the Hugenberg group. In the same year Hitler moved from his rooms in the Thierschstrasse to a nine-room apartment on Prinzregentenplatz in the fashionable Bogenhausen section of Munich.

²³ Income tax declarations and attached statements for the years indicated. Hitler's declaration for 1928 is missing but part of the data is given on the income tax assessment form.

count with his tax returns. Among a small quantity of records of the Eher Verlag, confiscated at the end of the war, is a royalties ledger in which payments to authors were recorded until 1933.²⁴ Hitler's account shows that the first edition of *Mein Kampf*, which sold for 12 RM per volume, had a satisfactory but not spectacular sale. By 1928 sales were down to 3000 copies for both volumes. (Volume II had very low sales.) However, in May, 1930, a cheap one-volume edition, selling for 8 RM, appeared and immediately found a broad market. On this edition Hitler received royalties of ten per cent, and after January 1, 1933, fifteen per cent. An even cheaper edition of the separate volumes, selling for 2.85 RM each, was issued in September, 1932, on the same royalty basis. In the first year of distribution this edition sold 480,000 copies, and in the first year of Hitler's chancellorship sales in all editions exceeded a million copies. Hitler's income from these phenomenal sales in depression-ridden Germany is shown in the table below. The table also shows for comparative purposes his reported annual gross receipts, the royalties received from the Eher Verlag, the number of copies sold of *Mein Kampf*, and other taxable receipts not accounted for by payments from his publisher.

Year	Reported gross receipts (in RMs)	Royalties credited	Sales of <i>Mein Kampf</i>	Other receipts
1925	19,843	20,352	9,473	
1926	15,903	14,707	6,913	1,196
1927	11,494	11,494	5,607	
1928	11,818	8,318	3,015	3,500
1929	15,448	15,448	7,664	
1930	48,472	45,472	54,086	3,000
1931	55,132	40,780	50,808	14,352
1932	64,639	62,340	90,351	2,299
1933	1,232,335	*861,146	*854,127	

* to November 17, 1933

With his income tripled in 1930, and tax rates considerably increased, Hitler was presented with a substantial bill in excess of advance payments made during the year. He protested the assessment and filed an amended statement of expenditures, which left less than half his income subject to tax. When the officials proposed a compromise, Hitler rejected the offer and the appeal went to the tax review committee. As in 1926, and on the same grounds, the committee upheld the official assessment.²⁵

²⁴ Eher Verlag *Honorar-Buch*, Hitler's account, pp. 101-19, 360-63, Adolf Hitler Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

²⁵ Hitler to Finance Office, July 14 and Sept. 15; Finance Office to Hitler, Sept. 19; Tax Assessment Decision, Dec. 30, 1931.

A new chapter in Hitler's record as a taxpayer opens with his appointment as Chancellor on January 30, 1933. At that time Hitler's adjutant, Julius Schaub, assumed responsibility for the details of his employer's tax affairs. Tax favors were immediately requested and secured through the Nazi State Secretary, Fritz Reinhardt, in the Reich Ministry of Finance. Reinhardt, a former teacher in a school of accounting and taxation in Thuringia, was an old party member appointed to the Ministry of Finance to effect its political co-ordination. Because of his political connections, Reinhardt was the dominant figure in the ministry and was responsible for the special treatment accorded Hitler and other party leaders in matters of taxation.

The first problem that arose in connection with the Chancellor's tax affairs concerned Hitler's state salary. Shortly after his appointment, it was announced in the press that Hitler would donate his salary as Chancellor to a fund for assistance to dependents of members of the SA, SS, and police who had been killed in political riots of the preceding years.²⁶ At the end of March the Finance Office Munich-East, where Hitler continued to make his returns, took cognizance of the report and the tax problem raised by this well-publicized gesture.

The question now arises whether the Reich Chancellor is taxable for his salary in addition to his other income. The increase in the total income will give rise, as a result of the higher bracket, to a considerable rise in the income tax assessment, which would impose an unjust hardship since the Chancellor has designated his salary, in a magnanimous manner, for charitable purposes.²⁷

The concern of this soft-hearted tax collector had been anticipated in Berlin, where the chief of the Reich Chancellery, State Secretary Lammers, had informed the Minister of Finance, Schwerin von Krosigk, of Hitler's decision. Krosigk thereupon wrote to Lammers that in view of Hitler's charitable action his salary would not be subject to the various taxes on income.²⁸ This action had the effect of separating for tax purposes Hitler's private income from his salary as Reich Chancellor. It had the additional result that Hitler's quarterly advance payments for 1933 were assessed on the basis of his 1932 income, thus greatly increasing the amount of his final payment for 1933 taxes.

Until 1933 Hitler's gross income from his writings were modest indeed.

²⁶ The party press bureau had announced early in February that Hitler would renounce the Chancellor's salary since he earned his own income as a writer. *Völkischer Beobachter*, Berlin ed., Feb. 7, 1933.

²⁷ Memo. Finance Office Munich-East to State Finance Office, Mar. 31, 1933.

²⁸ Letter of Mar. 15, in reply to Lammers' communication of Mar. 8, 1933. In later years, however, Hitler received the salary of his office, which in 1934 amounted to 29,200 RM salary, and 18,000 RM for official expenses. Pay card issued by Reich Central Fiscal Office, Jan. 29, 1935.

He was treated fairly in the matter of deductions, although he did not think so, and the taxes assessed upon his net income were by no means exorbitant. But in 1933, owing to the mass sales of *Mein Kampf*, his gross income for the year rose to 1,232,335 RM, on which he was assessed income taxes amounting to 297,005 RM.²⁹

When the time came for filing the annual return for 1933, another favor was requested of the Ministry of Finance—the deduction of one half the gross income for professional expenses and expenditures. Whether the approach was made directly by Hitler, or through his adjutant Schaub, cannot be determined, but the proposal was agreed to by Reinhardt, who wrote to Hitler as follows: "With reference to the extraordinary expenditures incurred by you in your capacity as Leader of the German Nation, I declare myself in agreement with your deduction of 50 per cent of gross income for professional expenditures in the tax period 1933."³⁰

Even with his assessment thus reduced by one half, Hitler had a large final payment to make on his 1933 income. The tax officials followed established procedures, dispatching the final tax notice at the end of August. Payment became due at the end of September. A reminder was sent to Hitler's private office at the end of October; and on November 7, 8, 9, and 10 Inspector Vogl, who handled Hitler's returns and assessments in the Finance Office, endeavored to contact Schaub on the telephone, but without success.³¹

The tax officials were now in a delicate, if not dangerous, position. A notice of tax delinquency had been prepared but not dispatched, pending instructions or guidance from higher authority. This highly explosive document showed that Hitler was delinquent on his final payments for 1933 and

²⁹ The following consolidated table shows Hitler's reported income, deductions claimed and allowed, and annual taxes assessed on income from 1925 to 1934:

	Gross income (in RMs)	Deductions claimed	Deductions allowed	Net income	Assessed taxes and penalties
1925	19,843	10,285	6,265	13,578	1,552
1926	15,903	31,209	6,916	8,987	922
1927	11,494	13,452	7,979	3,515	351
1928	11,818	9,991	5,493	6,325	605
1929	15,448	9,411	4,613	10,835	1,264
1930	48,472	26,892	14,292	34,179	6,575
1931	55,132	26,488	14,644	40,488	9,130
1932	64,639	35,188	19,894	44,745	12,130
1933	1,232,335	616,167	616,167	616,618	297,005

³⁰ Reinhardt to Hitler, Jan. 30; action copy to the State Finance Office Munich, Mar. 29, 1934. In Hitler's tax declaration for 1933, filed on March 22, 1934, the following explanation of the deduction was made: "Wegen des Abzugs von 50 V. H. Werbungskosten weise ich auf die Entscheidung des Reichsministers des Innern [sic] vom 30. Januar 1934 hin, die sich beim Steuerakt befindet."

³¹ Memo. by Dr. Lizius, chief of Finance Office Munich-East, middle November, 1934.

his quarterly advance payments for 1934 in the amount of 405,494 RM.³² Except for some minimal quarterly payments based on 1932 income, Hitler had ceased to pay taxes after becoming Chancellor.

Normally the delinquent account would have gone to the collections branch for action. However, on November 13, Schaub wrote direct to Inspector Vogl: "With regard to the Reich Chancellor's tax affairs, I wish to inform you that as soon as State Secretary Reinhardt returns from sick leave you will have further information. Until then I beg you to be patient." Schaub also got in touch with the Ministry of Finance in Berlin and secured its intervention. This gave rise to a cautious letter from *Oberregierungsrat* Herting, in Reinhardt's office, to Dr. Lizius, stating that he understood from Schaub that "with regard to the Führer's tax affairs some kind of decisions are to be taken or payments made." Schaub wished to discuss the matter with Reinhardt, who unfortunately would not be back in his office for some time. "I would be grateful to you," Herting concluded, "if postponable decisions could be delayed until then."³³ With this, Lizius referred the problem to his superior, Dr. Ludwig Mirre, president of the State Finance Office Munich. At the same time he took care to record in memorandums for the files the final disposition of this unique tax case. On December 19, Mirre wrote to Lizius as follows:

I have discussed the Führer's tax affairs informally with the State Secretary [Reinhardt]. We were agreed that in view of the Führer's constitutional position he is not liable to taxation and that it is a constitutional question whether and to what extent the Führer is on the same footing with a person liable to taxation. Moreover, the preparation and serving of a tax assessment notice would not in and of itself establish a legal tax obligation. All tax notices, so far as they would establish an obligation for the Führer, are without legal effect. I therefore request that until further notice nothing be undertaken in the matter, but that care be exercised to keep the records under lock and key and that the estimated taxes not be indicated as delinquent.

Thus without any action of a more formal nature Hitler was declared tax exempt and action to collect back taxes estopped. Perhaps with the historical record in mind Lizius recorded final action in the case:

On the occasion of a recent conversation with President Mirre, I urged him to see that the Führer was informed of the planned tax exemption, since he certainly would not be indifferent to what happened to his tax affairs. President Mirre promised to speak to Herr Reinhardt about it. On February 25, 1935, President Mirre informed me by telephone that State Secretary Reinhardt had reported to the Führer on the legal and constitutional interpretation of his tax exemption in his position as Chief of State, and that the Führer was in agreement with the

³² "Delinquent Taxes for 1933/1934," prepared by the cashier section, Oct. 20, 1934.

³³ Herting to Lizius, Nov. 27, 1934.

views of Herrn Mirre and Reinhardt. The order to declare the Führer tax exempt was therefore final. Thereupon I withdrew all the Führer's records, including the tax cards, from official circulation and placed them under lock and key.³⁴

Through a clerical error a tax declaration form was mailed to Hitler's private office in January, 1935. Down through channels came an inquiry as to why a declaration form had been sent when Hitler was tax exempt. Lizius' investigation, which he carefully recorded, revealed that the form had been dispatched at the usual mailing time because Hitler's tax exempt position had not been finally established at the end of January.³⁵ To prevent future embarrassment, Hitler's mailing address plate and his name card in the taxpayers' file were withdrawn on March 12, 1935—thus ending Hitler's history as a German taxpayer.

After the agreement between Hitler, Reinhardt, and Mirre that the Führer was not constitutionally liable to taxation, the Führer and Reich Chancellor enjoyed free of taxes the income from the books of Hitler the political writer and author. While the records are not available, we know that his gross income was high in subsequent years. In 1933, *Mein Kampf* had sold over a million copies in all editions. By 1940, six million copies had been issued in Germany and the book had been published in twelve foreign editions. Since 1933 it had been selling close to a million copies annually, not including its sales abroad. In 1942, Hitler boasted that *Mein Kampf*, which had just been translated into Japanese, had the largest sales of any book except the Bible and that from this income he had been able to make his handsome gifts to art galleries and museums, and to his native city of Linz.³⁶ He did not tell his audience that these gifts were made at the expense of the German taxpayers. On every occasion, even though he paid no taxes, Hitler would rail at the German tax administration, its officials, and their procedures and requirements.³⁷

"Tax fixing"—the use of political influence to secure or extort tax favors—was not original with Hitler and other Nazi leaders, who also sought and secured deductions and exemptions in violation of the tax laws. In the case of Hitler and his lieutenants it stemmed to a large degree from Hitler's indif-

³⁴ Memo., Feb. 25, 1935. Mirre later became president of the Reichsfinanzhof, highest appellate court for disputed cases arising from the application of the tax laws. *Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte* (Berlin, 1943), p. 31.

³⁵ Memo., beginning of March, 1935.

³⁶ Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier* (Bonn, 1951), pp. 435-36; *Organisationsplan des Eher Verlags München*, p. 3, Eher Verlag Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

³⁷ "The fiscal system is uselessly complicated. . . . a tax which is easy to collect doesn't suit these gentlemen of the administration. . . . everything could be done by means of an extremely simple piece of apparatus, and the Chinese puzzle of declaring one's taxes would be done away with." *Hitler's Secret Conversations*, p. 195.

ference to corruption and his personal attitude of contempt for financial probity, fiscal soundness, and orthodox finance. This was expressed on one occasion by Hitler when he quipped that "the ancient Romans were right when they created in Mercury a common god for bankers, thieves, and prostitutes."³⁸

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³⁸ Karl M. Hettlage, financial adviser to Albert Speer, "Impressions of the Reich Ministry of Finance and the Attitude of the Nazi Party toward Financial Problems," report of Oct. 1, 1945, for the Historical Commission, U. S. War Department.

Henry Clay, the Bank, and the West in 1824

HARRY R. STEVENS

THE presidential election of 1824 revealed a considerable opposition to Henry Clay in a number of western states. North of Tennessee the opposition reached its greatest numerical strength in Ohio. Clay carried Ohio in that election, but the existence and size of the opposition have seemed to require explanation. The usual explanation attributes the anti-Clay sentiment to Clay's connections with the Second Bank of the United States. The logic is quite clear. The bank aroused hostility among western men by its policies after the summer of 1818. Clay, by acting as counsel for the bank, drew some of that ill feeling toward himself.¹

There is enough evidence to give credibility to this conclusion. The actions of the Bank of the United States against its debtors after July, 1818, drew a great deal of censure, both public and private. One important consequence was that they led to a large transfer of property from western owners into the possession of the bank itself. Henry Clay became legal adviser to the bank in 1819. Early in 1820 he became legal counsel for the bank in the state of Ohio. On October 28, 1820, he resigned the speakership of the House of Representatives, and on November 5 accepted the superintendency of the legal business of the bank in Ohio and Kentucky. The bank closed its branch office of discount and deposit in Cincinnati, one of the largest in the West, on October 3, 1820, and soon afterward put in suit its claims against its debtors. On December 21, 1820, the local bank attorney, William M. Worthington, informed a friend "that he had filed between three & four hundred principals in the Circuit Court: and that the U. S. Bank have [*sic*] no *favorites* in Cincinnati."²

On August 26, 1822, Clay arrived in Cincinnati and two days later attended a public dinner given in his honor at the hotel. From Cincinnati he went on to the United States Circuit Court at Columbus, and after the

¹ The problem examined here is closely related to the problem of the origins of the Jackson party in the northwestern states, but that problem is specifically excluded from present consideration.

² William Greene to Ethan Allen Brown, Dec. 22, 1820, E. A. Brown MSS., Ohio State Library, Columbus. The bank of the United States began to acquire real property through its agency at Cincinnati, Aug. 8, 1820. *Senate Document* no. 98 (Mar. 12, 1832), 22 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 22-36.

court session was over he wrote to Langdon Cheves, president of the Bank of the United States:

In coming to this place to attend the Federal Court I determined to take Cincinnati in my route that I might stimulate the agents & solicitor, if it were necessary, in their exertions to prepare the Causes of the Bank for trial. I found them sufficiently zealous in their endeavors to make full preparations. Mr. Jones came up to the Court & brought with him the principal witness, etc.

Clay's purpose was a matter of common knowledge. His letter continued:

I have therefore the satisfaction to inform you, that we have obtained two hundred and eleven judgments, in cases issuing from the Cincinnati office alone, and that there were only about twenty causes continued.³

Most of the actions brought by the Bank of the United States in Ohio originated either in Cincinnati or Chillicothe, the locations of the two Ohio branches of the bank. The branch in Cincinnati was closed; the branch in Chillicothe continued in business. In 1824 Clay was considerably less popular in Cincinnati and Hamilton County than in Chillicothe and Ross County. It has appeared to some that the closing of the Cincinnati branch and the actions taken against its debtors contributed to Clay's unpopularity in that area.

Seven or eight years later a Senate committee report presented an elaborate tabulation of extensive real property transfers from western owners to the Bank of the United States. It has often been cited and appears to support the inference of a corresponding political opposition to Clay.⁴

While the bank received comparatively little attention in the newspapers of Ohio after the Supreme Court announced its decision in the case of *Osborn v. Bank of the United States* in March, 1824, it is quite possible that in October the voters remembered Clay's work. There is some newspaper evidence and some indication in private correspondence that resentment against the policies and actions of the bank may have been turned against Clay himself.

It is possible, however, to go beyond the reasonable implication of a transfer of resentment from the bank to its attorney, and even beyond the impressive tabulation of real property transfers to the bank. The individual names of hundreds of the men who lost property to the bank survive; they may be found in the Records of Pleas of the United States Circuit Court for the Circuit and District of Ohio. Many of those men subsequently gave their support to one or another of the presidential candidates in 1824. Although

³ Henry Clay to Langdon Cheves, Sept. 13, 1822. Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (courtesy of R. N. Williams II, Director).

⁴ *Senate Document* no. 98, 22 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 22-36.

the information is incomplete, it is sufficiently extensive to support a fairly thorough reappraisal.⁵

The following analysis of actions from the Court Record of Pleas is confined as far as possible to the cases originating in Cincinnati. First may be considered the defendants in cases involving large sums; second, the defendants subject to large numbers of separate actions; and third, all defendants (including those in the first and second groups) who were sued by the bank.

Among the actions brought by the Bank of the United States previous to the presidential election of 1824 three involved rather large sums. One of the largest was *Bank of the United States v. William Greene (sic), Jacob Burnet, John H. Piatt, James Findlay, William H. Harrison, and Martin Baum*. The bank asked for \$70,000 in damages. The court confirmed a judgment for \$61,140.49.⁶ The decision was a heavy loss to the defendants. By 1824 William Green⁷ and John H. Piatt were both dead. Martin Baum was economically ruined and politically silent. James Findlay gave his public support to no presidential candidate, but as a candidate himself for Congress in October, 1824, he was supported almost entirely by the same groups of voters that favored William Henry Harrison. Harrison headed the Ohio electoral ticket for Clay. Jacob Burnet and his two younger brothers, David and Isaac, a son and a son-in-law of General Harrison, a son-in-law and a nephew of General Findlay, and a brother of John H. Piatt all signed the public call of April 30, 1824, summoning the first Clay campaign meeting in Cincinnati.

A second action was the suit by the Bank of the United States against Daniel Drake and Arthur Henrie for damages of \$20,000.⁸ In 1824 Major Henrie gave his public support to Jackson. His brother-in-law Dr. Drake wrote some of the most effective Clay campaign material published in the western press.

A third action of similar scale was *Bank of the United States v. Samuel W. Davis (sic)*.⁹ Colonel Davies was among the callers of the first local Clay

⁵ The manuscript volumes are as follows: Record of Pleas, Circuit Court of the United States, Seventh Circuit, District of Ohio, *Record Book for Terms September 1821–September 1822* and *September 1823–July 1824*. The two volumes are in the recorder's office, U. S. District Court, Cincinnati, Ohio. Records of pleas from 1812 to September, 1821, and for January and July, 1823, are missing. Records showing the final disposition of the cases are not always conclusive, but Clay's letter of Sept. 13, 1822, to Cheves, the report in the *Senate Document* cited above, and an examination of a number of local real property titles indicate that the bank won almost all the actions it brought.

⁶ *Record Book for Terms September 1821–September 1822*, pp. 6–9; *September 1823–July 1824*, pp. 365–66.

⁷ Green is identified in the record as a partner in William Green & Co., a manufacturing concern in which the others, with the exception of Baum, were also partners. He is not to be confused with the young lawyer William Greene who was living in Cincinnati during this period.

⁸ *Record of Pleas, September, 1822*, p. 413.

⁹ *Record of Pleas, July, 1824*, p. 397.

meeting, and was later a leading member of the county Committee of Correspondence for Clay.

Most of the other actions brought by the Bank of the United States were for sums of less than \$6,000 each. A considerable number of the defendants were, however, sued more than once on separate actions before September, 1824. Those most frequently brought to court were Stephen Burrows, William Ferguson, James Findlay, Levi James, William Lytle, Jeremiah Neave, Thompson Neave, William Noble, Thomas Pierce, and John Sutherland. In public commitments Levi James supported Clay, and Stephen Burrows supported Jackson; the others seem to have given no public pledge.¹⁰

The total number of persons sued by the Bank of the United States in the United States Circuit Court in cases originating in Cincinnati prior to September, 1824, was 350. Among them a considerable number made public commitments in favor of one or another of the presidential candidates in the fall of that year. Twelve were friends of Adams, forty-four of Jackson, and forty-six of Clay. Although information is lacking on the other 248, the identification of political affiliations for almost thirty per cent of the total number provides more than a random sampling. The evidence does not show an overwhelming enthusiasm for Clay among those who lost property to the bank; but it scarcely justifies the conclusion that anti-bank feeling resulting from court action was decisive in the development of anti-Clay sentiment.

Notice should also be taken, perhaps, of the spectacular contest between the state of Ohio and the bank during the years 1819-1824. The contest culminated in the case known as *Osborn v. Bank of the United States*. Counsel for the bank was Henry Clay. The agent for Ohio was Ralph Osborn, who served as auditor of the state for eighteen years. His counsel included Charles Hammond, who opposed Clay in this case before the Supreme Court. In 1824 Hammond was one of the half dozen leading journalists in Ohio supporting Clay. Osborn was the most prominent of the three men composing the State Central Committee for Clay in Ohio; and in the presidential election of 1824 Clay, with thirty-eight per cent of the popular vote, carried the state.

This note is concerned essentially with the political preferences of the individual men who had lost property to the bank prior to the presidential election of 1824, but a consideration of certain broader elements of Clay's support and opposition may help to provide perspective. One is the specu-

¹⁰ John Sutherland, merchant of Hamilton, Butler County, should not be confused with John Sutherland, a Clay man of Steubenville, Jefferson County. General William Lytle's eldest son, John S. Lytle, and his brother-in-law, Samuel W. Davies, both supported Clay.

lative element in Ohio, which may have been alienated by the deflationary bank policies between 1818 and 1824. The individual men who constituted this element cannot easily be identified. During the preceding years of prosperity it was sometimes remarked that every one was a speculator; the term seemed to refer to everyone who gave or took credit. Among certain definite groups of financial and industrial speculators in three important towns, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and Steubenville, available information indicates that there was no great hostility to Clay.¹¹ Another broad element is the rural population, which may perhaps be distinguished from the urban by its inheritance of an earlier democratic outlook and possibly Jeffersonian sympathies. It favored Clay in its voting by a slightly greater margin than did the state as a whole.¹² In the formation of political preferences among

¹¹ In Cincinnati four groups of individuals are proposed for consideration as representing the speculative element: bank directors; owners and partners in industrial enterprise; bank stockholders; and land speculators. A total of eighty-eight bank directors and other bank officials may be identified between 1814 and 1824; among them, forty made commitments in favor of one or another of the presidential candidates. Three favored Adams, eleven Jackson, and twenty-six Clay. The proportions varied from one bank to another; but most of the directors were merchants and representative of an important mercantile speculative element. Those who risked their capital in the industrial enterprise of the city may be represented by the partners or owners of the following firms: the Cincinnati Steam Mill, the Cincinnati Bell, Brass, and Iron Foundry, the sugar mill, the glass works, the oil mill, the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company (earlier known as the Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company), the Steam Saw Mill, two breweries, a cotton factory, and a fulling and carding mill. Among the thirty-four men who may be identified as owners or partners in those eleven enterprises (several men were interested in more than one venture), twelve provide an opportunity to recognize political affiliations. Adams was endorsed by one, Jackson by one, and Clay by ten. The principal local bank, the Miami Exporting Company, had sold before the end of this period somewhat more than 1,800 shares of stock to about 190 stockholders. The names of seventy-nine owners of approximately 920 shares of stock between 1814 and 1824 may be found in the manuscript stock book of the company in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. Only a portion of them were engaged actively in risking their capital; but all had placed some capital at the disposal of the governing officials of the bank for speculative enterprise. Among them, twenty-one indicated a preference for a national presidential candidate, three for Adams, seven for Jackson, and eleven for Clay. Land speculation was exceedingly widespread. Thousands of men and women bought and sold lands they never saw, or sought to establish towns and sell lots on their farms. Possibly two companies formed in 1817 may be representative, the "Baum Company" and the "Piatt Company." Eleven men formed the two partnerships. By 1824 one was dead and two had moved to other states. Of the remaining eight, two had public commitments to support Jackson, and two Clay. In Chillicothe, twenty-six among twenty-eight merchants, bankers, and land speculators whose political preferences have been determined supported Clay. In Steubenville the speculative element may be represented by fifteen owners or directors of the Woollen Manufactory, the Air Foundry, the Steam Mill & Cotton Manufactory, another cotton mill, the paper mill, the brewery, the Bank of Steubenville, and the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank. Of that group none has been found as a friend of Adams, three were friends of Jackson, and six of Clay.

¹² In three urban townships the following votes were recorded: Cincinnati Twp., Hamilton Co. (Cincinnati) Adams 711, Jackson 1025, Clay 252; Scioto Twp., Ross Co. (Chillicothe) Adams 80, Jackson 63, Clay 290; Steubenville Twp., Jefferson Co. (Steubenville) Adams 25, Jackson 165, Clay 171. Turtle Creek Twp., Warren Co. (including the town of Lebanon and a considerable rural electorate) gave Adams 151, Jackson 228, Clay 112. Fairfield Twp., Butler Co. (including the town of Hamilton) gave Adams 42, Jackson 237, Clay 45. Middletown, in the same county, gave Jackson 73, Clay 92. In Cleveland Twp., Cuyahoga Co., the vote was Adams 43, Jackson 5, Clay 64. No separate returns have been found for Zanesville, Muskingum Co., but Clay carried that county with about eighty per cent of the vote. The total vote of the state was reported officially as 12,280 for Adams, 18,489 for Jackson, and 19,255 for Clay.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By *Arnold J. Toynbee*, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Professor of International History in the University of London. Volumes VII-X. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxx, 772; ix, 732; vii, 759; vi, 422. \$35.00.)

MR. Toynbee is at once a historian of profound insight and a most painstaking empiricist. But he is also a mystic, prophesying. His new volumes contain additions to the edifice of doctrine set up in the first six; they contain, more profusely than the first six volumes, minor essays in the comparative interpretation of history which are not necessarily related to the main doctrine; and they contain a host of secondary researches designed to enlighten the darker corners of history where conventional historians rarely have the courage to intrude.

Some critical readers will probably think the minor adventures—for they are mostly adventures—the most valuable material in the volumes. There are, for example, comparative studies of imperial communications (VII, 80-108), legal systems (VII, 255-93), armies (VII, 318-44), and civil services (VII, 344-72) which throw much light on the character and quality of the main institutions which any large, composite state must have. The more special study of imperial frontiers and of barbarians living beyond the frontiers and eventually breaking through them (VIII, 1-81) takes Chadwick's work of forty years ago and correlates it with the work of Lattimore on the frontiers of China and with a survey of the careers of the primitive Muslim Arabs and of other transfrontier barbarians. Another very valuable passage is that about renaissances (IX, 1-166). Comparisons of unquestionably analogous phenomena of this kind are long overdue, and Toynbee's suggestion that some societies proved able to ingest and dominate their rediscoveries, while others were stultified by them, is at least worthy of serious consideration.

There are many other instructive comparative passages. The essential Toynbee, however, is the Toynbee of the rise and fall of civilizations, of "universal states," "universal churches," and the like. In approaching the additions in the new volumes to this doctrine we must take note that Toynbee sees in history "a vision . . . of God revealing Himself in action to souls that were sincerely seeking Him" (X, 2). In face of this, it is the business of the reviewer who does not find God in history to judge by results. One result was that Toynbee undertook his gigantic work. The work is, in fact, a theodicy, and we might never have had it if Toynbee had not been powerfully moved by religious yearning. The

new volumes reveal this fully and with the utmost frankness, which the old ones did not.

In view of Mr. Toynbee's opinions, therefore, we need not be greatly surprised to meet in Volume VII the suggestion that universal churches, such as the medieval Roman Church, are a higher species of human society than civilizations and are possibly destined to replace civilizations as the frame of human society in the future (pp. 420-49). The new volumes complete Toynbee's main scheme of history, placing all the "higher religions," which are embodied in universal churches, in between the "secondary" and "tertiary" civilizations. The tertiary civilizations are those existing today, our own "Western," the "Orthodox Christian in Russia," the "Hindu," etc., and the secondary are the "Babylonian," "Indic," "Hellenic," etc. The higher religions were created by the "internal proletariat" of some of the secondary civilizations, the internal proletariat being the masses, including peoples of alien civilization brought under political subjection to the society by conquest. The churches served as means for "apparentation and affiliation" as between secondary and tertiary civilizations. The "primary" civilizations, "Egyptian," "Sumerian," "Minoan," and two in the New World, are now completed for India and China by the "Indus Culture" and the "Shang Culture"—which, I believe, is sound, but will surely gravel the Sinologists. The primary civilizations were related (not apparented) to the secondary civilizations through religions, but not higher religions. These earlier cases of relationship occurred through religions of the "dominant minority" or of the "external proletariat." The dominant minority means the ruling clique of a civilized society in the society's later centuries when it creates little which is new; the religion in question is, in fact, the old religion of the society. The external proletariat is the barbarian invaders who overrun declining civilized societies and bring with them their own religion of anthropomorphic deities, such as the Greek Olympiad. In the new volumes the functions of these two kinds of religion are made completely clear (VII, 392-409, Table IV *ad fin.* and *passim*).

This interpretation of history is made in the light of Bergson's theory of "dynamic religion," a theory which is effectively sustained for primitive societies by the work of such anthropologists as Wilson Wallis, and Philleo Nash. I believe that the theory is equally applicable to civilized societies, but that a number of the distinctions and characterizations Toynbee makes in so applying it are either oversimplified or misconceived in the interests of his own religious preoccupation. Anybody who thinks, however, that Toynbee can for this reason be dismissed as a serious historian makes a superficial judgment.

Toynbee's main thesis is, for all its rather gross inaccuracies, a matter of vast importance. In fact, it is, in my opinion, an approach to the dominating process in the history of civilized societies as those societies have developed since their first appearance in the fourth or fifth millennium B.C. Spengler's theory was an approach also, but a more distant one, marred by far greater error than Toynbee's. There is, currently, one other version of the process, Sorokin's, but this is ex-

pressed in a forbidding conceptual apparatus, and most historians have never heard of it. Since Toynbee's theory is so important, then, it is worth attempting here a brief (and thus inevitably dogmatic) summary of its distortions, now that the theory is completely developed.

There is no warrant for calling some civilized religions higher and thereby distinguishing them from others. Nor is any religion created by the internal proletariat. Here Toynbee has had some sort of aberration, but, as usual when he goes wrong, he nevertheless discerns something of great importance: the masses, the internal proletariat, do not create religion, but every new or reconstituted religion is created for them; it is indeed invariably brought down to their level and is not effective until it is so vulgarized. It is a reasonable guess that the re-animation of the masses with hope is the essential means whereby religion brings about the revival of a disintegrating society. There is truth in Toynbee's opinion that conquering barbarians contribute a different kind of religion from that previously established in a civilized society; it is also true that large elements in a new religious conglomeration are sometimes taken from alien civilized sources. But always the total conglomeration is a mixture, in varying proportions in different cases, from all three sources. If the later religions on the whole show less than the earlier of the barbarian element and more borrowing from other societies, that is nothing like sufficient ground for distinguishing them as higher and as producing churches; there were formidable churches in Egypt and Mesopotamia. As to who creates religions, it is always small groups of great leaders, and, if they are not already priests, as in Toynbee's cases of creation by the dominant minority, they are likely soon to become so though there are variations in the extent to which ecclesiastical leadership becomes differentiated from secular. How, incidentally, can Toynbee possibly contend that Hinduism—according to his own doctrine—was created by any but the dominant minority?

It is of lesser importance that Toynbee has several strange ideas about particular morphological developments, about both Russia and Japan for instance, and an astounding idea about the Arab caliphate being a continuation after 1000 years interval of the Achaemenian Empire. There is an infuriating passage (IX, 682-92) in which Toynbee sees his own earlier error in discerning the morphological development of Egypt, but then returns to his error on the ground that the "Old Kingdom" cannot have been a universal state because its dominant minority created a new architecture (the pyramids) and dominant minorities are not creative. It is, no doubt, true that usually there is little new creation in times of universal states, but a hard and fast dogma that there can be none is utterly unhistorical. There are, unfortunately, many other false quantities besides these.

But the new volumes contain many things of value not yet mentioned. There is an excellently well-balanced discussion of the prospects of Western civilization (IX, 406-644). The discussion of freedom and determinism in history (IX, 167-405) is abreast of the best contemporary opinion on the subject. The largely

autobiographical matter in Volume X has its use in helping the assiduous reader to understand the author.

Mr. Toynbee was never a stylist, and in these four volumes his style is notably worse than it was in the first six. It is hideously overburdened with Biblical and classical allusions, and the syntax is constantly tortured beyond all reason to force it to carry the burden. This is a serious obstacle for any reader: reading these volumes is a task.

In spite of the frightful style, the strange distortions in the theodicean interest, and a general propensity to exaggerate some differences, this remains a great work.

Atlanta University

RUSHTON COULBORN

SOCIAL SCIENCES IN HISTORICAL STUDY: A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORIOGRAPHY. [Bulletin 64.] (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1954. Pp. x, 181. Cloth \$2.25, paper \$1.75.)

THIS slim volume by a committee of working historians—begun under the chairmanship of Ralph E. Turner and completed under that of Thomas C. Cochran—carries forward the direction of effort that produced the S.S.R.C.'s Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*, in 1946. Though offering an impressively useful bibliography for going further, the earlier report was primarily concerned with alerting historians to problems and perils lurking within prevailing practices and assumptions. The present volume is decidedly more positive in direction and content. Its objective is clearly stated: "The essays comprising this report are not designed to serve as a manual of historical practice, nor do they emulate earlier attempts at formal surveys of social science methods. Rather, they examine certain social science methods that may be of use to historians, in order to indicate their possibilities as well as their limitations, and to suggest grounds for believing that further progress in historical study might derive from the use of such methods" (p. 20). Careful and responsible discussions of methodology are seldom light going and collective authorship does not lessen repetitiveness and changing levels of argument. But this much said, this report offers a useful and substantial discussion of the front along which historiography seems likely to undergo its most distinctive development in the decades ahead.

The early chapters open up the problem of historical knowledge and the functions of theory, distinguishing carefully between the private cosmologies of a Spengler or a Toynbee and the more limited and testable hypotheses of social science with which the present study is solely concerned. The next chapter then undertakes a rather heroic review of concepts and theoretical points of departure in the several social sciences that historians might find useful in defining their problems and shaping their questions in various areas. Without advocating any single alliance or line of theory, this review concludes with the sobering ob-

servation of the great economist, Alfred Marshall, that "the most reckless and treacherous of all theorists is he who professes to let facts and figures speak for themselves."

There follows a series of chapters moving closer to the problems and requirements of "the historian as social scientist": a careful discussion (chapter 4) of the nature of certain essential building blocks—concepts, selection, real and ideal types, hypotheses, theories, structure and process, and the like, into which history is led the more it becomes concerned with interpretations and causal interrelations; a chapter on change, and ways in which social science approaches can help the historian break down and analyze general factors affecting historical change; a further, more formal chapter on methods of scientific inquiry generally; and a final chapter on alternative ways of conceiving of the problem of historical synthesis at several levels, with possible social science aids thereto.

This is altogether a permissive book, a sensible book, a modest book. It deals with a difficult subject. It does not pretend to solve the problems that it raises, nor does it always present them as sharply or comprehensively as the practitioner might wish. But it brings together informed discussion and useful references on the central questions to which any seminar on this topic must turn. Taken in conjunction with such a splendid example of its teachings as has independently appeared in David M. Potter's recent book, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*, it adds further force to a growing awareness, as Potter expresses it, that there are certain heights which history and the social sciences—whether they like it or not—will climb only if "roped together like other mountaineers."

Yale University

JOHN E. SAWYER

GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Johan Huizinga*. Edited with an Introduction by *Kurt Köster*. [Kröners Taschenausgabe, Band 215.] (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag. 1954. Pp. xl, 387. DM 11.)

HARDLY less revealing than the avowedly "classical" works of a great historian are his miscellaneous writings. They allow us to grasp the scholar's mind at work; they have the flavor of immediacy, of intimacy, of spontaneity; they are free from the drudgery which every compendious work necessarily entails, and from the structural stays without which every greater work collapses; they are comparable to the rapid pencil or pen-and-ink sketches of the sculptor or painter. Pen-and-ink sketching itself, incidentally, happens to have been one of the auxiliaries of the late Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, as will be known to those who have chanced upon the next-to-complete edition of his sketches by C. T. van Valkenberg (*Keur van gedenkwaardige tafereelen uit de vaderlandsche historiën*, Amsterdam, 1950). It is gratifying that the editor of the present selection

of essays, Mr. Kurt Köster, has added six samples of Huizinga's wise and amusing pen-cracks, which disclose the master of historical observation and delicate coloring to be also a draftsman and historical cartoonist of original gifts.

The volume opens with the editor's excellent biographical sketch of "Huizinga the Historian" (pp. ix-xi). No one will be surprised to learn that Huizinga started as a philologist, a Sanskritist; philological self-discipline has left its imprint on his work, especially in the meaningful interpretation of detail. Huizinga, who himself wrote and spoke in many tongues, positively enjoyed the linguistic variety of dwarfish multilingual Europe, now wedged in between the unilingual monsters of America and Russia. Significant for this attitude ("Civilization is safeguarded by variety" [p. xxxv]) is his letter to Julien Benda (pp. 359-73), whose fears and horrors of exaggerated nationalism he shared, with whose longing for a unified Europe he sympathized, but whose suggestion to make Europe linguistically uniform by using only one language—French—he detested: "Intellectual life in its infinite gradations needs a multitude of languages" (p. 370), for no single idiom renders all the shades, all the tones, which the European soul has created in many tongues over a period of thousands of years. For long an editor of the internationally-minded literary monthly *De Gids*, Huizinga's devotion to poetry and literature was almost professional. It is reflected in his "Brief Conversation on Themes of Romanticism" (pp. 257-72), a conversation about A. Bertrand's post-Romantic reverie *Gaspard de la Nuit*, from which he extracts the main features and the historical background of Romantic typology. He hails the good fortune of small nations whose citizens are bound to master several languages and therefore to acquire—more so than their big brothers—a profound understanding of others and of themselves. To the problems of small nations Huizinga often reverted—manifestly with pleasure. "The Netherlands' Mediatory Position between Western and Central Europe" (pp. 327-55), a paper read in Berlin on January 27, 1933, deals with the task of his homeland as a "material and cultural agency" straddling two orbits of culture, exemplified, e.g., in the Burgundian period though not at all restricted to it. Deeply indebted to Jacob Burckhardt—his "opposite number," as it were: the "small nation" historian from the Upper Rhine ("the wisest mind of the nineteenth century" [p. xxxviii])—Huizinga, too, had the urge to understand what his métier, what history herself meant historically. In his sketch "Historical Ideals of Life" (pp. 172-58), he jokingly proposed to investigate "the influence of History on history." He was fascinated by the question "How Present Becomes Past" (pp. 119-26). In "Four Chapters on the Development of History into a Modern Science" (pp. 17-119) he treats far more than the problem of historiography: he analyzes the historical trends of the last century, the process of historical cognition, the "historical ideas," and the function or "value" of historical study in the life of modern society. Those chapters are preceded by "A Definition of the Notion of History" (pp. 1-16) and followed, later, by a paper "On the History of the Notion Middle Ages" (pp. 213-29). Of a greater book which he planned to compose

under the title "Pre-Gothic Figures" only one figure, Alain of Lille, has really been finished (published in the *Proceedings* of the Dutch Academy, 1932), whereas "Abelard" and "John of Salisbury" (pp. 186-212) remained sketches. "Erasmus on Fatherland and Nations" (pp. 229-54) was a by-product or afterthought of his compendious book on the Dutch humanist. Two smaller papers on "Problems of Netherlandish History" (pp. 272-326) in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries round out this well-selected and prudently edited volume of essays. It brings the dead, who died an exile from Nazi persecution, back to life.

Institute for Advanced Study

ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ

RANKE UND DIE GESCHICHTSTHEOLOGIE DER GOETHEZEIT. By *Carl Hinrichs*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 19.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Wissenschaftlicher Verlag. 1954. Pp. 254. DM 19.80.)

ONE of the truly fruitful problems of modern historiography is the question of the theological and philosophical foundation of Ranke's work. In contrast to the "metahistorical" and all too theoretical Hegel, Ranke appears almost casual and intuitive. In contrast to Burckhardt, with his emphasis on cultural history, Ranke is easily taken for a merely political historian. However, while Ranke himself reacted particularly against the speculative tendencies of Fichte and Hegel, he was not opposed to philosophies of history as such. Indeed, the young Ranke had made his way from theology and philosophy to history, and throughout his life's work he aimed at finding absolute ideas—God or the "spirit"—reflected in the concrete world. His concept of universal history was based on a union of the "empirical with the idea."

It is therefore fitting that the Ranke studies of the past decades should have been concerned with correcting the superficial view of a nontheoretical and non-principled Ranke. Friedrich Meinecke's studies, from his brief chapter in *Die Entstehung des Historismus* to his talk in the German Academy of Sciences in 1948, have set the tone for the "intellectualization" of Ranke. Theodore Von Laue's recent book on Ranke carefully balances the "mystic element in Ranke's process of cognition" against his philosophy of history. The latter clearly goes back to Luther, stemming more immediately from the notions of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German humanism and idealism.

The new work on Ranke by Professor Carl Hinrichs is specifically concerned with relating Ranke to the philosophical premises of the Goethean era, which the author rightly recognizes as secularizations of Christian theological concepts. The ideas of Herder, Goethe, Fichte, the Schlegels, Schelling, and Hegel were so much "in the air" in the German republic of learning of the early nineteenth century that discussing them adds a great deal to our understanding of Ranke. It must, however, be said right here that nowhere does Professor Hinrichs explain what he has set out to do. Neither is there an introduction to the book, nor

is the key term "Geschichtstheologie" ever adequately defined. The book appeals at best to some mystical intuitiveness in the reader. And there comes a point where even this appeal fails. The author's effort to present Plotinus as a major influence upon Ranke is not clearly developed and sufficiently documented. Moreover, it goes to the extreme of discounting Ranke's spontaneity and forcing him into an artificial scheme. It is disappointing that a book so full of learning should have the effect of obscuring rather than elucidating one of the great historians of our times.

It should be added, by way of contrast, that a recent article by Professor Eberhard Kessel in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (October, 1954) on Ranke's idea of universal history offers a clear and penetrating treatment of the theoretical premises of Ranke's work.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

EUROPÄISCHE GEISTESGESCHICHTE. By *Friedrich Heer*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1953. Pp. 727. DM 24.)

FRIEDRICH Heer's book is an intellectual history of the Western world from the early Christian centuries to the present. It centers on man as a religious, moral, and political person, and on the ideas men hold about their fate in this world and the next. It is therefore *Geistesgeschichte*, and not a history of art, letters, philosophy, or of any other formal discipline. In time it is concerned in detail with the years to 1789; a rather brief final chapter, which the author modestly entitles "Chiffren unserer Zeit, 'Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert' (1789-1945)" is in effect drawn on a different scale. Dr. Heer promises a full volume to deal in detail with this long and to us at least most puzzling and confused century.

The present volume is difficult but most rewarding. The difficulty does not lie, as it sometimes does in such sweeping works, either with a special philosophical vocabulary or with an elaborate and private scaffolding of symbolic thinking. The units—the clauses—of Dr. Heer's often very long sentences are usually crystal-clear. The trouble is that one clear idea leads on to another, and then to another, until after Dr. Heer has gone on, say from Ramon Lull forward to Leibniz and Ernst Mach and back to Nicholas of Amiens (with a number of clauses en route that simply have to be put between parentheses) even so clear and effective a clincher as "Jede Panlogik und All-Wissenschaft (von Alkuin bis Marx) will bekehren" (p. 152) does not quite put the reader at ease. It is not that Dr. Heer's chains of association are arbitrary, or that they follow a kind of Joycean stream of consciousness; on the contrary, they are logical and almost always most suggestive and stimulating. But they do demand close attention from the reader, if only because Dr. Heer's very great erudition packs his pages with allusions for which all but those readers of similar erudition—and they are not many—will have to seek explanation in works of reference. The book is

well worth translating, but it will benefit by an analytical and explanatory index of both names and topics.

The historian who distrusts anything remotely concerned with a "philosophy of history," the strictly "nominalist" or "empiricist" historian, will not find this book profitable. Dr. Heer is not in fact a peer of Spengler, or Rosenstock-Huussy, or Egon Friedell. He is in no sense a *Schwärmer*, nor a prophet either of doom or of bliss. For one thing—and a most important thing—he has not the bad temper, the angry omniscience of such prophets. His links and juxtapositions represent real insight, and not just a desire to shock, puzzle, or show off. Still, the fact remains that he is concerned with the analysis and evaluation of the inside as well as the outside of Western culture, that he is concerned with what concerned Spengler and the rest, concerned, in fact, with *Geistesgeschichte*. Those who reverse, to the detriment of truth as well as poetry, the familiar tag to read "Es ist der Körper, der sich den Geist baut" will not profit greatly from this book.

Finally, though the book is densely packed with allusions, though it brings in with some detail most of the familiar and unfamiliar figures of Western intellectual history in these centuries, it is by no means without guiding threads. The wood is there as well as the trees. Dr. Heer summarizes his generalizations very conveniently under twelve heads in his very last pages. The central or master thesis Dr. Heer puts as follows in summary:

Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen "Oben" und "Unten," zwischen den bisher in Herrschaftssystemen aufgetretenen Ontologien, christlichen Denk- und Glaubenssystemen, humanistischen und altrationalistischen Geistesverfassungen einerseits und dem "Untergrund," den Tiefenschichten der Person und der Völker andererseits tritt seit dem 19. Jhdt. (das für Europa bis mindestens 1945 reicht) in eine neue Phase ein [p. 661].

His development of this thesis in his volume on the nineteenth century should be most interesting.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO. By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 602. \$6.00.)

THIS is the first volume of an expansion of the author's *Decisive Battles* (1940) into a three-volume work.

It calls for one kind of review from a military analyst and another from a historian for historians. Its battle pieces are entitled to the highest marks from both. They have a sharpness and depth of treatment that only General Fuller could give them. In these descriptions he is the historian's historian, turning over every scrap of evidence research can find, seeking his answers first in testimony

closest to the event, continually correcting and refining the picture, as a comparison of this book with its predecessor shows. Again, in these battle chapters General Fuller is the objective historian, evidently intent on testing as well as illustrating his well-known convictions about strategy, tactics, and command.

But this book is not to be set aside as tactical history. A distinctive stamp of breadth is put on it by the author's conviction that warfare cannot be understood apart from the whole history of our culture, and he has boldly undertaken his own reconstruction of the history of that culture. In short, he does not dodge the question why the battles he describes were decisive. This is the part of his work of interest to all historians. It commands respect by the earnestness and erudition of the search for truth that it reflects.

It is much less marked than the corresponding part of his 1940 book by vast generalizations and a declared philosophy of history. It is still open to two criticisms. One is its extreme unevenness. When the author gets into the "Middle Ages" his connective tissue tends to become a maze of details in which the large outlines of history disappear. The other is that many of the general views that dominate the better distilled parts of the narrative cannot be sustained by any large professional consensus and are wide open to negative historical criticism. But so are those of Toynbee or any author who attempts an all-embracing historical synthesis.

General Fuller's views of history cannot be dismissed as those to be expected of a general. His conviction that nations cease to be virile when their aim becomes security, unless security is sought in a continual expansion of their power, will probably be regarded as such. But it would have to be added that he regards this as the tragedy of mankind. Surely anyone can share the broad grounds of his admiration for Alexander or Caesar. Fewer will go with him in his evident distaste for the bourgeois spirit or the secularization of Western culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but those who do will not all be readers imbued with the military spirit. And when he reaches the conclusion, for example, that the fall of Constantinople and of "the spiritual rampart of Rome," the papacy, in the mid-fifteenth century "threw a dust of doubt over the entire West: hence the Reformation, that economic crisis which, masquerading under a monk's cowl, ended by exalting Mammon over God," his readers will divide into camps that are not strictly military and antimilitary.

My conclusion is that General Fuller's courageous excursion into general history is one that historians should welcome and applaud. Those who make it with him will find most of it exciting, provocative, and illuminating. His observations are those of a learned, penetrating, and imaginative mind and his survey of our past has the great merit of being crystallized around a theme regarding which his interest, knowledge, and insight would be hard to match among living writers.

Washington, D. C.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

HISTOIRE DE L'INTERNATIONALISME. Volume II, DE LA PAIX DE WESTPHALIE JUSQU'AU CONGRÈS DE VIENNE (1815). By *Chr. L. Lange* and *August Schou*. [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvegien, t. VII.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1954. Pp. xi, 482.)

CHR. L. Lange's first volume of *Histoire de l'internationalisme* appeared in 1919 and contained a sketch of the development of internationalism from ancient times to the Treaty of Westphalia. It was the author's announced intention to prepare two more volumes, covering the period from Westphalia to the present. But his duties as secretary general of the Interparliamentary Union and as a Norwegian representative to the League of Nations so burdened him that he could not complete his research and writing, and at his death in 1938 he had finished only a third of the present work, Volume II of the proposed series. After World War II, the Lange family requested August Schou to undertake the task of finishing the volume by working from Lange's notes and of course by adding the fruits of his own study.

The opening chapter is a brief sketch of the general characteristics of the Age of Absolutism, 1648-1789. During that period the medieval political ideal of the Christian community gave way to the idea of independent states without any hierarchy, and without any means of settling their conflicts other than war or the threat of war. During the Age of Absolutism, then, the official policy of European states was a recognition of international anarchy, but among students of political affairs there were three schools: theoreticians of international anarchy, advocates of the balance of power, and those independent thinkers who concerned themselves with pacifism and international organization. Among the first group Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza were prominent, but even their writings contained thoughts which were valuable to internationalists. For instance, Hobbes's argument that there must exist within the nation an absolute social authority before which individuals must bow in the interest of all could very easily lead the thinking of men to an international organization before which nations must bow in the interest of all. Of course, Hobbes denied the possibility of such an organization, but the germ was there nevertheless.

In like manner, the balance-of-power school, although stressing the sovereignty and independence of individual states, contributed to internationalism in that they could not help viewing the states of Europe as a whole, and thus their political horizons were extended beyond the individual state.

From this point the work covers a wide selection of thinkers, peace planners, pacifists, jurists, and philosophers who advocated various types of international organization and control, or whose works contributed something to those who did so advocate. A particularly strong feature of the work is that although many different persons and topics are treated there is always a clear relationship to the general topic and to problems of the present day.

The last three chapters of the volume dealing with the American and French Revolutions, the Napoleonic Age, and the discussions of the Congress of Vienna, well summarize and interpret a great amount of material in a relatively few pages. August Schou has made a worthy contribution to the study of internationalism.

Abilene Christian College

JOHN C. STEVENS

NATIONALISM: MYTH AND REALITY. By *Boyd C. Shafer*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. Pp. x, 319. \$5.00.)*

THIS useful book provides the best statement of our present knowledge of nationalism. Much of it can be read with profit by scholars on the subject and all of it by undergraduate students and the interested public. The author's assertion in the preface that he has devoted twenty years of his life to research on nationalism is confirmed by the fine quality of the result. The relatively brief text is buttressed by fifty-three pages of footnotes, and the entire volume shows that the items listed in the nineteen pages of bibliography have been carefully selected and studied.

The author manifests qualities of mind which this reviewer esteems. Mr. Shafer places the phenomenon of nationalism in its total cultural setting, and recognizes in practice the need for a historian to work in any and all areas of knowledge necessary for comprehending his subject. He has explored the social sciences, the humanities, and the sciences for relevant materials. He has profited, for example, from reading histories of language along with books on the biology of man and psychological studies of tensions. Equipped with this wide understanding he has asked the significant questions about nationalism, and he has avoided the main pitfalls for the student of this topic, indulgence in easy categorizing of so-called types of nationalism, analysis of insignificant ideas of insignificant individuals whose main claim to attention rests upon their ability to have found a publisher for their voluminous works, respect for verbose purple trivia, the search for nationalism anywhere and everywhere. One of the five sections of the book is devoted to the discussion of "Illusions concerning the Basis of Nations and Nationalism" and the final section to a consideration of "Delusions about Man and His Groupings." The author applies a judicious sense to the outpourings of nationalists and to writers on nationalism, and after an objective scholarly analysis he frequently calls an idea unproved or exposes it as nonsense and labels it as such. It is a pleasure to read a book in which the author so efficiently and courageously cuts through verbiage to the heart of an issue and in a modest and agreeable manner states his own considered opinion. By avoiding the usual biographical approach and by studying "the interplay of idea and institution" (preface) he is able to identify the constructive achievements

*The previous editor of the *American Historical Review* assigned this review and determined its length.

of nationalism and at the same time to reveal the tendency toward destructive totalitarianism. Future students of the subject may well take their cue from him and work out case histories of the nationalistic significance of institutions and occupations.

The author has succeeded in portraying nationalism as a historical process—the emergence of the ingredients prior to the French Revolution, the institutionalization of the ideal since that time, the spread of it to the entire world, the development of new forces in our society which are undermining its dominance in favor of internationalism. He ends his book, as a historian should, by drawing a conclusion for the future. "For there is no basis, historical, biological, psychological, for believing this nationalism must be or will be permanent. Below the surface of their national peculiarities, men remain, so far as we know, more alike than different." Mr. Shafer has met squarely the responsibility of a scholar to use his knowledge for the guidance of the society in which he lives. The contrast which he draws between the danger from nationalism and the advantages of internationalism should be manifest to every reader.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Volume V, LE XIX^e SIÈCLE. I. DE 1815 A 1871: L'EUROPE DES NATIONALITÉS ET L'ÉVEIL DE NOUVEAUX MONDES. By *Pierre Renouvin*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1954. Pp. 421. 1,100 fr.)

THIS work, dealing with the period 1815–1871, constitutes Volume V of a seven-volume history of international relations from the Middle Ages to the present, of which Volumes I, II, and IV have already appeared (*AHR*, October, 1953, January, 1955). Admirably maintaining the quality of its predecessors, it augurs well for the remaining volumes, soon to be published.

The present survey, enlarged and brought up to date, follows the general plan of the very useful course of lectures given by M. Renouvin and published under the auspices of the European Center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1930. The author demonstrates his skill as a teacher, keeping a nice balance between exposition and analysis. The material is systematically organized, each of the three chronological sections being prefaced by an exposé of the political, economic, and social forces involved and being followed by a compact summary. No strikingly new viewpoints are proposed. Diplomatic history, in the author's view, yields to no simple explanation; it is in part the result of the "forces profondes," largely those of nationalism and economic growth, and in part of the deliberate acts of the "hommes d'état," those dynamic leaders of whom Cavour, Louis Napoleon, and Bismarck are outstanding examples.

Nationalism, obviously enough, has had a profound impact upon international relations. Renouvin is more guarded on the subject of economics; he recognizes the role of the *Zollverein* in German history, and he is aware of Greenfield's

studies on economics and the Risorgimento. Nevertheless, he is at pains to point out that certain aspects of both the Italian and German unification movements can hardly be explained in economic terms. To the present reviewer it is a little curious, in the light of the repeated emphasis upon the role of the "homme d'état" (see pp. 356, 382, 394), that the personality and policies of Bismarck are not more sharply etched. Renouvin is aware of the complex nature of Louis Napoleon, recognizing the large part which, despite his failures, he played in the making of modern Europe. One will find in this volume, in contrast to the outdated works of Debidour and Bourgeois, a realization of the importance of the problems of Central and South America, of the territorial expansion of the United States, soon to be active as a world power, and of the problems of the Pacific.

The chapters are equipped with excellent bibliographies, notable for the generous inclusion of monographic and periodical material from English and American sources. Students should note, however, that the English titles have been exposed to unfortunate carelessness in proofreading. In sum the present volume constitutes the most convenient and clearest summary of diplomatic history now available for the period which it covers. It can be highly recommended as a fine example of the French gift for well informed, clearly organized, and ably presented historical writing.

Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts

E. J. KNAPTON

IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE: SEVEN YEARS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS. By *Trygve Lie*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 473. \$6.00.)

THE Scandinavian countries, combining the best and most progressive examples of political development with the absence of the interests and rivalries that beset the Great Powers, offer a suitable recruiting ground for such a position as that of Secretary General of the United Nations. Mr. Lie, the first to fill that office, which he held for seven years, has written an interesting book that reveals the qualifications of fairness, energy, and sincere, though not unrealistic, belief in the possibilities of the United Nations Organization.

The position of Secretary General of an organization made up of sovereign entities, usually very jealous of that prerogative, could not in any case be an easy one. As Mr. Lie points out, "when he agrees with us, governments tend to feel, the Secretary General is within his rights, and is a good fellow besides; when his views differ from ours he clearly is exceeding his authority, his reasoning is bad, and even his motives may be suspect" (p. 76). But his difficulties were enormously increased by the great ideological cleavage that dominates our time. Mr. Lie was initially the unanimous choice of the Big Five and strove hard to maintain the official impartiality of his position; in the growing estrangement between the free, or democratic, and the Soviet worlds he could not avoid

becoming a victim of their irreconciled divergence. There are limits to the degree to which one can serve two masters at one time.

The process of deterioration had gone far enough by 1949 for Mr. Lie to feel justified in taking the initiative of a "peace mission" in 1950. His reception in Moscow in May gave him grounds for hope, although, as it was put by Stalin, "we will try to do everything we can to work along a course determined by our own and the world's best interests" (p. 229). This ambiguous statement was clarified in June when hostilities broke out in Korea. Mr. Lie's firm and unequivocal position on that issue put him in the black book of the Soviets.

This in fact has been the fundamental issue of the postwar period: is conflict between the Soviet states and the free world avoidable or not? The answer to this question rests with the governments of the great states; the United Nations can at most provide them with a useful and convenient meeting ground.

To this state of affairs Mr. Lie is not blind, and his last chapter provides as sane and fair an analysis of prospects as is to be found anywhere. The strength—hence armament—of the free world is an inevitable, if regrettable, prerequisite. But it is only a first step, for the struggle will go on for mastery of that portion of the still free world (the major part of it) which suffers from the handicaps of economic backwardness and lack of experience with the democratic process. That struggle will not be waged mainly with arms. Mr. Lie is wholly right in stressing in his closing pages the heavy responsibility that rests with that small portion of the free world that is both economically and politically advanced for understanding and leading with tactful skill the depressed millions along the path that it itself has trod.

In the ability to solve this problem lies the answer to the survival of freedom, to the preservation of peace, and then—but only then—to the possibility of a world organization with both power and meaning.

Barnard College, Columbia University

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume I, FROM EARLY TIMES TO FALL OF ANCIENT EMPIRES. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, and A. R. Hall*. Assisted by *E. Jaffé, R. H. G. Thomson and J. M. Donaldson*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. lviix, 827, 36 plates. \$23.55, £7.7s.)

TODAY, when the triumphs of Western technology are being hailed throughout the world, a volume such as this (four more are to follow) appears at an appropriate time. The chief purpose of this series, the most ambitious publication project on the history of technology ever undertaken, which was made possible by Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, "is to provide students of technology

and applied science with some humane and historical background for their studies." The editors, convinced of the human values in our technological civilization, describe the methods and skills by which man has attained a gradual easing of his earthly lot through mastery of his environment. The volume is written in plain language, with few specialist terms, "so as to be understandable by those with a minimum of technical or scientific training."

The work is centered on the Near East, "where food production first began, where men first settled as farmers, where they first learned how to mine, extract, and use metals, and where the first civilizations arose." The reader is taken back more than half a million years to the time when primitive man first began to make and use tools, the most important of which was language. Not until man developed a language could he engage in systematic toolmaking. The discovery of means for making fire was likewise a great step forward. Of the early Stone Age industries the hand-axe was the predominant tool. While Pekin man was a systematic toolmaker he made little attempt at standardization.

Within the half million years or so of human existence, two basic economies have predominated: one, food gathering; the other, food production. While the first is characterized as the age of "savagery," and the second as the age of "barbarism," the two were not wholly exclusive (the distinction between the two is never clear). Members of the savage tribes, as the centuries passed, devised a number of tools—knives, saws, chisels, and axes—to aid in gathering food, while those who lived in the stages of barbarism began to cultivate edible plants and to domesticate animals. The centuries following the initial features of the Neolithic culture, during which "the hunter and food-gatherers first became farmers and stock-breeders," were technologically the most significant in the history of human progress.

The advent of metals (copper being one of the first) marked as great an advance over the old stone and bone tools as did the invention of firearms over the bow and arrow. The introduction of copper, and later bronze weapons, was followed by iron weapons. Later, discoveries occurred in the technology of metalworking; picture writing began to converge into hieroglyphic systems. Between 4000 and 3000 B.C. the Neolithic revolution became well established in Egypt and the Near East. The term "urban revolution" is used to describe these developments: technology played a fundamental part.

The number and the exactness of techniques for reckoning time, making time-measurements, is surprising. The methods used in developing the graphic and plastic arts, finger-drawing, engraving, and sculpture, are reviewed in detail. Rotary-motion technology, beginning in the fourth millennium with hand drills, bow-drills, and wheels, marked a significant advance in man's attempt to conquer his environment. Early fire-making techniques, the use of fuels and methods of illumination date back to Paleolithic man. In the chemical, culinary, and cosmetic arts, and in the use of pigments, early man developed a variety of materials. Cooking was done by roasting, boiling, and broiling methods. Cos-

metics were a necessity in the blistering climates of Egypt and the Near East and developed there early.

In building technology, a review is given of the two methods dating from Mesolithic to the Bronze and Iron Age of Western Europe. While early man made slow progress in the art of metallurgy, the designs of his earliest implements have continued to modern times. The discovery of methods for extracting metals gradually brought the Neolithic culture to an end. When furnaces and crucibles were introduced, the age of metals had arrived.

Improvements in transportation technology, the use of dogs, oxen, and the horse, the opening up of travel routes, the introduction of wheeled vehicles, and the use of boats and ships had a profound effect on the divergence and intermingling of races. Standardized systems of weights and measures came relatively late. The variations in the units of measuring and the different systems of determining weights continues to confuse peoples even to this day.

The final chapter deals with ancient mathematics and astronomy. The reader discovers that no scientific studies could be undertaken in these fields until attempts had been made, however crude, to predict astronomical phenomena, such as the phases of the moon. Methods used in computing the length of seasons of the year, the appearance and disappearance of stars, the invention of periodic cycles, and finally the development of theoretical astronomy, concludes this truly *magnum opus* in the technologies of the ancient world.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

THE THEORY OF THE MIXED CONSTITUTION IN ANTIQUITY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POLYBIUS' POLITICAL IDEAS. By *Kurt von Fritz*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 490. \$7.50.)

THREE discussions (of which this is one) have recently appeared which further the study of Polybiana. The other two are Ziegler's article "Polybios" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XXI, 2, 1952, cols. 1438-1578, and "The Construction of the Sixth Book of Polybius" by Brink and Walbank in *Classical Quarterly*, XLVIII (July-October, 1954), 97-122. Professor von Fritz had the privilege of reading Ziegler's article in galley proof. On the other hand, he was unable to use that of Brink and Walbank, nor they his book.

The central problem of all investigations of Polybius is composition, and, within that problem, the resolution, if possible, of the contradictions or apparent contradictions in Polybius' analysis of the Roman constitution in Book VI. The interesting fact about all three of these contributions is their movement away from a separatist and toward a unitarian theory of composition. Ziegler, to be sure, assumes two layers, one written before 160, the other before 150, but, as Walbank says in his review (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXIV [1954], 185-86), "Once one has gone as far as this, it seems more logical to admit that Book VI

is a single whole, if a rather muddled one." In fact, this is the position of Brink and Walbank in their recent article noted above, and represents a retreat on the part of Walbank from his earlier separatist position.

Von Fritz also is a unitarian, although for a different reason, and it is instructive to compare the two approaches to the same solution. At least three different ideas are used by Polybius in his analysis of the Roman constitution: the mixed constitution, implying stability; the closed circle (*anacyclosis*), implying continuous change; and biological development (birth, prime, decay). The problem is to determine with what consistency, if any, Polybius applies these ideas to the Roman constitution. Since Polybius was not, in Zancan's happy phrase, a "pensatore rigoroso," this is not an easy task.

Walbank and Brink maintain that Polybius (in his lost *archaeologia*, preserved *secundum quid* in Cicero's *De republica*) believed that the Roman constitution had experienced a natural *anacyclosis* up to 450 (kingship into tyranny, aristocratic republic into oligarchy). At this point the Roman polity had acquired its decisive "mixed" character. Whereupon Rome stayed the movement of the cycle for a period of some 300 years (450-150). Subsequently, the motion was renewed with the transition from oligarchy to democracy. The acme of the mixed constitution was realized after Cannae (216). The concept of biological growth applies both to the simple constitutions natural to the cycle (kingship, aristocracy, democracy) and to the mixed constitution as it grows and decays within the period of the temporary arresting of the cyclic movement.

According to von Fritz, on the other hand, Polybius applies the idea of biological growth to the mixed constitution only. The Roman constitution, therefore, was *always* a mixed constitution, having already experienced birth, growth, and maturity, and being about to experience decay. The biological analogy, however, does not apply to the simple constitutions as they succeed each other in the *anacyclosis*. Here Polybius uses the metaphor of the decay of iron or wood through rust or worms. "This comparison is quite appropriate where it stands. For the simple constitutions do not grow but are made by revolutions" (p. 88).

Objections can be raised against both solutions. In the case of von Fritz, there are passages in Polybius (VI, 4, 11-13; 9, 11-14; 57, 4, and particularly 51, 3-8) which seem to apply the biological concept to the simple constitutions within the process of *anacyclosis*. The fault however lies not with the commentators but with Polybius whose political philosophy is muddled.

The author knows his literature and uses it exhaustively, but perhaps his attention may be modestly called to a few omissions. De Sanctis' discussion of the composition and publication of Polybius' work (*Storia dei Romani*, III, 1 [1916], pp. 201-19) is still fundamental. Svoboda's article "Die Abfassungszeit d. Geschichtswerkes d. Polybios" (*Philologus*, LXXII [1913], 465-83) is important in the development of the separatist tradition and influenced Kornemann (*Philologus*, LXXXVI [1931], 169-84). Among the unitarians Zancan's paper "Dottrina delle costituzioni e decadenza politica in Polibio" (*Rendiconti dell'*

Istituto lombardo, LXIX [1936], 499-512) deserves careful reading. Finally, there are two works by Armand Delatte. The first, *Essai sur la politique pythagoricienne* (Paris, 1922), traces the idea of a mixed constitution back to the Pythagoreans; the second, a brochure entitled *La constitution des Etats-Unis et les Pythagoriciens* (Paris, 1948) is a very competent discussion of the influence of Polybius upon Montesquieu and through him upon our own founding fathers.

Von Fritz' book, as the title reveals, discusses much more than Polybius' analysis of the Roman constitution and the problems of composition raised by it, perhaps too much more. It is really two books: the first (chaps. I-v) an analysis (with historical and philosophic background) of the political theories of Polybius; the second (chaps. VI-x) a constitutional history of the Roman Republic. In a work written by an expert for experts, greater economy could have been practiced. For all that, there is some advantage in collecting under one roof all the material, old and new, common and uncommon, pertaining to a particular topic, and this meticulous work will serve as a ready reference book for political philosopher and ancient historian alike.

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

STORIA DEI ROMANI. Volume IV, LA FONDAZIONE DELL'IMPERO.

Parte II, VITA E PENSIERO NELL'ETÀ DELLE GRANDI CONQUISTE. Tomo I. By *Gaetano De Sanctis*. (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice. 1953. Pp. xii, 376. L.3500.)

THE continuation of the *Storia dei Romani* of Gaetano De Sanctis is an event of great importance to historians of ancient Rome. After thirty years of political and personal vicissitudes, during which the author was still able to make distinguished contributions to the study of Greek and Roman history, he has returned to the grand design, a fulfillment of the hopes of all who have profited by the profound learning, broad view, and fine historical judgment of the previous volumes. The first part of Volume IV, published in 1923, dealt with the military and political aspects of the period from the close of the Second Punic War to the end of the Third Macedonian (201-167 B.C.); the second now brings us a review of the development of literature, art, and religion in the third and the second centuries before Christ, and another is promised on the legal, financial, and, in general, the economic, evolution of that time. It is satisfying to note that the earlier volumes of the *Storia dei Romani*, long since out of print, are being republished by "La Nuova Italia."

At first there appears to be a certain imbalance in the treatment. The political history in Part I ends with the settlement of Macedon in 167, yet, without a continuation of the story to the fall of Carthage and the destruction of Corinth, Part II turns to cultural history, reaches back to the beginnings of Latin literature and forward to anticipate the developments of the late second and the early first century B.C. But this is what the evidence preserved and the evolution of the cul-

tural life of Rome alike demand, and we can welcome also the opportunity it gives for a further discussion of views expressed in the earlier volumes.

The first chapter is devoted to literature and art, with a brief appendix on the plays of Terence. The review of authors, of types of literature, the discussion of problems and the citation of ancient evidence make this a notable contribution. The general theme is the success of the Romans in using the Greek authors to create an independent literature and language, filled with their own spirit and in accord with their own traditions. The originality of Naevius is emphasized, a proud Campanian, whose freedom of expression must reveal the confidence of a full citizen, and a true successor of the unknown bards who sang at banquets, but one who was more consciously searching than they for artistic finish and permanent value. Language and verse place Plautus among the leading comic dramatists of any age, but he is important too for his revelation of the culture and the tastes of his audience. There is no mention of Boyancé's revival of the dramatic satira, yet the possibility through this of associating the cantica with the native tradition would accord well with the author's point of view. Ennius, whose theme was also emphatically Roman, broke with ancient native forms and developed the hexameter, while his rhetorical tendencies and artistic aims, as against Plautus, widened the breach between the popular and the literary tongue. The exemplar of the new, educated speech, Terence, is praised for his language and his dramatic art. The author, like Norwood, appreciates his humanity and his fine delineation of character in the *Hecyra*, which the ancient audience found so difficult.

Greek influence on Roman prose writing developed more slowly, as De Sanctis holds, because those who would use it most in oratory and in history were Roman aristocrats devoted to their own traditions. But such a development would naturally wait for a generation trained by Greek tutors in the Greek rhetorical education to grow up and establish their careers. Yet the corrupting influence of the more romantic Hellenistic historiography waited still longer, until Coelius Antipater, before it appeared. This section with its fine appreciation of Cato and of the growth of the historical tradition might still have referred to Tenney Frank's "Prose of the Statesmen," in *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, and B. L. Ullman's "History and Tragedy," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXIII (1942), 25 ff.

The discussion of architecture and art is surpassingly fresh, makes use of recent discoveries and discussions, and again reveals how cleverly the Romans adapted the decorative motives of the Greeks to their own traditional temple form with its high podium and concentration on the façade; and in other forms they made their own use of arch and vault. The fine arts, he holds, were slow to accomplish a fusion of the native traditions with the new Greek influences, and, except in portraiture, were even retarded by contact with the immense number of works of art and the many Greek artists that came to Rome.

The second, and by far the longer, chapter is devoted to the development and decline of the old religious tradition. Here too, the systematic review of divinities,

from greatest to least, of rites, festivals, games, and priesthoods, with full citations of ancient evidence and modern discussions, is in itself a notable contribution, though it suffers somewhat from its very fullness and schematic rigidity. The *decemviri sacris faciundis*, he holds, were not restricted in competence to cults involving the *ritus Graecus*. He notes the increasingly political use of *obnuntiatio*. Haruspices were consulted more and more throughout the period because the senators preferred to have recourse, when the peace of the gods was disturbed, to an apparent science than to oracles. The beginning of the *Ludi Saeculares* is placed in 249, not a century earlier (see L. R. Taylor, *American Journal of Philology*, LV [1934], 101 ff.). Nobles like Fabius Cunctator and Cato still believed in the old gods. Religious fanaticism and unrest after the Gracchan disorders led to the special court and punishment of the errant vestals in 113, despite the humane efforts of the Pontifex Maximus. Above all, we may note the view that Roman religion, in spite of its great hospitality to foreign cults and in contrast with Roman success in adapting Greek influences in literature and art, failed because it was bound to the success of the state, achieved no high degree of spirituality, and suffered no testing through a "provvida sventura" which might have given it vitality when the inner organization of the state broke down.

This is a most important work in the author's own splendid tradition.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

JUVENAL THE SATIRIST: A STUDY. By Gilbert Highet. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 373. \$4.80.)

ALTHOUGH the satires of Juvenal have been studied in detail for centuries, no such comprehensive treatment of the man and his work as Professor Highet's has yet been published. The evidence for Juvenal's life, and a sensible reconstruction of its events, precedes a detailed analysis of the satires, in which the contents are discussed in relation to the history of their own and later periods, and the ideas are related to classical and European thought. It is refreshing to read a treatment of Juvenal in which his works are presented primarily as literature, not as evidence for the social practices of the empire. Not that Highet ignores Juvenal's value as a source for social history on a large scale, but he places him in a broad context as one who diagnosed the basic weaknesses of the empire. He emphasizes Juvenal's constant recurrence to the theme of the corrupting influences of wealth and power used without responsibility. Highet also shows more clearly than most critics of Juvenal the development of his character, the waning of his violent and destructive indignation to a more mellow and constructive interest in the problems of the empire. Throughout this section Highet quotes the text generously and translates it effectively, calling attention to many of its peculiar felicities. In view of this it is perhaps captious to complain that in the final treatment of the author as a poet only three and a half pages are devoted to his style, which to

many would seem Juvenal's chief claim to greatness. A fuller treatment of the material packed into the notes on these pages would have been welcome.

It is something of an innovation for a classical scholar to include in his work on a classical author a detailed survey of his survival and later influence, but Highet rightly points out that the judgment of later generations sheds more light on the true value of a work than contemporary criticism ever can. In view of the thoroughness of Knoche's work on the manuscripts of Juvenal, Highet treats the survival of the text only in its broadest outlines, but he lists for us what must surely be every European writer who ever quoted, paraphrased, or referred to Juvenal. In this section the supply of facts is so generous, and presented so compactly, that the reader sometimes feels dazed by the barrage of information and finds less pleasure in these pages than in the earlier ones. Most of the material here has, however, never been put together before and is illuminating for the story of the part played by the classics in European thought and literature.

A critical bibliography of 81 items is almost overshadowed by 106 pages of notes in which it seems that every topic even remotely related to Juvenal has been discussed.

To sum up, Professor Highet's book tells us all we know or need to know about Juvenal. No secondary discussion can give one the full impact of the author's personality, or the style of the original, which takes one into the clamorous, filthy, magnificent, imperial city more vividly than any other work in Latin, but Highet comes as close to it as is possible. Classicists and scholars in other fields, for both of whom he wrote, will be grateful to him.

Bryn Mawr College

AGNES KIRSOPP MICHELS

THE GROWTH OF PAPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES:
A STUDY IN THE IDEOLOGICAL RELATION OF CLERICAL TO
LAY POWER. By *Walter Ullmann*, University Lecturer in Medieval History,
Cambridge. (London: Methuen and Company. 1955. Pp. xviii, 482. 42s.)

THIS informative, provocative book concentrates on a single theme: the persistence of the hierocratic theory of papal government from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the twelfth century. It is set in a broader frame of reference and covers an earlier period than the three books and dozen or more articles which Dr. Ullmann has published within the past decade.

A summary of the development of its thesis underrates the substance of the book. The logically consistent hierocratic scheme was grounded in a unified, organic Christian society in which status determined function and over which the pope as the sole vicar of St. Peter possessed *auctoritas*, while the emperor had only *potestas*. Gelasius and Isidore of Seville set the theoretical bases; the protests of Gregory I and his immediate successors against the caesaropapism of Constantinople were strengthened by the expansion of the Roman Church to areas outside

of the imperial framework. In the eighth century the papacy extricated itself from the imperial nexus by anointing the Frankish king as "the patrician of the Romans" which is interpreted as "protector of Christians" and by fabricating the *Donation of Constantine*, which exemplifies the traditional hierocratic theory. Charlemagne, as *patricius Romanorum* and as *Imperator Romanorum*, identified *Romanitas* with *Christianitas* and regarded his empire as Roman in a religious, not in a political, sense. In the ninth century the corporate nature of Christendom and the hierocratic doctrine found renewed expression (a) in the church councils as an episcopal program, (b) in the symbolism of the liturgical coronation ceremonies, (c) in the forged, yet traditionally prescriptive, *Capitula Angilramni*, *Pseudo-Isidore*, and *Benedictus Levita*, and (d) in the decrees of popes Nicholas I, Adrian II, and John VIII and the new coronation *Ordo B*. Although the Saxon emperors dominated the papacy, their imposing imperial structure was rooted in coronation by the pope, whose function as sole crowning agent was affirmed anew in the coronation *Ordo C* of the early eleventh century. Gregory VII became "the personification of the hierocratic idea" in his attempt to "translate abstract principles into concrete governmental action." Holding that the *ecclesia* is a corporate body, governed by the functionally qualified on the basis of *justitia*, Gregory "stands firmly on the old tenets and pursues them to their logical conclusions." Additional papal insignia, changes in the papal administrative system, and numerous canonical collections or handbooks of traditional sources corroborated these developments. By the mid-twelfth century the most mature exposition of the hierocratic thesis was provided by Honorius of Canterbury (or Autun), Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, and Hugh of St. Victor. Thereafter "little new ideological substance was added."

The above summary may indicate the prevailing theme and the broad compass of Dr. Ullmann's book. Its cross-lights on several well-known episodes and its shifts of perspective on others cannot be detailed here; yet they entail revisions of the usual accounts of the political theory and the exercise of political power in the Middle Ages. Ample citations from the sources are buttressed by impressive footnotes, which not only adduce the latest scholarly researches but also frequently supply significant data. For its fresh appraisal of the sources and its summarization of research bearing on the hierocratic ideology, Dr. Ullmann's book merits the closest attention from both the specialist and the general historian of the Middle Ages.

Hamilton College

EDGAR B. GRAVES

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL IDEAS. By Ewart Lewis. Two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1954. Pp. xii, 356; v, 357-661. \$12.50.)

IN these two volumes Mrs. Lewis has done a real service to medievalists and to all those interested in the history of ideas. She has first of all put together an

anthology of translations from the following sources: Gratian, Rufinus, Bracton, Jean d'Ibelin, Beaumanoir, Aquinas, Aegidius Romanus, Marsiglio of Padua, William of Occam, Fortescue, John of Paris, Richard Fitzralph, John Wyclif, *Somnium Viridarii*, Comines, Manegold of Lautenbach, Hugh of Fleury, John of Salisbury, James of Viterbo, Nicholas of Cusa, Guido Vernani, Turrecremata, Tholommeo of Lucca, Lupold of Bebenburg, Aeneas Sylvius, Jean Masselin, *Dictatus Papae*, Augustinus Triumphus, Gerson, Alexander of Roes, *Disputatio inter clericum et militem*, *Rex Pacificus*, Engelbert of Admont, Dante, Honorius Augustodunensis, and the *York Tractates*. Many of these are not ready to hand and many have never before been translated. Mrs. Lewis' selections are judicious, and the translations, all of which are her own, are excellent and readable. But these volumes are more than an anthology. She has arranged the selections topically in the following chapters: the idea of law; property and lordship; the origin and purpose of political authority; the individual and the community; the structure of government in the state; the structure of authority in the church; the problem of the empire; *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. Each chapter is preceded by an introductory essay, and these essays represent contributions of distinction that alone would be sufficient recommendation of the book. They take into account all recent scholarship, including that of the author, and provide a fresh view of the issues and a necessary corrective to older accounts.

Each person will understandably have his own ideas as to what sources ought to be included in a work of this kind, but I find myself lamenting the omission of only one writer, Bartolus of Sassoferrato; and even his ideas are discussed in the relevant essay. Beyond this, the only major point with which issue can be taken is the assertion in the preface that ". . . a great part of medieval thought developed from its inherited intellectual chromosomes with comparatively little influence from its environment . . ." (p. ix). These two volumes seem to demonstrate a surprisingly considerable "influence from its environment." There are a few minor suggestions to be made. "Subinfeudation with the lord's consent" (p. 90) is too strong a generalization about feudal practices. In chapter two, more attention might be paid to the views of thirteenth-century French legists on property and lordship, as they have been worked out by Professor Strayer. Chapter six would be improved by adding some consideration of the growth of "national" churches and by a more pointed account of the importance of *idoneitas* in the Hildebrandine program. Can Grande della Scala appears as Cam Grande on page 70; references to Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* unaccountably read *Summa contra Gentes* throughout. It is a great pity that the footnotes, which are so rewarding, are grouped at the end of each volume.

We owe a great debt to Mrs. Lewis. These volumes are essential to any library on the subject.

HERRSCHAFTSZEICHEN UND STAATSSYMBOLIK: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER GESCHICHTE VOM DRITTEN BIS ZUM SECHZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT. Band I. By Percy Ernst Schramm, et al. [Monumenta Germaniae historica, Schriften, XIII/1.] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1954. Pp. xxiv, 375, 40 plates. DM 48.)

SINCE the appearance of his *Die zeitgenössischen Bildnisse Karls des Grossen* in 1928, and *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildnissen ihrer Zeit* in 1929, Professor Schramm has continued his contributions to studies of *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatssymbolik* in an impressive list of books and articles. His intimate knowledge of the sources and his critical scrutiny of previous findings of scholars qualify him to an exceptional degree for the task which he has set for himself and his collaborators in this book: the development of a veritable scientific method for the investigation of *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatssymbolik*. For while his profound knowledge of the subject may have led him to exaggerate the shortcomings of earlier scholarly efforts in this field, one can accept unqualifiedly his criticisms of the "Romantiker" who, when confronted by seemingly inexplicable terms or obscure pictorial representations, have too often pretended to find the explanation in the nebulous concept, "the spirit of the Middle Ages."

Without pretense of definitiveness, or of coherence and continuity of subject matter, this first volume assumes the form of a collection of *Beiträge* consisting of two *Längsschnitte* and sixteen *Einzelstudien*. The former serve best to illustrate the aims of the book because, in the view of its author, they demonstrate how the *Herrschaftszeichen* must first be studied definitively, piece by piece, in order that ultimately a definitive study of the ensemble may be undertaken. The *Einzelstudien*, on the other hand, deal somewhat tentatively with particular objects ranging from the prehistoric tokens of sovereignty in the tombs of Scandinavian chieftains to the iron standards of Sutton Hoo and the pectoral talisman of Charles the Great. They serve to illustrate also how sometimes the study of a particular *Denkmal* should be the work of the archaeologist, at others of the art historian, or the medievalist, and how, in many instances, definitive results must depend on the joint efforts of all of these.

The "scientific" approach suggested by the author consists of three basic procedures: (1) the collecting of the *Überreste* or else the trustworthy reproductions of ruined *Denkmale*, (2) the evaluation of the written evidence, and (3) the critical examination of representations of sovereignty in pictures, seals, bulls, and coins. At first glance these appear to be merely the time-honored procedures familiar to all medieval scholars. Their justification may be found, however, in the author's insistent warning against exclusive reliance on any one of them or, even more, in his abundant demonstration of their effectiveness when employed as complementary to one another.

The first of the *Längsschnitte* has to do with the origin and evolution of the stole (*stola*), an emblem of sovereignty hitherto but little studied, and thus afford-

ing an opportunity to the author to apply his method without the necessity of analyzing previous conflicting theses. It is, in short, a veritable history of the *stola* from its origin in the *trabea triumphalis* and the *toga picta* of the Roman emperors, through its evolution into the Byzantine *lorum*, and its ultimate translation *via* Syria and Constantinople as the *stola* of the sovereigns of western Europe.

The second of the longer *Beiträge* deals, in somewhat similar manner, with the evolution of the spiritual and temporal mitre (*mitra*) and, incidentally, with the papal tiara. Starting with the ancient *camelaucum* and the *phrygium* or Phrygian cap, the evolution is traced to the *regnum* of the popes, the mitre of the bishops, and, at length, to the mitre of the western emperors and the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon. The author finds in this study an opportunity for the fullest application of his method, both because he is able to subject the numerous earlier researches to critical appraisal and, at the same time, to expose the pitfalls which are to be encountered in dealing with medieval terminologies and pictorial representations. For, as Klewitz, Sachsse, and others have previously shown and, as this book so fully illustrates, the terms *mitra*, *tiara*, *inful*, *pileus*, *cidaris*, *regnum*, *corona* etc., are often employed interchangeably by medieval writers without consideration of the historical evolution either of the name or the significance of the object. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Isidore of Seville is a chief contributor to this confusion in such statements as, "*mitra est pileum phrygium*," or that he proceeds to a confusion worse confounded when he adds, "*sed pileum virorum est, mitra feminarum*."

While the author has unquestionably established the need for a more rigorous methodology in dealing with *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatssymbolik*, he has not fully sustained his observation respecting the deficiencies of earlier researchers in this field. Indeed, one cannot escape the conclusion that many of them, including Müntz, as early as 1898, and subsequently, Wüscher-Becchi, Sachsse, Eichmann, and others, have contributed greatly to the more scientific approach. This remark is not intended, however, to detract from the truly great merits of this work which, in general, deserves only the highest praise. For in its comprehensiveness, its abundant documentation, its meticulous attention to detail, it provides what unquestionably will be accepted as a model for future researches in this field.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume I, c. 500-1042. Edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Vice-Principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 867. \$12.80.)

THIS volume is designed to contain within its covers the major portion of the contemporary written sources on which the history of the period is based. The purpose is to make these sources readily available to those who do not have the time or the opportunity to locate them and the critical apparatus necessary for

their interpretation in the many publications among which they are scattered. All the documents are translated in order to meet the need of the increasing number of those who are historically curious but linguistically inept. The translations, with very few noted exceptions, have been made by the editor.

The material is divided into three parts. The first consists of secular narrative sources. They include such contemporary accounts as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Asser's *Life of Alfred*, extracts from continental annals, and Norse poems preserved in the works of later writers. There are also extracts from the works of later historians, such as Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, which are known or thought to be based on contemporary sources now lost. The treatment of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is particularly noteworthy. By frequently ignoring "minor variations, obvious errors and accidental omissions in texts not used as the base of the translations" (p. 136) and by the manner in which the several versions are set forth on the page it is made easy to distinguish "the common stock of the Chronicle from passages peculiar to individual versions" (p. 109). An extremely complicated problem is thus rendered comparatively simple. The second section contains a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon laws and nearly a hundred charters and kindred documents. In her translations of the laws the author has noted any differences between them and the translations previously made by Liebermann, Attenborough, or Robertson which change significantly the meaning of the laws in question. Many of the charters have not been translated previously. The third portion is devoted to ecclesiastical sources. Among them are Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, saints' lives, numerous letters, and a few specimens of Anglo-Saxon literature.

An important part of the volume consists of the introductions and of the critical estimates with which each document is prefaced. The introduction to the whole period constitutes a remarkably concise summary of the political development, of the government and society, and of the church. It may serve as a guide to the sources, since much the larger part of the abundant references are to documents in the volume. It also provides a view of the history of the period as it appears in the light of the latest researches. Each of the three parts has an introduction in which the nature of the sources is discussed. Each introduction is followed by a select critical bibliography. The one drawback is the lack of a general index.

This is the work of a scholar who is thoroughly familiar with the sources. It should enable beginners to obtain not only firsthand knowledge of the history of the period but also some skill in the evaluation of evidence. Even those who have an acquaintance with some of the sources may find here additional information of value. This notice may well conclude with an excerpt from one of the documents which the editor has translated, since it expresses my view of the volume under consideration: "I therefore considered this translation a very sensible thing" (p. 848).

Haverford, Pennsylvania

WILLIAM E. LUNT

THE NORMANS IN SCOTLAND. By R. L. Græme Ritchie. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 4.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1954. Pp. xliv, 466. 50s.)

ALTHOUGH of a different genre this volume supplements Haskins' *The Normans in European History* since it discusses the spread of Norman culture and institutions into a country which Haskins ignored. Experienced medievalists will appreciate the skill with which the author utilizes a limited, variable, scattered body of sources in which the contemporary information that he needs is "incidental, indirect, [and] curiously *external*." With the aid of "probabilities and the exercise of common sense" he offers an imaginative interpretation of his limited data and constructs a convincing description of the process of Normanization which took place in Scotland during the hundred years following the battle of Hastings. There is so much inherent probability in his thesis that the considerable extent to which he offers surmise for evidence should not trouble the reader. The effort to think in twelfth-century terms is impressive because our author has mastered the documents and literature of that period. The basic assumptions upon which his interpretation of the scanty record rests are that the process of Normanization in Scotland was very similar to the process in England, that the England of Henry I served as a model for the Scottish kings, and that native Scottish conditions can, if necessary, be surmised from probably similar conditions in Wales and Ireland.

Believing that history "is the history of persons," and faced with the fact that "mediaeval writers confine their attention to kings and princes, warriors and saints," Professor Ritchie turns his attention to the personnel of the ruling groups. These were the newcomers, moving into a frontier area, bringing with them their ideas and practices and establishing them as a matter of course. The author applies himself to studying the Christian names of those who held offices in church and state assuming that Norman names indicate Norman origins. In addition the identification of continental place names or nicknames in French gives interesting results. Many such names appear as witnesses to royal charters. American readers may be surprised to learn of the continental origins of many of the leading Scottish families, Bruces, Balliols, Stewarts, Grahams, Lindsays, and Oliphants. Perhaps there is a note of Scottish pride in the comment that the Normans who settled in Scotland founded families which lasted into modern times, while the great Norman families in England died out. There is further a nice touch in noting the moustaches of Guillaume de Percy *al grenon*, the first Norman baron to reach Scotland and "the name-father of all the Algerons."

The story of Normanization is an unexciting account of a slow, peaceful introduction of more efficient methods of administration, and of French *elegantia* among a new feudal aristocracy. The kings and their friends and supporters are the agents of this process. Their contacts with the English court, from Edward the Confessor to Henry I, provide the background, kept alive by family and

feudal relationships. By the time of King David (1124-1153) Normanization is achieved and David is entitled by our author "the Conqueror" who needed no battle of Hastings.

Williams College

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS IN MEDIEVAL CULTURE: WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE BELGIAN SCENE. By *Ernest W. McDonnell*, Rutgers University. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 643. \$10.00.)

THE beguine-beghard movement was one of the most important manifestations of lay or popular spirituality in western Europe in the centuries following the Gregorian Reform. It was, however, a most complex phenomenon, and modern scholars have often been as perplexed as were many contemporaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in judging its scope and character. The purpose of this monograph is to furnish a broad and comprehensive treatment of the beguine-beghard movement against the background of the general cultural milieu, based not only on the voluminous, and in part controversial, literature in Flemish, Dutch, French, and German but, above all, on a thorough, independent examination of the sources. The book is especially welcome, for, with the exception of Dayton Phillips' monograph, *The Beguines in Medieval Strasburg* (Palo Alto, 1941), it is the first significant study on the beguines to appear in English.

The author has divided his book into six main parts. Part One, "A Case Study in the *Vita Apostolica*," is primarily concerned with Mary of Oignies, John of Nivelles, and their circle, and with the role of Jacques de Vitry as a profound admirer and strong supporter of the beguine movement. Part Two, "The Extraregular in State and Society," covers the relations of the lay religious groups to the hierarchy, to the religious orders proper, and to the civil authorities, and their organization and supervision within the framework of church and state. The scope of Part III, "Spiritual Currents in Belgium and Rhineland," Part IV, "Popular Devotional Literature," Part V, "Positive and Negative Evidence," and Part VI, "The Extraregular and the Inquisition," is sufficiently clear from the titles. The book is much broader in its scope than the title indicates, since it gives considerable attention to the beguine-beghard movement in France, and particularly in Germany, as well as in the Low Countries.

The author freely acknowledges his indebtedness to the authoritative studies of H. Grundmann, Alcantara Mens, L. J. Philippen, Joseph Greven, R. Hanon de Louvet, J. Van Mierlo, and others. But he has not hesitated to adopt at times a modified or different position. The value of his work for scholars is solidly established by the wealth of documentation from the primary sources—saints' lives, chronicles, letters, histories, papal bulls, conciliar legislation, constitutions and records of religious orders, and, not least in importance, property deeds, and town

and guild records and ordinances. He has made this rich source material easily available for verification by copious citation in elaborate notes, often occupying more than half a page. In this monograph, *mirabile dictu!* the notes are really footnotes, being found where they always ought to be. Following the main text, there is a practically exhaustive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works (pp. 583-612), and the index is excellent (pp. 613-43).

It would be impossible within the compass of a short review to discuss the contents and conclusions of the book in detail. However, a few salient points should be mentioned. The beguine movement cannot be traced to any one specific founder—and, incidentally, the origin of the term "beguine" is still not definitely settled. However, it is clear that, whatever socio-economic factors were involved, the movement had a basic religious motivation and the religious factor remained dominant to the close of the Middle Ages. It is now established also that, down to the end of the thirteenth century at least, the beguines were recruited chiefly from the lower nobility and middle class. The beguines in the Belgian area not only were, for the most part, orthodox but were even defenders and promoters of orthodoxy, as is shown, for example, by their devotion to the Eucharist and its culmination in the official institution of the feast of Corpus Christi. Cistercian, Augustinian, Franciscan, and Dominican—especially the last two—spiritual directors played an important role in the guidance and development of beguine spirituality, but beguine spirituality itself in turn exercised a considerable influence on the spirituality of the diocesan clergy and religious orders proper. As compared with the beguines, the beghards were much less important in numbers or influence. However, it was precisely among the beghards, especially in Germany, that radical or heretical tendencies manifested themselves. These aberrations served to arouse suspicion against orthodox groups, with whom the radicals often were identified by civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In spite of the severe attacks made on the beguines in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, they were finally completely rehabilitated by both regional and papal authority. Special attention is called to the series of brightly written thumbnail sketches of Mary of Oignies, John of Nivelles, Jacques de Vitry, Hildegard of Bingen, Juliana of Cornillon, Lambert le Bègue, and others. Throughout the work, the author has dealt with his theme objectively and critically, but, at the same time, with a laudable sympathy and understanding.

Of the few misprints noted, only one need be mentioned: On page 145, for "sixtieth," read "sixty-fold." It would have been helpful for most readers if English translations had been furnished for a few passages quoted in medieval Flemish. Finally, the author might well have added a conclusion or epilogue summarizing the chief results of his investigations.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

Modern European History

HISTOIRE DE LA SAINTE ALLIANCE. By *Maurice Bourquin*, Professeur à l'Université de Genève et à l'Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, Professeur honoraire de l'Université de Bruxelles. (Geneva: Librairie de l'Université, Georg & Cie. 1954. Pp. 507.)

THE theme of co-operative action in the interest of peace is one of never-ending historical interest. In this book Professor Bourquin has traced with much skill, and in adequate detail, the attempt of the great powers to consolidate the tranquillity of Europe. No work of this kind has been attempted since Professor Phillips' *Confederation of Europe* in 1914 and, as the author properly observes, the period of the Holy Alliance deserves to be restudied in a new perspective and with the aid of the very substantial peripheral literature that has come into being since that time.

There are many ways, however, in which the efforts of the statesmen of the period of Vienna differ from the work of 1919 or of 1945. First of all, one is aware of the essentially *European* outlook of most of the statesmen of the time. The Holy Alliance was less a world league than an effort to construct a solid basis of understanding on a single continent. And even here it hardly took account of the complex problems raised by the presence of the Turk in south-eastern Europe. It is, in this as in other respects, a far less ambitious venture than those undertaken at Versailles and at San Francisco.

Secondly, this very fact, the Europeanness of the alliance, was one element of weakness. For the interests of Great Britain were more extensive in scope, and British association with the continental powers, cemented during the war, could hardly be expected to last if extra-European affairs were under consideration. The breakdown of the alliance, as Professor Bourquin shows, was in no small part due to this fact. The question of the Spanish colonies was bound to rupture the understanding of the great states.

But long before this the alliance showed signs of weakness. As a matter of fact, it was never much more than a guarantee against new French aggression and a piece of machinery for international consultation. The British, from the beginning, showed great reserve in pushing it further. Even Tsar Alexander's modest proposals for the use of the economic boycott as an instrument of common action met with anything but a warm reception in London. The notion of "collective security" in the modern sense can be found in embryo, but this is about all that could be said.

Nor did the alliance act through common means in dealing with the problems of Europe. Metternich saw to it that the revolution in Naples was put out by Austrian troops and no other. The French government of Louis XVIII was careful to preserve its freedom of action when it came to the intervention in

Spain. Only Tsar Alexander seemed to think in terms of collaborative action to maintain the peace of Europe.

There are, however, deeper lessons than these in the story of the Holy Alliance. What is fundamental is that the story illustrates the operation of the centrifugal forces at the end of every war. International co-operation comes about as a result of an external danger; when the danger is removed, the co-operation is apt to cease. No more today than a century and forty years ago is the conception of all the nations uniting together against the aggression of any one of them consistent with the nature of international politics. The course of events since 1945 sharply illustrates this fundamental fact.

But, as Professor Bourquin points out, the conditions of 1945 are not those of 1815. The idea of "collective security," perhaps unrealizable in absolute terms, has been given a great extension in the diplomatic action of the United States in the last decade. It has made possible the forming of new groupings of great weight in international affairs and has given a new flavor to the diplomacy of our own time. If we have not reached the point of *all* against *any* aggressor, we have reached the point of *several* powerful combinations against *certain* particular aggressors.

There is one other point to be made. The Holy Alliance floundered in part because it became the agent of the status quo. The cause of international collaboration, as Professor Bourquin intimates, ought not to be associated, and cannot be associated, with the mere preservation of the existing order. And herein lies a lesson for our own times.

Professor Bourquin has written an important book. It is based, apparently, on published sources. But the story, this reviewer suspects, would not be substantially changed if the archives of the various powers had been more intensively exploited. And the author's eye for the essential, his sense of order and proportion, is worthy of all praise.

Cornell University

DEXTER PERKINS

THE STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY IN EUROPE, 1848-1918. By *A. J. P. Taylor*, Fellow of Magdalen College [Oxford]. [*Oxford History of Modern Europe*, Volume II.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxxvi, 638. \$7.00.)

THIS is the first volume to be published of a sixteen-volume *Oxford History of Modern Europe* edited by Alan Bullock and F. W. D. Deakin, two Oxford historians, and following the general style of the *Oxford History of England*. The period to be covered is 1789 to 1945; the first three volumes deal with international relations, the next two with the history of ideas, and the remaining eleven with the nations of the Continent. There is certainly ample need for such a series.

Innumerable books have been written on the exploits of Cavour and Bismarck

and on international relations from 1871 to 1914. Mr. Taylor is the first writer, so far as the reviewer remembers, to view as a whole the seventy years from the collapse of the Metternich system in 1848 to the collapse of Europe in 1918. The story he tells is that of the working of the balance of power, which was repudiated by Lenin on the one hand and by Wilson on the other. Mr. Taylor's book is almost exclusively a presentation of diplomatic history, for although in the introduction he provides some statistics showing the increase of population, the expansion of industry, and the growth of armaments during the period, he is content to narrate the exchanges between governments from a political point of view and in large measure to ignore the economic forces which so often lay behind diplomatic activity. Thus the economic issues at stake in the Baghdad Railway and in Morocco are relegated to footnotes (pp. 410, 465), and Anglo-German commercial rivalry is mentioned only casually.

Within the limits indicated, Mr. Taylor has written an admirable book. He has mastered the enormous quantity of new evidence published since 1919, including a number of Russian sources not available in translation and, what is more important, he thoroughly understands diplomatic jargon and translates it into simple English. Without offering formal character sketches of the principal personages, he manages to convey clear impressions of how Bismarck, Napoleon III, Salisbury, and all the other great operated, and he has a fine gift of making points by contrast. In 1859, "while Cavour and Napoleon had a cause for war, but no excuse, the British government had to make out that there were excuses, but no cause" (p. 109). In 1867, "the French supported the Greek claims [to Crete] because they did not imply the disruption of the Turkish empire; the Russians because they did" (p. 180). "The Germans often hesitated between Great Britain and Russia; they never hesitated seriously between Great Britain and France" (p. 382). "In Salisbury's time, Great Britain made arrangements with European Powers in order to defend her empire; now [1906] she made concessions outside of Europe in order to strengthen the Balance of Power" (p. 438). A word must also be said for the chronological ordering of the narrative, which reveals the ever-changing international situation and the never-ending shifts of the several governments to increase or diminish pressures. Mr. Taylor makes it very clear that, in spite of the rival alliances, the situation in Europe remained pretty fluid down to 1914, the best proof being the London conference of ambassadors in 1912-13, where all the powers made concessions rather than bring about the automatic operation of the alliances.

Throughout the book Mr. Taylor forms his own judgments and constantly challenges conventional opinions. Thus he believes that after Sadowa Napoleon III, if left to himself, would have refrained from demanding compensation from Bismarck (p. 173), but was not strong enough to impose this on his ministers. To the somewhat friendly view of Bismarck that obtained currency between 1919 and 1939, Mr. Taylor retorts that the Iron Chancellor was a bully and a cheat and that his principal achievement after 1870, the Austro-German alliance, "im-

prisoned Germany," so that "Bismarck continued to dream that he might some time make Germany more secure by escaping from it" (p. 318). The British offers of alliance to Germany in 1898 and 1901 are discounted because Britain had little to offer Germany (pp. 377, 396). Likewise discounted are the various Russian schemes for opening the Straits; in spite of moves by Nelidov (1896), Izvolsky (1908), and Charykov (1911), the real Russian interest was to keep the Straits closed (after Salisbury in 1878 had declared that Britain would force them if need be) and to keep Turkey in possession of them as long as possible.

War came in 1914 because of the feeble and incompetent policy of William II and Bethmann Hollweg. But if there is "little evidence" (p. 520) that they plotted war, the Germans went along "willingly" when involved in war by Austria-Hungary, because "they were confident of winning it now and less confident of winning it later" (p. 522). Grey could not have averted the war by a clear statement of British policy. The German general staff had long planned to invade France through Belgium and "would not have been deterred by any British threat" (p. 525). France and Russia both decided on war before being sure of British help, and the French believed that they could defeat Germany.

In a final chapter Mr. Taylor discusses the war aims of the belligerents. At the outbreak of hostilities, neither side had any aim beyond defeating the other. It was only after stalemate developed on the Western front that both sides began in earnest to discuss what they were fighting for. The war aims of both sides came to postulate the complete defeat of their enemies, so all efforts at compromise broke down. Thus the balance of power came to an end, but only after the United States insured victory to the Entente Powers. "In January 1918 Europe ceased to be the centre of the world" (p. 568). The German challenge to the balance of power was beaten, but at the price of Bolshevism and American intervention in Europe. Stopping his story with January, 1918, Mr. Taylor does not mention the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk or the events leading up to the end of the war.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By *Philip Hughes*. Volume III, "TRUE RELIGION NOW ESTABLISHED." (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xxix, 457. \$7.50.)

LIKE its predecessors, this third and final volume of Father Hughes's study of the English Reformation is the best written and most scholarly Roman Catholic treatment of its subject now available. But since the third volume surveys the reign of Elizabeth I, the religious qualifier must be stressed. The settlement of 1559 decisively separated England from Rome, and about the subsequent events of the reign which enforced that settlement no priest of the Roman faith could be expected not to feel strongly. Indeed, it could be predicted that the more

deeply English his sentiments, the more vivid his historical imagination and the more thorough his scholarship, the more strongly he would feel.

The strength of Father Hughes's feelings do not prevent him from making skillful use of the best recent monographs, from writing perceptively about Anglicans like Richard Hooker, or summarizing with neatness and accuracy affairs like the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy. But they incline him to take a bleak view of Elizabeth I, her counsellors and her reign, and to weight, perhaps unconsciously, his judgments and his adjectives on the side of condemnation. This may be why he is able to apply without correction a guess of Clapham's about the composition of the English agricultural classes of 1750 to the class structure of the Elizabethan age (p. 15) and to index succinctly: "Misery the chronic lot of the average Elizabethan." Certainly this influences his judgment that the settlement of 1559 was neither a compromise nor the product of any considerable English religious sentiment but a mere political trick, the maneuver of a "minority within a minority," to win freedom of movement for Elizabeth in foreign policy without relaxing her control of the church at home (pp. 146-48). (Here he is aware of J. E. Neale's recent interpretation, but dissents sharply.) It is quite natural that Father Hughes should revere the 183 Catholics who suffered during the twenty-six years of the Elizabethan persecution as saints and martyrs, while continuing to regard the 273 who suffered in eighteen months under Mary as deluded fanatics. It is understandable that his indignation at the atrocities visited on English Catholics (III, 359-63) should lead him to forget that he himself once described these barbarities as "part of the trappings of civilized society" (Hughes, *Reformation*, II, 284). But it is regrettable that in his eagerness to emphasize how free most English Catholics were of any thought of treason, he is inclined to slide over the painful problem of divided loyalties to which some, Parsons and Allen, for instance, or William Stanley and Rowland York found a different and more tragic solution, which it should be part of the function of the historian to help us understand.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

DE ENGELSE NATIE TE ANTWERPEN IN DE 16^e EEUW. Volume II.

By *Oskar De Smedt*. (Antwerp: De Sikkels. 1954. Pp. vi, 743. 400 B. fr.)

WHEN Albrecht Dürer was in Antwerp in 1521 he visited the Hof van Liere, thus called for Burgomaster Arnold van Liere who had it built only a few years before. The German artist described it in his diary as "über die Mass gross und fast wol geordnet mit überschwenglich schönen grossen Kammern und der viel, ein köstlich gezierten Turm, ein übergrossen Garten, in Somma ein solch herrlich Haus dergleichen ich in allen teutschen Landen nie gesehen hab." It was this magnificent mansion that passed in 1558 into the hands of the Merchants Adventurers as a gift from the city. It served as headquarters of the entire Fellow-

ship, not only of the English Nation at Antwerp. When the king of England or his privy council needed a loan from the company or wanted to address it on matters that concerned the entire Fellowship, they sent their letters to Antwerp, not to London; and the members, regardless of where they resided, paid their dues and taxes to the Hof van Liere. The governor and superior officers of the Fellowship had their living quarters there, and members who, on arrival in the city, could not immediately find suitable lodgings might be put up provisionally in the company's house. The by-laws forbade them, on pain of a heavy penalty, to rent a room in an inn or tavern. They were allowed, though, to obtain accommodation in the homes of reputable burghers or in boardinghouses that were licensed by the company and run by its appointees, who bore the title of *Vrijwaerd*, meaning free host.

The gift of the Hof van Liere was evidence of the amicable relations between the company and the city of Antwerp. Dr. De Smedt has given a detailed account of these in his first volume; in this second one he discusses in even greater detail the company's internal organization and its multifarious activities as it became involved in the city's economic life and in the political events both in England and on the Continent. The spread of Lutheranism became a cause of trouble for the English merchants. Antwerp was a stronghold of the new heresy, and many members were, not unjustly, suspected by the Spanish government in Brussels of favoring the sect. Great consternation was caused among the English by an ordinance of Charles V of 1550 that no one was to be granted residence in town or village who could not show a certificate of orthodoxy signed by the parish priest of his previous place of residence. The Antwerp magistrates, who were more concerned for the economic welfare of their city than for the preservation of the true faith, prevailed upon the emperor to exempt all merchants from his edict. With their connivance England was being flooded with heretical tracts and Bible translations that were shipped from Antwerp by Merchants Adventurers. Tyndale was living under their protection in the Hof van Liere, but as soon as he incautiously ventured outside the city walls he was arrested by officers of the central government in Brussels and burnt at the stake. The tolerant liberalism of the city rulers made Antwerp a cultural Mecca for foreigners who were less free in their own country. George Nedham, the author of a tract on English trade quoted by way of illustrating its irresistible attraction a proud Antwerp citizen's extravagant boast, "If Englyshmens ffathers were hanged in the gates of Antwarpe their children wolde crepe betwext their leggs to come into the saide town."

Dr. De Smedt's more than 700 pages contain a wealth of information that will interest not only the student of international commerce but also the sociologist, the church historian, and the genealogist. A detailed index enhances the value and usefulness of the book.

Columbia University

ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW

SAGGI SULL'EUROPA ILLUMINISTA. I. ALBERTO RADICATI DI PASSERANO. By *Franco Venturi*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1954. Pp. 278. L. 1500.)

ALBERTO Radicati, the strange count of Passerano whose brief life (1698-1737) became a legend in his own day and who, after obscure and tortuous peregrinations at home in Piedmont, in Italy, in France, in England, and in Holland, died a pauper and suspect at The Hague, has at long last found his biographer and his complex intellectual peregrinations a historian in Franco Venturi. This full-length study of Radicati reduces to mere useful preliminaries all previous work on the subject. Domenico Carutti's and Filippo Saraceno's references in their erudite studies of Vittorio Amedeo II's Piedmont, Alberto Alberti's good effort at a documented biography, and Piero Gobetti's pioneering brief portrait in his rare volume on the *Risorgimento senza eroi* appear now even more clearly as the sketchy and incomplete attempts to deal with the elusive count of Passerano they have always been.

Alberto Radicati was a "problem child" to his septuagenarian father and to his haughty aristocratic *consortili*, to the first Piedmontese monarch and to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to Catholics in France, Anglicans in England, and Calvinists in Holland. Voltaire knew of him and once adopted his name as a pseudonym in a pamphlet directed to Italians (p. 14). In the late eighteenth century Radicati was referred to as the "ill-famed Passerano" and the "descendant of an illustrious family who refused to utilize properly those talents God had given him while he misused them not only against himself but also against his Sovereign and God Himself," apparently because his mind was "filled with heretical doctrines which prevented him from living quietly in his own country." For long Alberto Radicati remained a "problem child" of historians of the Enlightenment either because they did not know him or because they did not know what to do with him when they did. Yet Radicati lived during an era which has been far from obscure. On both the Italian and the European levels that era has been studied fully and continuously in its political and economic aspects, for its literary and aesthetic theories, and for much of its cultural and philosophical activity. Radicati was after all a contemporary of the founders of the *Arcadia* and of the author of *The New Science*, of the writer of the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* and of the "editor" of the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*! The answer may lie in the fact that Radicati lived through the fervid time of a "crisis of the European conscience," as Paul Hazard has styled it, but that this crisis took different forms in different European minds and that which subtly gripped the count of Passerano's was really unique and therefore elusive of pat classifications.

The problem Radicati's life and thought presents is indeed challenging, but Venturi has succeeded marvelously in meeting it. Radicati spent his early years in the obscurity of his ancestral lands in the Piedmontese province and in Turin, engaging in "continual war with the scorpions" within his own family and rendering himself a "traitor" to his noble lineage and tradition by his sympathies

for the peasant communities' causes against his relatives and his "house." Then, particularly after his first wife's death, he was at first in intermittent and soon in almost ceaseless movement abroad, in France, in England, and finally in Holland, absorbing avidly from his new environments and experiences, learning much from them and unlearning almost as much, ever restless, famished, and lonely. Wherever he went he made few friends and many enemies, continually scandalizing the respectable and arousing their fears and suspicions with his unorthodox views and controversial writings in three languages, expounding progressively more "radical" doctrines on matters religious and political, on the causes for the decay from the "original purity" of the early church and on men's abandonment of nature's relatively happy station. He proffered counsel to the monarchs, to Vittorio Amedeo II and later to Don Carlos of Bourbon, on the arts of the "theocrats" and of politics and he hurled neo-Machiavellian shafts against the fearful Hobbesian Leviathan. He was on the point of death from starvation in London in 1732 and yet found energy to pen and publish "the most audacious of his writings" titled *A Philosophical Dissertation upon Death*, which so angered the bishop of London and the duke of Newcastle that they engineered his arrest. Four years later, still rejected and broken in body, he saw through publication in Holland that kind of intellectual testament called *Recueil de pièces curieuses sur les matières les plus intéressantes*.

At the heart of Radicati's life and work there stood an idea reared by him with cold passion into the dimensions of a myth at once religious and political, moral, and social, similar to that which later in the century his "spiritual brother" Jean-Jacques sought to erect with similar ingredients and almost similar finalities: it was the myth of a "perfect democracy" in which church and state, government and society would be so fused as to render men happy and "equal in nobility, in power, and in wealth" (p. 269). In the premises of his strange philosophical dreaming Radicati appears to speak with the voice of the Seicento and in its conclusions with that of the Enlightenment. He was perhaps at once both the last of the Italian Libertines and the first of the Italian Illuminists.

Franco Venturi's book on Alberto Radicati is a model of biographical and historical reconstruction to which not even the most elementary justice can be done in a brief review. For its substance and for its method this work will without doubt come to be regarded as one of the truly brilliant exemplars of contemporary Italian and European historiography, a precious contribution toward the breaking of new ground in intellectual history. Venturi's "essay" is no "synthesis" of old ideas: it possesses the freshness, vitality, and pertinence which only original research can make possible when it is utilized with intelligence by a genuine historical mind. Franco Venturi's is such a mind in an unalloyed form. A reading of this study on Radicati leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the distinction accorded him as the most accomplished member of the younger generation of historians.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

THE FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT. By *Val R. Lorwin*, Assistant Professor of Industrial Relations and Social Sciences, University of Chicago. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 346. \$6.00.)

THIS excellent monograph is half history, half analysis: a history of the labor movement in France from 1789 to 1953, and an analysis of the structure and functioning of the movement as it is today. The history is modestly offered and deliberately oriented toward a clarification of the current movement, but it is based upon a variety of reading ranging from Beau de Lomenie to Fernand Pelloutier and is invariably clear, reflective, and refreshing. Mr. Lorwin points out, for example, that the author of the *Le Chapelier* anti-association law himself announced in 1791 that "none of us intends to prevent the merchants from discussing their common interests." He refers to the hardening of class lines during the Second Empire as fewer workers graduated into the employer class and as the classes tended to live more apart from each other than before. He suggests that it may have been the repressive measures taken by the Napoleonic government "which turned the moderate and promising French labor movement of the late 1860's into revolutionary channels"; and he repeats Marx's provocative suggestion that one of the consequences of Prussian victory in the Franco-Prussian War was the replacement of French leadership over the international labor and socialist movement by that of the German workers and of Marx's theory. He singles out as "one of the great days in the history of French labor" February 12, 1934, when the first general strike took place, but in anti-fascist defense of the republic.

As Mr. Lorwin nears the present his picture becomes more detailed; and the last third of his historical survey treats the history of French labor during the nine years since 1944. At the moment of liberation, when most of the nation's erstwhile elite stood discredited because of ineffectiveness or worse, the hopes of labor were high. The years which followed saw their disappointment, and the latter half of this book is very largely an effort to explain why. The author discusses the low standard of living of the French worker, real wages being no higher in 1951 than in 1938, and increased social benefits thus coming not out of profits but from a redistribution of income within the working class itself. He calls attention to the continuing material weakness of the unions as union dues remain low and unenforced. He quotes an authority who called the tax system "with understandable hyperbole 'more iniquitous than that which provoked the French Revolution.'" Discussing the stubborn resistance of management to workers' demands, he cites a company official who compared the attitude of employers once they were back in the saddle to that of the royalist émigrés who returned in 1815. He writes with restraint; there are no villains; but one would conclude from his account that the most important single factor behind the recent decline in French unionism was the split in the *Confédération générale*

du travail (CGT) which resulted from the Communist party's political manipulation of it from the time they gained control, in 1945. The immediate beneficiary of this split (one might add) is the powerful employer confederation (CNPF), today "far superior to the unions in organization, discipline, resources, and self-confidence."

Mr. Lorwin is concerned not only with the question of French labor but also with the larger problem of the viability of France as a whole. Can France develop a more enterprising, "less defeatist," capitalism, he asks. Will the workers "see through the CGT's cloak of militant unionism to the realities of political subservience"? Will the French government "find the courage to make difficult choices and to enforce decisions"? (He then quotes, prophetically, "a politician of unusual courage"—Mendès-France.)

The scholarship of this book is based very largely on union (and other) reports and articles, meticulously footnoted, and on firsthand observation. There is a full index; a number of appendixes and tables (including a chronology and a guide to abbreviations); a wide-ranging, annotated bibliography; a convenient chapter of conclusions; a thoughtful preface; and a very helpful foreword by Donald McKay (which would have served excellently as this review). Mr. Lorwin's book should serve not only scholars well but also all those in our government with duties pertaining to France.

University of Washington

SCOTT H. LYTLE

LA FRANCE AU XX^e SIÈCLE. By *Robert Lacour-Gayet*, St. John's University, New York University. [Dryden Press Modern Language Publications.] (New York : Dryden Press. 1955. Pp. x, 329. \$3.25.)

THE FRENCH THEORY OF THE NATION IN ARMS, 1866-1939. By *Richard D. Challener*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 579.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. 305. \$4.50.)

At first sight it must seem that the attempt to compress everything important in the political, social, economic, scientific, and cultural life of twentieth-century France into 300 or so pages is just silly. There are, to be frank, places where the book threatens to become a catalogue of names and titles, or a minor bewilderment of figures. Such occasions, however, are few and, to be fair, inevitable. The surprising thing is that in fact M. Lacour-Gayet's handbook is both readable and eminently sensible and rewarding. It is as fair-minded a short discussion of the Republics over the half-century as you will find, reflecting a broad learning and a talent for selection from a terrifying mass of materials. The best sections are probably those treating of government and policy, social structure and customs, literature and things economic. One may wonder whether it was really worth while to include anything about the cinema, literary salons, publishing houses, medicine, etc., when treatment had to be so inadequate, so unrevealing for the beginner

to whom the book is evidently addressed. On the whole there are few prejudices evident, patriotic or political. A foreigner might nevertheless question a few things here: for instance, the implications of the statement of the 1911 Moroccan crisis, the acceptance, as representative of the outlook of French youth before 1914, of Massis' and De Tarde's *Enquête*, the encomium in which the colonial policy of the Third Republic is wrapped up, the characterization of seventy million Germans before 1939 as "passionés de violence," the defense of the taxpayer against charges of evasion, and so on. These are small points no doubt in so generous a book, points for debate. For the most part, the American reader is likely to be impressed by the general excellence of this brief introduction to contemporary France.

Mr. Challener's volume is something else, a detailed and successful investigation of a continuing idea and the ways in which it found expression over the course of seventy and more years. Naturally the two focuses of interest are 1914 and 1940. A kind of tragic note runs through all the parliamentary and military discussions about the organization of the nation for war. Here are paraded all the pre-1914 errors of judgment, the neglect of economic planning, the unreasoned faith in the lightning offensive à l'outrance, the revolutionary belief in the necessity of putting every available man up at the front. Here too are the pre-1939 squabbles about military doctrine and national mobilization, the neglect of mechanized instruments, the misplaced trust in vast concrete emplacements, in reserves and, always, in the virtues of time, time to arm and to prepare the final offensive—all set against the background of the losses of 1914-1918, the conflict of domestic politics and the decline of that elusive national *élan*. It is a fine book. One can only suggest the richness of the documentation and the thoroughness (sometimes, it is true, too thorough, too protracted and repetitious) of the exposition. It is a first-rate study of an idea and the consequences of its various realizations, a useful addition to the literature on the Third Republic and the history of war in the Western world.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

HISTOIRE DE VICHY, 1940-1944. By *Robert Aron*. (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard. 1954. Pp. 766. 1,250 fr.)

THIS irenic work is a sustained and "objective" effort to bring together the two perennially warring Frances—the France which accepted the Revolution of 1789 and that France which did not. In tones of "patriotic" sorrow rather than anger, Robert Aron describes the lacerations which the nation suffered from the time of its defeat in June of 1940 until its liberation four years later. Aron attempts to raise above the level of controversy a succession of catastrophes: the disastrous armistice; the British attack upon the French squadron at Mers-el-Kebir; the abolition of the Republic, "sanctioned by the National Assembly," on July 10, 1940; the interviews between Hitler, Laval, and Pétain at Montoire;

the fighting in Syria between the Gaullist forces and those of Vichy; the Allied landings in North Africa in November, 1942, resulting in the total occupation of metropolitan France by the Germans and in the scuttling of the French fleet at Toulon; the deportation of forced labor to Germany; racial persecutions; the efforts of Pétain to prevent the reduction of France to a Nazi satellite; liberation and the problems posed thereby for Pétain and Laval.

As a resolute peacemaker Aron has a kind word for almost everyone except, of course, the Nazis and such overt collaborationists as Pierre Laval, Marcel Déat, Joseph Darnand, and Jacques Doriot. Apart from these "traitors" nearly all Frenchmen appeared to Aron as persons who meant well, yielding only to what seemed to be the invincibility of Hitler's new order.

Under this broad interpretation it is all but inevitable that Marshal Pétain should emerge as a figure of towering moral stature, aloof yet kindly, austere without being cold, preserving for France in defeat a symbol of untarnished grandeur evocative of the *ancien régime*. As part of the stereotype Pierre Laval is depicted as a shrewd, untidy vulgarian. He aroused physical repulsion in the elegant marshal who appeared a trifle embarrassed over his obligation to Laval for bullying parliament into voting itself out of existence on July 10, 1940, leaving the marshal virtually the uncrowned king of unoccupied France where at last the civic virtues of *travail, famille, patrie* could be inculcated.

This stained-glass portraiture of Marshal Pétain should not be construed as implying that Aron has any less veneration for General de Gaulle or the cause of the Free French. The whole spirit of this casuistic book is epitomized in an unforgettable phrase which the author quotes with approval: "The Marshal was the shield, the General the sword" (p. 94). This, indeed, is having it both ways with history. Under this genial dispensation of historical "newspeak" and "doublethink" hardly anyone could lose—except, possibly, that handful of Frenchmen like Laval, Déat, Darnand, and Doriot who collaborated with more obvious gusto than judicious "realism" warranted.

Typical of Aron's trimming is his treatment of Vichy's Jewish policy. He readily accepts the distinction made by Xavier Vallat, Vichy's *commissaire aux questions juives*, between old Jewish families of France and those whose forebears arrived after the founding of the Third Republic. Vichy's anti-Semitism, Aron is careful to point out, differed from the Nazi policy which was based upon racism, for Pétain's Jewish statute was founded upon the traditional French criteria of religion and nationality (p. 228). One hopes that those French Jews who were eventually rounded up by Darnand's militia for consignment to the Nazi cremation ovens were sufficiently steeped in Cartesian logic to draw comfort from these nice distinctions.

This singular book is at least a useful compendium of the main political facts of the Vichy period. But its tortured rationalizations will hardly achieve the author's purpose of reconciling the two Frances.

University of California, Los Angeles

JERE CLEMENS KING

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN PRUSSIA, 1858-1864. By Eugene N. Anderson. [University of Nebraska Studies: New Series, Number 12.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1954. Pp. x, 445. \$5.00.)

THE entire range of issues that separated the liberals and conservatives in the period indicated, not just the famous army reform struggle, is the subject of Professor Anderson's study. An analysis of the rival positions on the issues of caste and privilege, the police state, the Prussian constitution, and German unity constitutes the first half of the book and makes a solid contribution in pointing out the grave weakness of the liberals in disdaining local politics and grass-roots organization. Otherwise this part of the book does not impress. The study rests almost entirely on newspaper and parliamentary sources. These are useful enough in themselves, but when they are taken too much at face value and when monographic sources are few and include no works published after 1930, the reader's confidence is shaken. A large literature on economic matters is overlooked. The role of von Roon is distorted for lack of reference to his plans for a *coup d'état* and his last-minute advice to the king to give way on the question of the service term—important data available in Dehio's articles of the 1920's and several Roon studies of the 1930's. Similarly the treatment of Bismarck rests mostly on Hans Rothfels' selection of Bismarck documents, a valuable source but hardly a substitute for Bismarck's *Die gesammelten Werke*. This narrow base and an inclination to take Bismarck at his word lead to questionable statements, including the assertion that Bismarck and the liberals "agreed in their fundamental conception of German unity" (p. 147), a statement not even consistent with the author's own views about the peaceful methods of the liberals and their plan to work through state politics.

Part II of the book, on the organization and strength of the rival parties, shows marked improvement. Again stressing the failure of the liberals to build on the local level, the author also shows how they fatally injured their cause by clinging to the three-class voting system instead of seeking mass support by sponsoring universal and equal suffrage. Professor Anderson makes further solid contributions in demonstrating how the "new era" forced the conservatives, much against their traditions, to organize a party and "enter politics" and in describing the government's efforts to enlist all the agencies of the state in the election campaigns against the liberals. Especially penetrating is the point that government pressure on the bureaucracy transformed an independent officialdom into a non-political group later obedient to the kaiser, Weimar, and Hitler—a development fully as important as the defeat of the liberals for the future of German history. Using detailed statistics of the elections of 1862 and 1863, the author concludes, in keeping with his other arguments, that Prussia was overwhelmingly liberal at the time. This conclusion requires, however, considerable guesswork about the disfranchised masses, inadequate treatment of the labor movement, and a discounting of the liberal losses between 1862 and 1863. The loss was slight, to be

sure, but it inaugurated a trend that gained momentum in the following years, about which little is said.

At times a seeming carelessness mars the book, for instance, the confusion of our mile with the much longer German mile of the time (p. 75). In view of the solid aspects of the book and the enormous work devoted to it over twenty-five years, it is regrettable that the literature was not brought up to date, undigested data and certain defects of style eliminated, and standard helps such as a bibliography added.

University of Kentucky

ENNO E. KRAEHE

HINDENBURG: EIN LEBENSBIKD. By *Walter Görlitz*. (Bonn: Athenäum Verlag. 1953. Pp. 438. DM 16.80.)

For almost ten years now, German historians have again been free to write as they please. Quite a few of them have used this freedom to attempt a critical reappraisal of their country's past. But not all have been that venturesome. Especially in the field of biographical studies, some have preferred to cover familiar ground in a familiar way, writing on Bismarck, William II, the crown prince, or Stresemann, rather than Bethmann Hollweg, Erzberger, Rathenau, or Ludendorff. Walter Görlitz, scholar turned publicist, is a case in point. To a long list of biographies, from Wallenstein to Hitler, and a substantial history of the general staff, he added, in 1953, a heavy volume on Hindenburg. And as might be expected after his earlier works, his treatment is wholly sympathetic. Hindenburg emerges as an embodiment of all true Prussian virtues with hardly a single fault.

In the course of the last generation, the picture of Hindenburg has undergone several changes. Hans Delbrück, after the First World War, referred to him as an "ehrwürdige Null," a venerable zero. But German biographers soon converted the zero back to hero. It was only after the fateful role which *der alte Herr* played in Hitler's rise to power, that he again came to be viewed more critically. In 1935, Rudolf Olden, in a study which even Görlitz calls "brilliant," pointed out that Hindenburg's imposing façade concealed serious personal shortcomings, that he was a capable mediocrity with an unerring instinct for evading responsibility at critical points (the kaiser's flight, the armistice negotiations, the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles) and even with traces of dishonesty (the Neudeck affair, the Osthilfe scandals). The best book on the subject (though Görlitz apparently does not know of its existence) was written a year later. In his *Wooden Titan*, Wheeler-Bennett agreed with most of Olden's criticism. But he also acknowledged that Hindenburg's name and legend had often been used by forces the old marshal did not quite comprehend and that through his whole life there ran the single thread of loyal service to Germany.

Görlitz' book continues pretty much where the eulogies of the 1920's left off, except that he credits Hindenburg with more initiative and influence than most

other works. He cannot, of course, ignore the criticisms mentioned above, but he makes valiant efforts to explain them away. Most of his explanations fall into the category of *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*. To give just one of many examples, here is the famous incident on June 23, 1919, when Ebert called the OHL to see if they favored acceptance of the Versailles peace terms: "When the Field Marshal recognized that Groener, so as not to burden the Chief of the General Staff (who in fact had already been relieved) with this bitter admission, wanted to assume the responsibility for telling the Reichspresident our military weakness, he [i.e. Hindenburg] quietly left the room." Groener's recent biography by his daughter does not confirm this readiness on Groener's part to relieve Hindenburg of responsibility but rather gives substance to Wheeler-Bennett's charge that "Groener had become the victim of Hindenburg's lack of courage."

This book, then, is of little value to the historian, except for the fact that Görnitz was given access to Hindenburg's private papers. These appear to contain a good deal of new information, especially for the period of the presidency. How critically and reliably the author has used them, however, is impossible to say. Some idea may be derived from the uncritical way in which he has accepted the published memoirs of men like Papen or Meissner, not to mention Hindenburg's own apologia. The Hindenburg family would perform a real service to historical scholarship and (if we are to believe Görnitz' book) to their illustrious forebear, if these papers were made freely available to qualified historians.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

THE WILHELMSTRASSE: A STUDY OF GERMAN DIPLOMATS UNDER THE NAZI REGIME. By *Paul Seabury*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 217. \$3.00.)

THE decay of professional diplomacy under Hitler has been a frequent theme of German diplomatists themselves. The survivors have emphasized unanimously that they disapproved of Hitler's foreign policy and did their best to limit, if not to thwart, it. Mr. Seabury has examined their story with critical detachment. He explains first how the diplomatic service was traditionally recruited and how it kept aloof from politics under the Weimar Republic. It hoped to do the same under Hitler and did so, though with diminishing success, as long as Neurath was foreign minister. Ribbentrop came in to impose a Nazi foreign policy, but before the end he too was trying to defend the independence of his office from even more barbarous intruders. The demise of the German foreign ministry preceded that of the German Reich. At the end there was nothing except a few devoted officials guarding records of no importance,

This is a good account of the subject, well-written and with an easy mastery of the sources. It is best where the sources are abundant—particularly for the early years of Ribbentrop. It becomes rather thinner toward the end, where perhaps there will never be much to say, but is thin too for the Neurath period on

which the publication of the records may still cast some light. No one is likely to quarrel with the verdict that the professional diplomatists were helpless against Hitler and that they cannot escape condemnation by pleading their good intentions. The general conclusion is more questionable. Mr. Seabury argues that professional diplomacy is doomed to decay not only in Nazi Germany but everywhere in the modern world; and he speaks generally of "totalitarianism." Surely political interference in diplomacy is not a new development. The self-contained world of the professional diplomatists in the later nineteenth century was a passing phase, largely due to the fact that few people thought of foreign policy at all. Napoleon I treated Talleyrand quite as badly as Hitler treated Neurath; and Napoleon III would have done much the same if he had had the energy. Even Lloyd George had a private foreign office, very like Ribbentrop's in the first years of Hitler, in his back garden. Any self-confident ruler is likely to disregard his professional advisers; and the men "in striped pants" will have freedom of decision only when there is nothing important to decide.

Magdalen College, Oxford

A. J. P. TAYLOR

CARL GOERDELER UND DIE DEUTSCHE WIDERSTANDSBEWEGUNG. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1954. Pp. 630. DM 19.80.)

THOSE who have waited eagerly for this biography of the man who in current parlance would be called the "Mr. Opposition" of the Third Reich will not be disappointed. It is a product worthy of the distinguished biographer of Stein and of the leading academic figure of the German resistance to Hitler.

If Carl Goerdeler did not already enjoy the reputation of embodiment of the German conscience in revolt against the Nazi regime, Professor Ritter's work would assure it to him beyond question. The man who in 1936 told the reviewer that the first problem of his country was "the restoration of ordinary human decency" was overwhelmingly motivated in his opposition by moral considerations. In the history of the Third Reich, however, he represented not only "the other Germany" but also "the old Germany" in the sense of all that was best in the German and Prussian traditions. He voiced the outrage of the professional public servant at Hitler's amateurish and dilettante management of the German state, economy, and military apparatus. Ritter also makes abundantly clear how Goerdeler shared the limitations of the traditional German official in failing to meet the challenge of living forces, though he is far from endorsing the occasional portrayal of the man as an only partially reconstructed reactionary. Goerdeler's capacity for growth is shown along such lines as tracing his development from a somewhat narrow nationalist to an ardent planner for a European federative order. On the other hand, Goerdeler's exaggerated faith in the compelling power of reason, of political idealism, and moral principles prevented him from mastering the political realities of his time. The biographer demonstrates

how this unquenchable optimism plagued his public career and accounts largely for his failure as a revolutionary.

Goerdeler, in fact, offers the perfect example of the weakness of the German opposition in planning and executing a *coup d'état*. The man who would not recognize that in the jungle of the Third Reich one could make one's way only by revolutionary means, who rejected to the end a share in plans for assassination, and who persisted in the illusion that in a heart-to-heart talk he might persuade Hitler to what amounted to abdication lacked "the art of the possible" to the point of naïveté.

Ritter also does not shrink from dealing courageously with other painful questions raised concerning Goerdeler and the opposition. The volume does not attempt an exhaustive historical treatment of the latter but it greatly broadens the scope of investigation and does much to clarify moot points. Though Goerdeler was not directly involved, much light is shed on the role of the conspiracy during the Sudeten crisis of 1938. It may surprise some that Ritter does not join the many civilian oppositionists who lay the main blame for failure on their Wehrmacht associates. Halder, Kluge, and other soldiers who fare badly in such accounts as that of Gisevius emerge in a much more sympathetic light. Nor does Ritter join in the chorus of wholesale condemnation of Allied leaders for failing to give encouragement and co-operation. On the other hand, the evidence he presents should refute for good and all the contention of Wheeler-Bennett and others that the Casablanca declaration was at most a negligible hindrance to opposition plans and activities.

This volume is in many ways monumental. It is heavily documented and has an extensive appendix of Goerdeler's memorandums and other important opposition materials.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SWEDEN. By *Eli F. Heckscher*. Translated by *Göran Ohlin*, with a Supplement by *Gunnar Heckscher* and a Preface by *Alexander Gerschenkron*. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume XCV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xlii, 308. \$5.00.)

THE death of Eli F. Heckscher in 1952 marked the passing of a world-renowned economic historian and of an era in Swedish economic studies. Heckscher's *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustaf Vasa* remains incomplete, but *The Continental System* and *Mercantilism* testify to the breadth of his concepts and vision. For this volume, a translation of his *Svensk arbete och liv* of 1941, Göran Ohlin, Heckscher's son, and Harvard University are to be congratulated; Alexander Gerschenkron's appreciative and competent analysis of Heckscher's life and writings also deserves an accolade.

Beginning with the Middle Ages, after a brief survey of the sweep of Swedish economic history, Heckscher moves easily through the economic maturation of

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rise of mercantilism, the influences of foreigners, the role of metals in Swedish production, and the changes in agricultural economy dominate these pages. In the chapters on foundations of modern economy, and "the great transformation" of industrialization, he stresses Swedish expansion into hitherto neglected fields, such as water power, forest products, iron ore, and steel. Heckscher touches on the development of capital, a subject which needs more exploration both in the Swedish and other European economies, but his conclusion that domestic capital was entirely responsible for the astonishing growth of Swedish industry is subject to some doubts. Heckscher concluded his volume with World War I, but in the English edition Gunnar Heckscher, his son, continues with a survey of the effect of two world wars and socialist dominance upon that northern land.

Quarreling with Heckscher is to tilt with a departed giant, but differences of opinion must be stated, however presumptuous they might appear. Heckscher's exaggerated emphasis on quantitative data, his neglect of agrarian techniques and organization, and his disregard of merchant families and their roles in urban development betray serious prejudices. His dependence on England for parallels and his neglect of the Continent unfairly emphasize Sweden's hundred-year lag behind English industrial development; he ignores political history from animosity; as a "liberal" he suppresses the important role of state capital in railroad building; and he cavalierly treats of Sweden's labor organization on the same grounds.

But Heckscher's provocative and stimulating views will spur historians to further endeavors in these fertile fields, and his long career and many writings have enriched economic historical thought enormously.

(Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

SVALBARD IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS 1871-1925: THE SOLUTION OF A UNIQUE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. By *Trygve Mathisen*. [Norsk Polarinstitut, Skrifter no. 101.] (Oslo: Brøgger's Forlag. 1954. Pp. 211. Kr. 18.00.)

SVALBARD IN THE CHANGING ARCTIC. By *Trygve Mathisen*. (Oslo: Gyldendal. 1954. Pp. 112.)

AMONG matters dealt with by the diplomats at Paris in 1919-1920 was the archipelago of Spitsbergen (Svalbard). The settlement agreed upon, many hoped, disposed of a problem which for five decades had been an intermittent concern to diplomats. But such hopes were oversanguine. The new issues stem in part from the demilitarized status agreed upon in 1920 when the islands were transferred to Norwegian sovereignty. World War II pointed up the disadvantages. There were intermittent expeditions to support the Norwegian settlements or to intercept

German forays. The most formidable of the latter, in September, 1943, appeared in force (the *Tirpitz*, the *Scharnhorst*, and nine destroyers!) and in a matter of hours disrupted most of the installations and settlements. Both sides were well aware of the area's importance for weather observation and for controlling or disrupting the sea lanes around North Cape.

The power vacuum of the area has become increasingly important in recent years. The population and industrial centers of Europe and America, in terms of distance, are most accessible to one another across the Scandinavian-Svalbard approaches. Svalbard is considerably nearer the Russian industrial centers than to those of Canada and the United States.

For most purposes, Svalbard, in accordance with the 1920 treaty, is a part of metropolitan Norway, though it has a special status in certain respects. Important is the provision for demilitarization. In defense planning, shall Svalbard be considered part of Norway? The issue played a part in the negotiations in 1949 for a Scandinavian defense union. The Russians on two occasions (1944, 1946) sought by direct negotiations to end the demilitarized status. The emergence of NATO posed the problem in new forms. To what extent, as Russia claimed, did Norway's adherence to NATO violate the treaty of 1920? Or again, to what extent is NATO involved in the defense of Svalbard?

Dr. Mathisen's volume, with a supplementary study covering the period since 1925, provides us with a balanced historical survey of the international rivalries in the area—economic, military, diplomatic. It is clear that, over the long run, strategic interests have dominated over the economic, the latter in recent days pertaining chiefly to coal mining. United States interest in the area, increasingly manifest since the seventies, while not a major aspect of the story, has at times been fairly decisive and is here portrayed sympathetically. On at least one occasion the State Department debated whether Spitsbergen was an Arctic rather than a European land, to which presumably, American control might be extended without overstepping the Monroe Doctrine.

The author has probed deeply into Norwegian archival material and read widely in accessible diplomatic sources—Swedish, Russian, English, French, and American. He has also analyzed contemporary press opinion on various issues. His account is likely to stand, in general outline. If modifications be necessary later on specific points these will probably reflect new data mainly from Swedish sources. The craftsmanship is conscientious and the tone of the narrative uniformly objective (if either volume is to be reissued, the proofreading should be more diligent).

Mathisen's supplementary study is necessarily tentative. Much material, especially Russian, is not yet accessible. And when eventually it is, Russian interests and operations after World War II will likely need more forceful portrayal than now can be given to them. By that time also, the half wistful hope that Svalbard's demilitarized status can be maintained will likely have been sustained, or shattered. In the meantime a historian's task that needed doing has been faithfully

done. Mathisen's studies deserve a place on the shelf of every student concerned with international policy at the mid-century in the North Atlantic sector.

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OSCAR J. FALNES

Far Eastern History

A HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. Volume I, THE PERIOD OF THE PHILOSOPHERS (FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO CIRCA 100 B.C.). Volume II, THE PERIOD OF CLASSICAL LEARNING (FROM THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY A.D.) By *Fung Yu-lan*. Translated by *Derk Bodde*, with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Index. (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952, 1953. Pp. xxxiv, 455; xxv, 783. \$6.00, \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Bodde's English translation of Volume I of *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, first published by Henri Vetch of Peiping in 1937, is now reissued together with the first printing of his translation of the second volume. The translator and his publishers deserve our warm thanks for making accessible in English a complete translation in 1,238 pages of Professor Fung's history, which runs to 1,041 pages in the Chinese original.

Professor Bodde has done a most faithful and excellent job in the translation, and his notes are useful and in many cases necessary aids to the reader. There are numerous small errors which inevitably creep into so voluminous a translation; and there may be points of some importance on which one may justifiably debate with the translator—such as the rendering of *tsai* as "visitations" and *yi* as "prodigies" (II, 55 ff.), for which I would prefer "calamities" and "anomalies." But these should not be cited against the great merit of this most painstaking translation.

Professor Fung's work should be welcomed as the *first*, and *only*, full-size history of Chinese philosophy written by a Chinese scholar of recognized standing. Other pioneers in this field, including the late Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and myself, have not been able to complete their projected whole histories of Chinese thought or philosophy, which require the aid and co-operation of many scholars specializing in many fields such as the history of religious Taoism, of Chinese Buddhism and Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, and of the state of Chinese science and technology throughout the ages—fields which modern critical scholarship has only recently begun to explore.

Because this is a pioneer work, its many major faults may be forgiven. One of these is that it gives barely nine pages (II, 424–33) to religious Taoism, which arose from humble origins about the second century A.D. and fought its way to become in time one of the three great religions in the empire and which not only was responsible for the four great persecutions of Buddhism (A.D. 446, 574, 845–46,

and 955) but also has had much influence in the Neo-Confucianist movement since the eleventh century. Another defect is that the section specially rewritten for the English translation (II, 387-406) presents only a sketchy and rather uncritical treatment of the four centuries (700-1100) of growth and development of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism. This may be explained by the fact that these special periods of Chinese religious and intellectual history have not been sufficiently explored by modern critical scholarship.

Professor Fung's history should also be read as a history of Chinese philosophy written from the "orthodox" Chinese standpoint. In one of his three untranslated prefaces to this work, he says: "When Vol. I of this history first appeared, Professor Hu Shih made the observation that its main standpoint was that of the Chinese 'orthodoxy.' Now that its second volume is published, its main standpoint is more pronouncedly that of the Orthodoxy. I do not need other people to point that out to me: I feel it myself. . . ." What is the standpoint of Chinese "orthodoxy" which our author so frankly and proudly admits to be the main standpoint of his history? Broadly stated, the traditional "orthodox" standpoint was (1) that Truth (*tao*) began to unfold with Confucius, the great inheritor and teacher of the sacred tradition of the sage-rulers of antiquity; (2) that this Truth was obscured and actually swept aside by the deluge of heterodox and depraved doctrines such as those of Mo Ti and Yang Chu of ancient times and Buddhism and Taoism of medieval China; and (3) that this Truth which for long centuries had remained dormant in the sacred scriptures, was revived by its latter-day saints, the leaders of the Neo-Confucianist movements from the eleventh century on.

From this "orthodox" standpoint, the first period of Chinese philosophy must begin with Confucius, who, says Dr. Fung, "strove his entire life to perpetuate the achievements of King Wen and the Duke of Chou, two of the Chou dynasty founders," by whom were founded "the Chou literature and institutions" which could "indeed serve to transmit the spirit of the Sages of the past, and open the way to scholars to come" (I, 7). And from the same standpoint, the second period of Chinese philosophy, from the first century B.C. to the twentieth century A.D., must be regarded as "the period of classical learning," that is, of the classical learning of Confucianism. And this in spite of the powerful influence of Taoistic naturalism, of one millennium of Buddhist conquest of China, and of the rise and growth of Taoism as a religion!

From the same standpoint, this history must not (and does not) mention that Confucius studied under an older master named Lao Tan, also known as Lao-tzŭ. In this, Professor Fung was more "orthodox" than the orthodox Confucianist tradition which recorded (*Li Ki*, Bk. V, Section II, 22) an episode concerning Confucius, a novice, and Lao Tan, the old master.

To point out that Professor Fung's history was written from what has been called the "orthodox" standpoint is not necessarily to deprecate the book or to discredit that standpoint as untenable. In one of the untranslated appendixes to

this work, Professor Ch'en Ying-k'o, Dr. Fung's colleague at Tsing Hua University, wrote a report recommending that this history be included in the university series. Here the eminent historian seriously maintains that Chinese thought after the Ch'in Empire (221-206 B.C.), in all its long history and through all its vicissitudes, has in the main fulfilled a great historical mission, "the production and propagation of Neo-Confucianism." This argument shows that our author was not alone in following the standpoint of orthodoxy.

In conclusion, I should mention this history of Chinese philosophy, especially the second volume, is unnecessarily burdened with copious quotations of ill-chosen and ill-digested materials which, even in the Chinese text, were mostly not quite intelligible and in some cases literally nonsensical and which become exceedingly unreadable in English translation, however faithful the translator may be. Out of these, let me cite a shorter paragraph quoted from *The Great Mystery* by Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18), a very mediocre thinker:

What is unmixed and held within is associated with the Central Heaven. What diffuses and goes forth is associated with the Fructifying Heaven. The coursing of clouds and dispersion of rain is associated with the Assisting Heaven. The changing of regulations and shifting of rules is associated with the Renewing Heaven. Beautiful brilliance and unblemished perfection is associated with the Purifying Heaven. Emptiness within and expansion without is associated with the Diminishing Heaven. The terminating of life is associated with the Completing Heaven" [II, 143].

Did the author really think that such nonsense deserved a place in a history of philosophy? Has he forgotten that Liu Hsin (died A.D. 23), Yang Hsiung's contemporary and friend, once remarked that *The Great Mystery* was fit only to be used as a stopper for a pot of bean sauce?

New York, N. Y.

HU SHIH

SOVIET POLICIES IN CHINA, 1917-1924. By *Allen S. Whiting*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 350. \$5.50.)

IN a detailed and full "record of Soviet words and deeds concerning China from 1917 to 1924," as complete as the available Soviet public records permit, Dr. Whiting has provided what is thus far the account of the Soviet side of the encounter between China and Russia during this period. This is a monographic study of importance and high competence. The resolutions, carefully interpreted, of the Comintern and Comintern-sponsored Congresses and the writings of Soviet leaders on the Far East are covered in the first part of the study. The second half deals primarily with the efforts of the Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) to win recognition from the Chinese Republic while extending Russian influence in China's border areas of Mongolia and Manchuria. Future studies of this period can rely with confidence on its comprehensiveness, documentation, and detail for guidance and information on Soviet words and publicly

known deeds. The admirable result is that no major problem or aspect, except the most clandestine, of Soviet policy toward China appears to elude definition with reasonable surety.

This work, however, does not deal with Soviet policies *in* China, as the title suggests, so much as its policies toward China. Only the activities of the Narkomindel within China receive adequate treatment. The influence and activities of the Comintern, as well as the Profintern (Red International of Trade Unions) were, of course, better concealed, because unofficial, and for adequate appraisal need to be seen at work within China itself rather than chiefly from the writings of Soviet publicists and strategists. Even the account of official Soviet policies needs to be supplemented by readings in the Chinese scene, where Chinese reactions to these policies and the subtle blend of revolutionary cross-currents need to be measured for a full assessment of the impact and influence of Soviet policies in China.

This examination of the evolution of Soviet policy in China and its implications for Soviet Russia's position in the Far East leads to some fascinating and major conclusions. Divergences of Comintern, Profintern, and Narkomindel interests and policies emerge repeatedly. In the end Russia's external interests, under the guidance of the Narkomindel, gradually dominated her foreign policy, a development which "transformed the Bolsheviks from revolutionists operating within Russia into Russian statesmen conducting world revolution" (p. 25). Defense of the interests of the Socialist Fatherland not only took precedence over the advancement of the world revolution in the case of the Chinese Eastern Railway and Mongolia, but policies were pursued which "can only be characterized as imperialistic in aim, for they sought to establish Russian power in areas recognized as lying under Chinese sovereignty" (p. 251). The full range of diplomatic methods employed by Soviet officials, from blandishments to bullying, which here are precisely delineated, demonstrates the realism of their policies and the cynicism of their propaganda. Affiliation with the dominant revolutionary trends in China, despite theoretical limitations and anti-bourgeois attitudes in the Comintern and the Profintern, contributed positively to the development of Soviet Russian policy orientation and became the final objective of Soviet leadership. "Two fronts of activity in China, the revolutionary and the diplomatic, sometimes worked separately and at cross purposes, sometimes remained distinct but parallel. Finally, their merger in 1924 placed Soviet Russia in an ascendant position in the Chinese revolution" (p. 248).

Washington, D. C.

JOHN M. H. LINDBECK

NATIONALISM IN JAPAN: AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By *Delmer M. Brown*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 336. \$5.00.)

THIS book is exactly what its subtitle indicates: an introductory historical

analysis. It hardly lives up to the claim, made in the "blurb" on the jacket, that it "is an explanation, rather than a mere description of the way in which nationalism has affected the internal and external affairs of Japan."

Professor Brown starts with a short essay on the general nature of nationalism which serves to set forth the "elements" of nationalism by which to measure the Japanese manifestation of this phenomenon. He then proceeds with his historical analysis to show how nationalism gained momentum only as technological progress, economic expansion, political centralization, cultural unification, and foreign pressure took place.

This analysis is carried out in ten chapters, each dealing with a stage in the development of Japanese nationalism. Each chapter opens with a paragraph or two setting forth the general character of the period, followed by an extended presentation of the supporting facts and events, and ends with a concise summation. The chapter headings—"National Consciousness," "Articulate National Consciousness," "Emperorism and Antiforeignism," "National Reforms," "Preservation of Japanese National Essence," "Japanism," "National Confidence," "National Reconstruction," "Ultrnationalism," and "New Nationalism"—while not altogether self-explanatory, give some idea of the stages through which the author considers Japanese nationalism to have passed.

The work does not represent original research in the sense of making use of hitherto unutilized source materials. Neither does the work represent a particularly original or philosophical interpretation of the phenomenon of nationalism. It is based almost solely on standard secondary works, albeit some are Japanese works little known in America and some are articles in comparatively rare journals.

But the author has very carefully and diligently gone over the whole range of Japanese history from the beginning to the present and has selected, assembled, and organized a prodigious array of facts which might bear on the subject of nationalism. He performs the valuable service of making available a bird's-eye view of the historical sequence of events bearing on the development of Japanese nationalism, and of suggesting the relevance to nationalism of many events usually considered wholly outside such a context.

Professor Brown brings to this task a sound knowledge of Japanese history, an unusual understanding of the Japanese people which he modestly refrains from flaunting, and a sober and judicious attitude. While in a work of this scope there are naturally a few minor errors and omissions, this volume constitutes a scholarly corrective to some of the mystic and flamboyant theories often advanced about the nature of Japanese nationalism. One might wish that the author had added a final chapter of interpretation and conclusions, instead of leaving his often wise observations scattered throughout the narrative, which ends rather abruptly.

WARREN HASTINGS. By *Keith Feiling*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 420. \$6.00.)

WITH the decline of Britain's imperial power British interest in imperial history has increased. Recent years have seen the publication of many books, popular as well as scholarly, dealing with the lives of empire builders and events in the founding and organization of the British Empire. Quite different in approach and point of view are the pictures of these men and the account of events presented by nationalistic-minded historians and publicists from late British dependencies among which the subcontinent of India stands foremost. Under these circumstances it is understandable that the work of Warren Hastings, the first British governor general of India, should be reappraised and reviewed.

In his *Warren Hastings* Professor Feiling has culled from sources and secondary material a vast amount of information dealing with events in England and India as well as with the activities of his hero. The story is very full for the years 1772-1784 when Warren Hastings dominated the Indian scene. Less detailed is the discussion of the long-drawn-out impeachment proceedings. Hastings' life in obscurity, 1795-1818, is sketched skillfully and sympathetically.

With a wealth of detail the author depicts the confusion and corruption, the incredibly low state of private and public morality and the almost total lack of a social conscience in governmental circles of both England and India in Hastings' time. That Warren Hastings in moral stature stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries has long been well known. In this matter Professor Feiling offers strong support of Lord Curzon's eulogy of Warren Hastings (*British Government in India*, II, 145-64.) However, in his public life we must not measure Hastings with the yardstick of a later day. The standards of a Peel and a Gladstone do not apply to the India of the eighteenth century. One defect of this book is that the author fails to reveal all the sources of the vast sums of money spent so prodigally by Hastings. Even more serious is the omission of an account of the Indian administrative system and the relations with the Indian states, apart from wars, in this period. One thing seems, however, definitely shown: in 1783 British power in India was saved only by the Treaty of Paris.

As might be expected, Philip Francis is the villain of the piece with a duped Burke running a close second. Feiling's discussion of Hastings' lively interest in Indian art, history, and literature includes information long known. Less familiar may be Hastings' latter-day opposition to English settlements in India and his openly expressed regret that the British failed to employ and respect the natives of India "so much as they deserve to be" (p. 390). Professor Feiling vindicates but does not entirely absolve a man more sinned against than sinning.

THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA: THE GUARDIANS. By Philip Woodruff.
(New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. 385. \$5.00.)

READERS who know India will find the second and concluding volume of this work as rewarding as the first (see *AHR*, October, 1954, p. 109). Those with little or no knowledge of India's history since 1857 will be charmed by many a delightful anecdote and biographical sketch but may feel somewhat at sea. Mr. Woodruff feels obliged to omit most of the story of Indian nationalism and the divergence between Hindu and Muslim which led to partition. Names such as Jawaharlal Nehru and G. K. Gokhalé do not even appear in the index, and references to Mohandas K. Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah are extraordinarily few. This comes about because of the necessity of doing justice to the hero of the story "a thousand men, not a service nor a system but a thousand individuals, each different from the next" (p. 13) of whom Philip Mason, *alias* Philip Woodruff, is one. Indeed, it is one of the volume's chief merits to show the inappositeness of the term "steel frame" so often applied to these men, and yet to emphasize that if India is to be well governed by their successors there must be a similar "frame," firm yet flexible—now resembling a blade of finest steel and now an Indian weaverbird's nest.

As in the first volume, the author's method is primarily biographical. We have rather full-length studies of two giants—Bartle Frere and Alfred Lyall—and many pictures of lesser lights at work. Mr. Woodruff is anxious to portray both the liberal and the die-hard before and after the end of British rule was in sight. He is even more anxious to show how little the problems confronting the district officer in the countryside changed between 1857 and 1947. In his chapters on the 1920's and early 1930's—a period dominated by the Khilafat movement, *satyagraha*, dyarchy, Nehru Report, Simon Report, Gandhi-Irwin pacts and London Round Table Conferences—Mr. Woodruff makes clear why such things often seemed unreal and unimportant to many a "Guardian" striving to keep his wards at peace with each other and free from excessive want. On many controversial issues, Mr. Woodruff withholds judgment on the ground that we are too close to them. What he often does do, however, is to show the probability that the personal background or record of service of a British military officer or civil servant may have influenced the event (e.g., Amritsar, pp. 239-42). On the whole he eschews reflection on "what might have been," but, like many other close students of the period, he feels that the chance to preserve the political unity of the subcontinent was lost in the mid-1930's. Also, as in the first volume, he gives descriptions of aspects of British Indian administration which are models of clarity. The account of frontier administration, which grows out of the sketch of Sir Robert Sandeman's career, is perhaps the best of these.

It is not extraordinary that this volume seems to lack some of the life and color of the first. Mr. Woodruff's "hero" during the past century differs vastly from the same "hero" two centuries ago, and there have been neither so many nor

so colorful giants in these days. Moreover it is difficult to stand aloof from a scene in which one has been closely engaged. It seems strange that, though he pays tribute to their abilities, Mr. Woodruff gives no full sketch of any of his Indian colleagues save Dutt, who belonged to an earlier generation. Nevertheless, in raising so excellent and so enduring a monument to their predecessors, Mr. Woodruff has provided the men who rule India and Pakistan now and in the future with a most valuable guide to the virtues to be imitated and the faults to be avoided in the never-ending task of serving the peoples of the subcontinent, to whom both his volumes are dedicated.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

THE ROOTS OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN EASTERN ASIA. By *John F. Cady*, Professor of History, Ohio University. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1954. Pp. xii, 322. \$5.00.)

THIS illuminating and well-organized study of French expansion in China and Indochina during the two decades 1840-1861, based on careful use of the French and British archives, provides a rounded picture of the French motives, their false starts and failures, and eventual qualified success in keeping up with Britain. Relating it always to its context of French domestic politics and European diplomacy, Dr. Cady shows this imperialist spirit at work in one episode and personality after another. Guizot's and Lagrené's curious ineptitude in 1844 (trying to seize a French Hong Kong at Basilan Island in the Sulu archipelago!), Consul Montigny's diplomatic fiasco at Tourane in 1856-1857, Admiral Genouilly's military debacle there in 1858-1859—these and other inglorious strivings reflected the restless French search for personal and national glory. French Catholic missions, which set up fourteen new vicariates within the unopened Chinese interior in the period 1844-1860, manifested a similarly "aggressive ultramontane spirit." In the end, Louis Napoleon used the Anglo-French expeditions of 1858-1860 against China as a cover for sending to the Far East those French military forces (so jealous of the better-prepared British) which could be used at last to seize Saigon in 1861 and begin the dubious story of French Indochina.

Dr. Cady's treatment of the French record seems comprehensive, disillusioned, and dispassionate. He shows no favor to the British bullies, naive Americans, and two-faced Russians who also graced the scene. If anything, he rather sympathizes with the long sequence of French frustrations and tribulations and appreciates both their heroics and their heroism. He constantly enlivens a clear-cut narrative with revealing detail. The Chinese (and possibly the Annamese?) records of Sino-French relations will eventually give a further view of the French missionaries and diplomats, but neither the author's nonuse of Chinese documents nor a few minor slips of transcription will lessen the long-term value of this solid and workmanlike contribution. It provides a convincing basis for his conclusion that

"the taproot of French imperialism in the Far East from first to last was national pride. . . . Christian missions were supported, in large measure, because they were French. . . . The story constitutes an effective refutation of any exclusively economic explanation of the imperialistic urge."

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

American History

PROBING OUR PAST. By *Merle Curti*, Frederick Jackson Turner Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. xii, 294. \$4.00.)

EVERY person interested in the history of the United States is under deepest obligation to Merle Curti. When the definitive history of American historiography covering the last fifty years is written there can be little doubt that he will be recognized as the person who, more than any other, emphasized the outstanding importance of exploring more broadly and deeply than heretofore that phase of our development which we now frequently refer to as American intellectual history. His contribution in this respect is most significant. A brilliant teacher and prodigious worker he has, as Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger points out in the introduction to the volume under review, "attained an enviable niche in the world scholarship as a historian of the American mind." Not only has he blazed a trail himself by means of his individual research and voluminous publications but he has inspired many of his students to devote themselves to this field of inquiry. In fact so numerous are they that the term "Curti school of history" conveys definite meaning.

The present volume is composed of a collection of essays written by Professor Curti during the years 1926-1953 and published in various learned journals and periodicals. Two reasons account for their being brought together in book form: first, the hope on the author's part that some if not all of these essays may be more accessible not only to the historian but to the general reader who finds pleasure in exploring the less familiar; and secondly, that they may be useful to scholars and students who are working particularly in the field of social and cultural history.

The thirteen essays selected for inclusion in this volume fall into three categories. Part I, "Historiography," includes three essays: "The Democratic Theme in American Historical Literature," which Professor Curti delivered as his presidential address before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1952; "Frederick Jackson Turner, 1861-1932," in which Curti gives his estimate of the great historian of the frontier; and "A Great Teacher's Teacher," in which high tribute is paid to the late Charles A. Beard.

Four essays comprise Part II, "The Transmission and Context of Ideas." These

are: "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1783-1861," "Francis Lieber and Nationalism," "Human Nature in American Thought: The Retreat from Reason in the Age of Science," and "Dime Novels and the American Tradition." Part III, "America Reaching Outward" also contains four essays: "The Reputation of America Overseas, 1776-1860," "Young America," and "America at the World Fairs, 1851-1893." The final essay "Prospects for Future Research" was read at an American Historical Association session on "American Influences Abroad: An Exploration" in 1949.

These essays, not to mention the author's many other writings, add weight to Professor Schlesinger's observation that Professor Curti has not specialized in a few intellectual threads or trends but has addressed himself to a wide variety of his countrymen's concerns and aspirations. The historiographical section of the book might well be made required reading for every graduate student of American history irrespective of his field of interest.

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *William W. Crosskey*. In two volumes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 710; 711-1410. \$20.00.)

THE approximately 1,400 tightly packed pages of this work constitute an impressive and indeed an amazing performance in the way of a reinterpretation of the original meaning of the Constitution. Mr. Crosskey, a professor at the University of Chicago Law School, has written these two volumes as a part of a still more elaborate structure yet to be completed, to demonstrate that the written Constitution contemplated the establishment of a unitary system wherein the central government would possess all powers ordinarily possessed by sovereign governments except those specifically denied, and the states would operate in complete subordination. The enumeration of powers of Congress, as in Article I, section 8, was made not to restrict the central government to an area of enumerated powers but rather to designate these powers as belonging to the legislative rather than to the executive branch. The Supreme Court was not given the power assumed by it in *Marbury v. Madison* to strike down acts of Congress which it found to be in conflict with the Constitution. On the other hand, however, it was given much broader powers with respect to the states than it saw fit to exercise. It had the power to strike down state statutes in conflict with state constitutions and to supersede state court decisions on matters of common law. The Court misinterpreted the first ten amendments, the Bill of Rights, when it held that the restrictive force of these amendments applied only to the federal government and not to the states. When by means of the Fourteenth Amendment an attempt was made to restore that power to the federal judiciary, the Supreme Court again denied its exercise.

Mr. Crosskey sets out to prove the thesis stated above and to show "how our

government became the queer, crippled thing which it is" (p. 13), for so many purposes, under supposedly orthodox theories. He states his main purpose as that of providing the reader with "a specialized dictionary of the eighteenth-century word-usages, and political and legal ideas, which are needed for a true understanding of the Constitution" (p. 5). He constructs his "dictionary" through an intensive examination of the way in which words and concepts were used in the period in which the Constitution was written. The work of other historians of the same subject is largely ignored as either biased or inadequate. The records of contemporaries, such as the framers of the Constitution and the authors of *The Federalist*, are put aside as biased and calculated for propaganda purposes. There is an implied thesis that the American people, learning from Mr. Crosskey's work the true nature of their Constitution, should push aside the vast accumulation of error for which politicians, jurists, and historians have been responsible, and put into effect the true meaning, with resulting concentration of power in the central government and apparently particularly in Congress, and with consequent further subordination of the governing power of the several states.

In spite of the enormous documentation of circumstantial evidence and the passionateness of the argument, the American people will be slow in accepting this drastic rewriting of their supreme law. Furthermore, beyond the range of meanings which may now lie buried beneath the changed exterior of words and ideas as used in the eighteenth century, people who give disciplined thought to constitutional matters accept the assumption that, behind the general phraseology, meanings undergo change with changing times and circumstances and tend roughly to correspond to basic patterns of preference and belief as to what ought to be. The Constitution, in other words, is and has always been an evolving institution, and is not now and has not at any intervening period been exactly what it was at the moment of its adoption. Even if we were to accept the allegation that the original meaning of the Constitution was not what we have believed it to be, we would not be likely at this late date to institute revolutionary change for the purpose of expressing the real will of the founding fathers.

Mr. Crosskey's work, nevertheless, has engendered passionate controversy. It is hard to tell whether the controversial heat results from the denial of beliefs commonly held, or from the fear that a drift in the direction of centralized dictatorship might be instituted, or from the electrification of contact with a dynamic and dogmatic personality which radiates from what would initially appear to be merely a compendium of scholarship. One of the unique characteristics of the work is the difficulty felt by reviewers, whether friendly or unfriendly, in making of it a calm and dispassionate appraisal.

Johns Hopkins University

CARL BRENT SWISHER

REBELS AND DEMOCRATS: THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND MAJORITY RULE DURING THE AMERICAN

REVOLUTION. By *Elisha P. Douglass*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 368. \$5.00.)

THE political and ideological controversies that developed out of the attempts to organize new state governments during the Revolutionary period are brought into sharp focus in this provocative study. The basic contest, as Mr. Douglass sees it, was between the conservative Whigs and the radical democrats. The Whigs, in whose ranks were included nearly all the Revolutionary leaders, distrusted majority rule and favored a "balanced" government. To the extent that they believed in protecting the rights of individuals, they were liberals. But they were also conservative in the sense that the rights to which they were devoted were traditional. Their opponents, chiefly yeoman farmers from the back country, were the first champions of democracy, which they understood to mean a government in which all adult males enjoyed equal political rights and in which political decisions were made by the majority.

In most states the Whig element was so firmly in control of the Revolutionary movement that the advocates of democracy could make little headway. The course of events in South Carolina, Maryland, and New York are reviewed briefly to illustrate this generalization, which, it is suggested, would also apply to Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Extended consideration is given to three states in which the forces of democracy were sufficiently vigorous to challenge Whig supremacy. In North Carolina the Regulator movement stimulated popular interest in political reform. By 1776 there was a potent democratic faction in the state, but it failed to achieve its goals because conservatives controlled the constitutional convention. In Massachusetts the democrats also suffered defeat, but they are credited with formulating the concept that constitutions, to be in accord with compact theory, must be written by specially chosen conventions and submitted to the voters for ratification. Only in Pennsylvania, where the democrats were able to organize a strong party and take the leadership away from the divided Whigs, were popular aspirations largely realized. New Hampshire and Georgia also appear to have had important democratic factions, but Douglass found the evidence too fragmentary to permit firm conclusions.

John Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson are singled out for assessment of their democratic qualities, and all are found seriously wanting. Adams was the arch-conservative Whig political scientist, Franklin was an opportunistic politician with vague principles, and Jefferson was a traditional liberal with little sympathy for democracy as a political process.

Because it presents little in the way of new material, this study must be judged almost solely on the basis of the decided interpretations that it gives to familiar events. On the basis of the evidence he presents and the definitions he employs, most readers will probably conclude that Mr. Douglass has overdrawn his picture. He has not persuaded this reader that democracy originated in the Revolutionary

era, that the basic conflict of the times was between Whigs and democrats, or that his appraisals of the political climate in individual states are conclusive. Nevertheless, the book is welcome for its obviously thoughtful analyses and its independent and provocative judgments.

Rutgers University

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. Volume VII, 2 MARCH 1784 TO 25 FEBRUARY 1785. Volume VIII, 25 FEBRUARY TO 31 OCTOBER 1785. *Mina R. Bryan* and *Elizabeth L. Hutter*, Associate Editors. Volume IX, 1 NOVEMBER 1785 TO 22 JUNE 1786. *Mina R. Bryan*, Associate Editor. Volume X, 22 JUNE TO 31 DECEMBER 1786. *Mina R. Bryan* and *Fredrick Aandahl*, Associate Editors. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953 [VII, VIII], 1954 [IX, X]. Pp. xxviii, 652; xxix, 687; xxix 669; xxx, 654. \$10.00 ea.)

BEFORE any general consideration is given to the four volumes listed above, it may be noted that the first part of Volume VII continues from Volume VI the correspondence and committee reports of Thomas Jefferson, delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress in its session of 1783-1784. In these later letters and papers, as in the earlier, are found important state papers: for example, the famous "Notes on Coinage."

On May 7, 1784, however, the Congress elected Jefferson to be one of three commissioners for making treaties of amity and commerce abroad, adding his name to those of Dr. Franklin and John Adams. On August 6, Jefferson, with his eldest daughter, arrived safely in Paris. Thus began his service in France as a diplomatic representative of the United States. That service, in that country, is the controlling fact that constitutes the *raison d'être* for these volumes, and, as his work in France lasted into 1789, for other volumes to come.

It may be well to note here the alteration in Jefferson's diplomatic status which took place the following year. On March 10, 1785, Congress made him sole minister to the French Court in succession to Franklin, who at long last was permitted to go home. Two other changes were highly important in their relation to Jefferson's own labors. John Jay, having been elected to fill the long vacant office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, accepted that post and assumed its duties. John Adams, chosen to represent the United States at the Court of St. James, removed himself and his family to London.

The three commissioners had had little success in their negotiations for commercial treaties. Only the treaty with Prussia, already some time in the making, reached full accomplishment. After Franklin had departed, Adams and Jefferson, constantly exchanging letters, official or personal, continued the treaty-making efforts, but with no better result. That the failure was not the fault of Adams or Jefferson is borne out by their voluminous correspondence, which, so far as

Jefferson had part in it, is now reprinted, with copious annotation, in the volumes under review. European interest in America was cooling and the uncertainty frequently voiced as to the ability of the states to continue their union received only too much confirmation in the official communications of Secretary Jay and in the letters received by Jefferson from his friends in America, particularly from his collaborators Madison and Monroe.

After Jefferson became minister he was increasingly occupied with the relations between his country and her great ally. There was the heavy weight of American indebtedness to the French government, and to some individuals as well. But through 1786 Jefferson gave more attention to the effort to secure for American commerce some relaxation of the dues and restrictions fixed in the French fiscal "system." Concessions were made to American whalers, more free ports in the French West Indies were opened, and permission was given for the entry of some American lumber. But the grip which the Farmers General had established over tobacco imports, and the contract which they had made with Robert Morris, could not, at this time, be much weakened. In these matters Lafayette had interested himself before Jefferson's arrival, and to Jefferson he gave generously of his time and efforts. The concessions that had been made, or were promised, are well summed up in the letter of Calonne to Jefferson, of October 22, 1786.

Lafayette was eager to involve himself also in the long-standing problem of the Barbary States. In 1786 the ruler of Morocco consented to negotiate with Thomas Barclay, deputized for the purpose by Adams and Jefferson. By the end of the year 1786 Jefferson conceived and put on paper plans, first for a convention, and second, for joint naval action against the other predatory powers. At this point Lafayette seems to have desired to be the commander of the force; but the scheme found little support and was not taken up.

From the standpoint of quantity the great number of official documents in these volumes reminds one of the mass of routine papers in the years when Jefferson was governor. But the analogy is limited by one great and happy difference. Despite his official burdens, Jefferson in France found time to write letters of his own choosing. He kept in epistolary contact not only with his family and his business representatives in Virginia but also with his "philosophical" friends—the elder Madison, David Rittenhouse, and Francis Hopkinson—to mention but a few. As one proceeds from the seventh to the tenth volume of the *Papers*, one becomes aware of Jefferson's new friends, such as Dr. Richard Price, among English liberals, and La Rochefoucauld d'Anville, and other friends of Franklin, both men and women. Also in these volumes is found the romantic correspondence with Mrs. Maria Cosway.

It was in Paris that he first had printed the *Notes on Virginia*; that he wrote to the press to defend America; that he assisted Dêmeunier with the latter's contribution to the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and Soulés with his *Histoire des*

troubles de l'Amérique anglaise. In these volumes there is a wealth of revelations of what Jefferson thought, what he did, and what he was, which makes parts of them, at least, good reading.

Chevy Chase, Maryland

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

SAM HOUSTON: THE GREAT DESIGNER. By *Llerena Friend*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 394. \$6.00.)

LIKE Jefferson, Lee, and Lincoln, Sam Houston has been fortunate in his twentieth-century biographers. Unlike their lives, his life has been re-created most satisfactorily in one-volume works. Marquis James received the Pulitzer Prize for *The Raven* twenty-five years ago. Now Miss Friend, librarian of the Barker Texas History Center of the University of Texas Library, has contributed a second valuable book and has added substantially to the Houston story.

Both Miss Friend and Mr. James went to the sources, scrutinized manuscripts, and dissected legends. If *The Raven* often is more dramatic, the new book contains good theater too. But Miss Friend's forte is admirable analysis. She is bold in her efforts to solve the unsolved. If she minimizes battle scenes, or abstains from gilding familiar lilies, this is due to her absorption in meeting challenges which less daring scholars might shun. The James account and the Friend account are first-rate products of different minds, contrasting techniques, and similar objectives. They complement one another, and each of them will long be read and enjoyed by discriminating people.

The worst that can be said of *Sam Houston: The Great Designer* is that repetitive features might have been cut. There is some duplication, for example, on pages 82-85 and 104-107. (Such occasional defects are by-products of a determination to do justice chronologically to major subjects within a combined chronological-topical framework.) On page 169, there is a misleading implication that Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren were members of Congress in 1846. Not only sensation-seekers but also scholars may want to know more about Eliza Allen and Tiana Rogers Gentry; one can feel confident that, if other information were accessible, the resourceful Miss Friend would have found it.

The author has an eye for significance. At the end of the book, as at the beginning and from time to time on intervening pages, she pauses to point out the meaning of matters in need of a specialist's interpretation. Finally, let it be emphasized that Sam Houston—the national statesman, the skilled politician, the ever-so-human and many-sided man—walks and talks and errs and triumphs, man-like, in this biography. If incidentals sometimes compete with critical events for space in Miss Friend's volume, Houston himself emerges from her writing the greater and more intelligible as the result of her research.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

ERA OF THE OATH: NORTHERN LOYALTY TESTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *Harold Melvin Hyman*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the American Historical Association. 1954. Pp. 229. \$5.00.)

THE framers of our current security policy were probably ignorant of the Civil War and Reconstruction experience with the problem of testing loyalty, or that after twelve weary years of loyalty oaths one congressman in utter disillusionment suggested that Congress offer "a reward for the discovery of an invention which would provide a proper way of determining loyalty."

Specialists in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods will find in Dr. Hyman's *The Era of the Oath* a calm, judicious, and very satisfying monograph. But the people it would help most at the moment are the legislators and executives who frame and administer policy and the journalists who interpret the news.

The problem of testing loyalty arose early in the Civil War. Few would deny how serious and how difficult an issue it was, or how pervasive its influence in all aspects of governmental affairs and public attitudes. Not only was an armed enemy within the sight of the capitol at Washington but every bureau of the federal government had within its personnel "Southern sympathizers" ranging from moderate antagonism to the war administration to active espionage for the Confederacy. The problem of testing loyalty continued well into the Reconstruction era. Here apprehension lest the fruits of victory be jeopardized by returning to positions of influence and power men uncleansed of the taint of treason operated to dictate the use of loyalty tests. Hence loyalty tests served a double purpose. They were intended to protect the Union and they were an outlet for war and postwar neuroses. To some people also they constituted a device by which loyalty to a particular political party could be identified with loyalty to the Union.

The best that the Civil War could devise as a loyalty test was the taking of an oath of loyalty. Apparently the men of that period had not read the lesson of feudalism in regard to the efficacy of oaths to command loyalty any more than we today are concerning ourselves with what the Civil War experience reveals. The score of years following Fort Sumter saw a rich and confused growth of oaths, executive orders, congressional investigation committees, and judicial commentaries. Administrators, notably Hugh McCulloch in the Treasury Department, tried to accomplish results which the oaths made impossible, and when they demurred from strict subserviency to the loyalty program they became the butt of scurrilous and destructive attack. Lawyers, who as a class were singled out for special treatment, experienced problems of action and of conscience not unlike those which have plagued the teaching profession in recent years. As judicial decisions and executive orders sought to interpret the loyalty system the robes of justice came to look more and more like a crazy-quilt. Progressively the situation degenerated into the cheaper forms of politics.

Dr. Hyman concludes that the loyalty tests of the Civil War and Reconstruc-

tion period failed because they did not measure loyalty. It seems sound to agree that they failed to offer protection against treason or to guarantee service to the Union. Did they help to relieve the fears and tensions of war and postwar neuroses, or did they rather feed the sickness which created them?

Dr. Hyman writes with clarity and precision. The book is a model of what the monograph form can be. An important subject is analyzed with mastery of material and intelligence of interpretation. One can use the result with confidence in building a larger synthesis. Adversely it must be said that the separation of notes from text by placing the former at the back of the book is especially irritating and time-wasting in this instance where so often questions of exact citation and reference influence one's judgment. A book sponsored by the American Historical Association should be more considerate of the scholar's cherished prejudice that footnotes remain footnotes.

Harvard University

PAUL BUCK

WILLIAM H. WELCH AND THE RISE OF MODERN MEDICINE. By *Donald Fleming*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. vi, 216. \$3.00.)

THIS effective biography presents Dr. Welch as the leader who "transformed American medical schools from the worst to the best in the world in one generation." Others may hesitate in ascribing so great an influence to one man and may also have doubts about the superlatives "worst" and "best"; yet in large measure this striking generalization is true. American medical education underwent a metamorphosis between 1890 and 1915, and Welch—more than any other one man—deserves credit for what emerged. The outcome involved not only the reform of schools as such but also an introduction of the research spirit into the entire medical environment in this country.

An able biography of Welch by James and Simon Flexner appeared in 1941. Professor Fleming acknowledges indebtedness to this work, but re-examines the extensive sources and reaches his own conclusions. The result is a relatively condensed study, eminently readable and emphasizing certain interpretations of Dr. Welch and of the issues with which he was associated. One of the many merits of the biography is that these issues are related to the larger context of American social history as well as to their immediate professional setting.

Deft sketches of Welch himself recall the puritanic background and his escape therefrom into a world more suited to his own inclinations. One disappointment—failure to secure a post in classics at Yale—diverted him to his father's profession; but he had from the start no desire to be a medical practitioner. Science beckoned, and the portal to medical science in the 1870's was graduate training in Germany. There, Fleming states, Welch wished to "try his hand at genuine research." Was he hoping, at this stage, to become a great investigator? The ques-

tion is not easily answered. The young doctor already aspired to the chair in pathology at the new Johns Hopkins University—a position which promised opportunities for educational reform. Did Welch, then, undertake research training for its own sake or as a means to a related but distinct end?

These queries are pertinent to an aspect of Welch's career on which the Flexners and Fleming offer somewhat different interpretations. Welch did creditable work in pathology and bacteriology, both in Germany and in Baltimore after appointment at Hopkins, but his investigations were not outstanding. After about 1900, his interests were increasingly devoted to the teaching, promotion, and organization of research—in his own laboratory and through his connections with professional bodies, journals, and foundations. The Flexners state that he was "drawn away" from original studies by outside pressures and was forced to give up "the dreams of his young manhood." Fleming, however, suggests (pp. 128 f.) that Welch's "withdrawal" was voluntary and that, after some years, "the habit of research had slipped away from him forever." Hence Welch, in a sense, betrayed his original purpose but "learned to live with his own response" by maintaining an interest in the research of others.

The implication here is that Welch always retained, deep down, a feeling that research was a higher calling than that of promoting and organizing. This, of course, was not the prevailing American view. Indeed, the very fact that Welch is still remembered better than are the men who actually *did* the research, suggests that American outlooks have changed little in this respect even today. Be that as it may, there is a third possibility regarding the doctor's own motivations, namely, that in this as in other matters he really did just what he had always wished to do.

Whatever the personal factors, Welch became the most potent leader in reorganizing medical education; first at Hopkins and later through his influence on the Rockefeller foundations, in the country at large. Fleming's interpretation of developments within Hopkins emphasizes a struggle between the ideal of impersonal science (as exemplified in the anatomist, Dr. Mall) and the ideals of teaching, clinical work, and good professional relations (as exemplified in Dr. Osler). Welch is said to have held the balance between the two but threw his weight eventually with Mall. Those who recall the school in those days may find this an oversimplified interpretation but the analysis is plausible and intriguing.

Welch's success resulted both from his remarkable grasp of the needs of medical education and from the effectiveness of his own personality. Friendly and urbane, he had a genuine "presence," but combined this with an inner reserve which—it is suggested—hid the tensions produced by many and distracting activities. There is no doubt that Welch became one of the great "influentials" of his time—the greatest, Fleming believes, "that the biological sciences had yet known in America."

GREAT RIVER: THE RIO GRANDE IN NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY.

Volume I, INDIANS AND SPAIN. Volume II, MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Paul Horgan*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1954. Pp. xv, 447; vii, 453-1020. \$10.00.)

Mr. Horgan was originally assigned a volume on the Rio Grande in the Rinehart "Rivers of America" series, but, since the material overflowed the limits of that series, the resultant two volumes now stand by themselves. The purpose of the series—colorful or dramatic approach to the past rather than factual, classroom history, must however be kept in mind in evaluating Mr. Horgan's work. But while the treatment was aimed for the general reader and while it was not the primary purpose of the work to produce professional history, the author has added such scholarly accouterments as abbreviated back-of-the-book citations and a bibliography "to reassure the scholarly reader with respectable evidence."

Mr. Horgan himself has a fitting background and abilities to undertake such an assignment. He is a novelist, an artist, a music critic, an army colonel, a long-time resident of New Mexico, and an enthusiast for the Southwest. He writes with facility and color and has a sense for the dramatic.

The two volumes are intended as a "work of art" and as such they reflect fully the sense of values of the author. Horgan deliberately tries to reveal and to interpret the spirit of the great river. The interpretations, obviously, are his own, and herein is the real crux from which the objective reviewer or reader must approach the volumes. Horgan starts with known, accepted, "historical" facts, with things directly or indirectly associated with the river, and with these facts there may be virtually unanimous agreement—therein is the approach to objective truth—but beyond that is the ascribed meaning, the interpretation, and the animism, a sort of pantheistic overtone which pervades the volumes.

The Rio Grande, rising in southern Colorado and flowing southward, almost bisects New Mexico and, departing from that state, turns generally southeastward to become the southwestern boundary of Texas. By the time it debouches into the Gulf of Mexico, the river has stretched itself to almost 1900 miles and become second in length among the rivers of the United States. The stream maintained a large aboriginal Indian population which was eventually subjugated by the Spanish. Horgan ably displays the way of life of the Pueblo Indian, who worshipped in his every act, and the Spanish authority, which was always characterized by conflict between "Two Majesties"—church and state. A cogent contribution is made with the historical treatment of the Rio de las Palmas (the lower) section of the Rio Grande. With Horgan's mapping of the routes of Coronado, Cabeza de Vaca, and others, however, there will not be unanimous agreement.

While the first volume deals mainly with Indians and Spaniards, the second, which is subtitled "Mexico and the United States," for practical purposes is concerned with Texas and things associated fairly directly with Texas. Like the first volume, the second is composed of essays on topics having either direct or indirect

connection with the river. Stephen F. Austin, the first Anglo-American *empresario* in Texas, is dealt with at great length, from his colonization pursuits in the valleys of the Brazos and Colorado to his political activities in Mexico City, and finally, to a résumé of the Texas Revolution. All this is rather far afield from the Rio Grande except that Texas, after declaring independence from Mexico, on December 19, 1836, in order to have the security of a buffer area outside the core of Anglo-American settlement, claimed the Rio Grande as a southern and western boundary.

The section entitled "Collective Prophecy" has about forty pages of generalizing on the frontier, democracy, and American art, with little that is particularly germane to the subject of the Rio Grande. Horgan's following of Zachary Taylor does bring the account back to the river for an excellent treatment that finally broadens to a general account of the Mexican War. The abbé Domenech, a likable French missionary on the Rio Grande, is given more space than the final settlement of the boundary question.

With John R. Baylor's and H. H. Sibley's thrusts at New Mexico for Confederate Texas, Horgan does a superb piece of writing, and the same should be said for his summary of Robert T. Hill's running of the Rio Grande canyons in the Big Bend section of the river. The Cattle Kingdom unquestionably has obligations in point of origin to the area between the Rio Grande and Nueces, and Horgan writes a charming and in many ways instructive essay, but, again, Horgan's conclusions and interpretations are his own and not the real core of history. For example, he says: "The life he [the cowboy] chose resembled the Indian's more than any other, but it lacked the sustaining spiritual power of the Indian's nature—mythology, and so it could not really hold for him the unquestioned dignity of a system that tried to explain . . . the whole of human life." That quotation alone contains enough controversial material to be bandied back and forth for hours either by academic historians or old-time cow waddies. Other persons wholly knowledgeable with reference to Indians and cowboys will choose the dignity of the cowboy and the values of his way of life over that of any Indian, be he Comanche, or Pueblo, or Iroquois.

In other words, Horgan has produced a work of unimpeachable literary excellence, but the academic historian, bound down by seminar standards from Leopold von Ranke to Herbert Baxter Adams, cannot go all the way. He may stop when Horgan moves from phenomena to noumena.

It is unfortunate that so pretentious a work has been left with somewhat inconsequential errors which a bit better editing would have removed, but their presence will make it possible for collectors to identify the first edition (e.g. I, x, 29; II, 577, 959, 966, 977).

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes VII and VIII, THE DAYS OF ARMAGEDDON, 1909-1914 and 1914-1919. Selected and Edited by *Elting E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 816; vi, 817-1621. \$20.00 per set.)

THESE final two volumes of Theodore Roosevelt's letters maintain the high standard of editing that the early volumes led the reader to expect. The series will long remain a model of careful workmanship and accurate reproduction. The volumes cover the period from Roosevelt's departure from the White House on March 4, 1909, to his death on January 5, 1919.

Many questions to which solutions might have been found in these letters are left unanswered or with only hints of what the answers might be: We still do not know clearly why the Republicans did not nominate Roosevelt in 1916 or whether they would have nominated him in 1920. We have no clue to the reason for his contempt for and dislike of Winston Churchill that led him to call the British leader a "cad," to deny he was a gentleman, and to refuse to meet him in 1910. We do not know what, when the war was won, his attitude toward a league of nations would have been. We can only guess whether he would have understood the foreign problems that followed World War I as Volumes III to VI indicate he comprehended those of his presidency.

Besides an introduction and the useful chronological table that has accompanied earlier volumes, the editors provide an acknowledgment of books quoted and a list of 194 manuscript collections searched by or for Elting Morison's editorial staff. The list indicates, as all such lists should but often do not, the collections that were richest in Roosevelt letters. The appendix provides a most useful essay by John Blum on "Method and Materials."

Again one is impressed with the debt of gratitude the historian and the public owe both to the editors and to the Roosevelt family for the complete freedom of these volumes from censorship. So far as is ascertainable no censorship was applied. Roosevelt's command of the English language enabled him without ever using profanity to denounce men and events with completely devastating effect. Fear of libel suits, dread of hurting the feelings of people still alive, false notions of taste and propriety, sheer timidity would have led most editors and families to edit a great deal of the vitality and vividness out of these letters. Both family and editors have followed the sage and generous advice Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., once gave that, since this was the way Theodore wrote and talked on occasion, his forceful language should be printed without editing. Thus the letter is printed in which he says: La Follette "has shown himself to be an unhung traitor, and if the war should come he ought to be hung." Thus also the letter is printed in which Roosevelt says of Nicholas Murray Butler that "he is the silliest and most vicious of those reactionaries who are really reactionaries, and not merely grafters." Thus, too, appears the letter in which he calls Butler "an aggressive and violent ass." The perhaps most picturesque epithet hurled at Wilson is missing, but that

seems to have been a mere matter of selection, for the War President is called a "cold-blooded, selfish, and tricky creature," a man who "is yellow all through," and a "prize jackass." Letters are printed unflattering to Roosevelt, too, letters, for instance, in which his hatred and emotion led him to outbursts of unreasonableness and unfairness which, as one very close to him once warned, were what made it so terribly hard for those who loved him to defend him. Letters are printed which make it clear that his distrust and hatred of Wilson had led him actually to persuade himself that the President of the United States was more concerned to frustrate him than to win the war. Unlike the editor of a famous contemporary's correspondence, these editors have refused to censor a letter of high praise of Albert Fall, who was soon to go to the penitentiary. On the happier side are printed without the omissions previously deemed necessary his delightfully frank appraisals of prominent Europeans he met in 1910. Even his description of Queen Wilhelmina is included. Here are Theodore's contempt for her, his judgment that she was "not only commonplace but common," his comment that her "pretentiousness . . . made her ridiculous" and reminded him of "a puffed-up wife of some leading grocer" in some American country town.

Several changes in editorial policy so greatly add to the value of these volumes that one wishes they could have been adopted retroactively into the earlier volumes. The explanatory footnotes, always valuable, have been greatly expanded in both length and number to the immeasurable benefit of the reader. Furthermore, in-letters whose absence from earlier volumes has been regrettable, are now more frequently supplied to provide greater meaning for Roosevelt's answers to them.

The matter of selection still raises question but seems more wisely handled than previously. The earlier volumes included only a selection so that the serious research student still could not avoid going to the manuscript collection, as he presumably does not have to do in the case of the published Washington or Jefferson writings. It always seemed to this reviewer that unless the researcher's purpose was to be served by a full printing of all letters except form letters and trivia, a smaller selection would have served Mr. Morison's expressed purpose of revealing Roosevelt's thought and action. In these last two volumes the proportion of letters included has been reduced "because of the increasing realization," as Mr. Morison puts it, "that three or four letters out of twenty or thirty will often give as fair a representation of a subject as eight or ten out of twenty or thirty." Furthermore, it is true, as the editor also points out, that in these later years there was an increasing tendency to say the same thing in a greater number of letters. Hence the basis of selection seems improved. Yet in these later years the selective process has had a strange effect. Reading all the manuscript collection gave a clear impression that the bulk had increased but that the quality of Roosevelt's correspondents and of his letters to them and the importance of what he wrote about had all declined. Selection has eliminated an obvious repetitiousness; the selective process with an inevitable choosing of the best and most important

letters has given a total effect of quality in the last of the eight volumes much nearer to the high quality of earlier years than reading the whole correspondence would do.

Again, too, letters are omitted whose absence is regrettable. The whole story of Theodore Roosevelt cannot be told until the families let research scholars into the letters of Leonard Wood and George B. Cortelyou from which the Morison staff was excluded. In the appendix to this last volume appear letters recently turned up by the family. It is a great pity that Mrs. Roosevelt destroyed her husband's letters to her rather than perhaps sealing them for a later generation. Mr. Morison seems to say that one childhood letter and a late brief telegram are all that survive. More diligent searching would have produced at least six more, four of them long and interesting ones, as well as a letter of his wife, Edith, giving feminine corroboration of Theodore's impression of Queen Wilhelmina. The publishing in the appendix of a letter from Robert Grant to James Ford Rhodes about Roosevelt proves how valuable other letters of this sort would have been to the understanding of Roosevelt that was Mr. Morison's purpose in publishing the Roosevelt letters themselves. Selection is a matter of judgment, but as in earlier volumes the editors chose to omit some letters that do seem worthy of inclusion. Unfortunate, for instance, particularly after America's recent experiences with armies of occupation, is the omission of a letter revealing Theodore in his most perceptive state of mind on the subject of armies of occupation. Missing, too, is another in Roosevelt's tersest and most vigorous style telling why he did not like Herbert Hoover. The reader would certainly have enjoyed two amusing notes to Margot Asquith on American expatriates and on Britishers who found their company agreeable.

These last years were for Roosevelt tragic years. Through the Progressive era the letters continue to be exciting. Letters like his two long accounts of his European travels, some of his comments on judges and lawyers, many of his analyses of political and economic issues during the years of battling for the Lord against reactionary Republicanism portray Roosevelt at his best. The letters indicate, too, that though he disliked Bolshevism and fought it in this country, he was better informed about Russia under it and more understanding about its rise in Russia than most Americans. Roosevelt out of power, however, chafing about things he disliked and could not help, loses much of the quality that earlier letters reflected. Successful leadership, joyful in accomplishment and in able handling of large problems, had brought out the great qualities in Roosevelt. So, too, had association with interesting men. Now Speck von Sternburg and Hay were dead. Exigencies of his being ambassador to the hated Wilson cut Spring Rice off. Roosevelt had broken with many of the friends like Root and Taft whose abilities inspired his ablest thinking and most brilliant style. Even the old zest for a fight is soured and the sound of battle made discordant as he fights an apparently hopeless cause in opposition instead of leading triumphant forces of progress and reform or building up America's power and prestige in the world as he was

doing in the earlier volumes. His intense hatred and distrust of the kaiser, of Hearst, of Wilson, of La Follette, of pacifists and socialists attain an emotionalism that does not add to his stature. Yet along with the hate are poignant revelations of how tender and compassionate he could be. Small frustrations even in petty matters are deadening even to ordinary men. Great frustration in world-shaking events and being cut off from the people doing important things was catastrophic for a man used from his early twenties to successful accomplishment in collaboration with important people. The letters of the last years reveal this tragedy and are tinged with sadness—for the country as well as for Roosevelt personally.

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD K. BEALE

THE DOLLAR DECADE: BUSINESS IDEAS IN THE 1920's. By *James Warren Prothro*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 256. \$4.75.)

BEFORE beginning his analysis of the political ideas of American businessmen three decades ago, Dr. Prothro wisely acknowledges that "to systematize the ideas of a group is necessarily to expose them" more conspicuously than they were exposed in their own day, as they were stated in the contexts of speeches and articles. The officers and writers for the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, whom the author selects as representative of business thought, certainly did speak off the top of their minds, and speak *ad hoc*; and they neither acknowledged loyalty to anyone's political system nor essayed to create one of their own. Many things they said were at cross-purposes, and some were silly. Jules S. Bache (the art collector), for instance, was no less realistic than many colleagues when he wrote in the *Proceedings* of the N.A.M., "Taxation should never be a question of politics. It is the gravest mistake in the world that our political representatives in Washington have anything to do with taxation." The excess with which business spokesmen praised business leadership and condemned reform and criticism, their anti-intellectualism and their own loose and arrogant conceptions, are painful to contemplate even at thirty years' distance.

Yet there was sufficient spread of business theorizing for the author to turn up ample comment to be categorized under three major heads of political thought: "Human Nature," "The Good Society," and "Government." His truly distinguished achievement is to have reported the ideas logically and entertainingly, and to have shown how intimately the main ones depended on one another. In the end he reduces his findings to three pairs of dogmas held by business leaders. First a doctrine of the elite, matched by a material standard of values which measured individual superiority and inferiority purely in terms of economic production and earnings. Second, as ruling attitudes toward society, the beliefs that "not governments, but business" was the greatest instrument of the

community, and that social stability was the principal goal of organization of any kind. Finally, with specific reference to government, the businessmen believed that popular control was a thing to fear and fight consistently and that the protection of individual freedom was the one field of usefulness of the state.

Dr. Prothro's total subject is an important one, and in bold analysis he has encompassed it ably. Were the presentation more historical than it is, it would have contained more background data on the Chamber, the N.A.M., and the spokesmen most frequently quoted, and more reference to the surrounding pragmatisms of the schoolmen, churchmen, and labor leaders; and one may object a little that, were the careful text yet a whit more precise, there would be no occasions, such as do occur, for a reader's wondering where paraphrase of businessmen of the twenties ends and where the author's comment of the fifties takes over. At the conclusion one is not surprised to discover that Dr. Prothro lines up with the new conservatives, that he believes that "the greatest indictment of the business theory under the aegis of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce is that it betrayed the responsibilities of conservatism itself," and that he intends his commentary to be also a tract for the present epoch.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. Volume II, BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, EUROPE, NEAR EAST, AFRICA. [Department of State Publications 5435, 5442.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. viii, 1015; vii, 971. \$4.25 ea.)

OF these two volumes, the first is by far the more interesting. It covers such topics as the "general political developments in Europe," the Spanish Civil War, various suggestions or negotiations on such questions as the limitation of armaments, economic conferences, and acceptance of fundamental principles of international policy. The second volume is almost wholly devoted to trade agreements, various kinds of conventions, and the usual complaints, inquiries, explanations, or other business which constitute the routine of international intercourse. Worthy of note, however, are the exchanges with Germany over Mayor La Guardia's derogatory remarks about Hitler and over the utterances of Ambassador Dodd before the termination of his mission in December. Relations with the U.S.S.R. have been omitted from Volume II because they have been covered in the separate volume already printed on *The Soviet Union, 1933-1939*.

With these volumes the list of papers, which was formerly supplied, has been omitted in an attempt to speed up publication of the series. Also, as in the 1936 volumes, the indexes have been prepared outside the department. Students of foreign affairs must applaud any effort to lessen the gap between events and publica-

tion, and none can complain over the loss of the lists with their *précis* of each paper. The serious student must look at each paper for himself anyway, and by using the table of contents and following the chronological arrangement he need experience little difficulty in finding the subject matter he wants.

This is not so true, however, if the researcher is interested in individual men rather than events, or if he wants to find out who a man was that is mentioned only by official title. The footnotes usually, though not always, give the official position of a man named in a paper but do not identify the "Ambassador," or the "Prime Minister," or whatever who may be mentioned solely by title. The search for individuals could be greatly facilitated by a more complete index, including, as is not now the case, all United States and foreign nationals mentioned in the papers; and both editing and compositing time could be saved if many footnotes were eliminated by giving the official position and dates of office in the index entry of each proper name. Since this might increase costs and slow down the preparation of each volume, a cheaper alternative and one still helpful to the student, would be the listing by name, in each volume, of United States and foreign officials mentioned in the papers. This, too, would eliminate many footnotes. Also a further editorial service might be rendered by inserting the name of an official, mentioned only by title, in the text within brackets.

Again in 1937, as in 1936, there are excellent reporting and many shrewd observations which offer bases for some revision, or change of emphasis at least, in the Spanish story and the attitudes toward the Axis powers. The tenacity with which the United States adhered to its policy of neutrality and yet the temptations to promote some means of achieving world peace are even more strongly marked in 1937 than in previous years.

Clark University

DWIGHT E. LEE

THE ROOSEVELT LEADERSHIP, 1933-1945. By *Edgar Eugene Robinson*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1955. Pp. 491. \$6.00.)

THE preparation and publication of this book was due to the will of the late J. Brooks B. Parker of Philadelphia, who directed that the services of an outstanding historian be engaged to perform the task. Mr. Parker desired a "contemporary appraisal without fear, favor, or prejudice" of the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt "before it is too late." Dr. Robinson, a historian of distinguished reputation (and a long-time director of the Hoover Library), was engaged under these unusual circumstances, and he has produced an unusual kind of book. The author explains that his work is neither biography nor history, but a "story" for the general reader, dealing with Roosevelt's general methods and providing an interpretation of the era of his leadership. He further states that it is his aim to cut through the "masses of conflicting evidence" and to reach a point of "detachment."

The book, while provocative, makes hard reading. Transitions in thought are not always clear, there is considerable repetition, and there are frequent contradictions and obscurities. More serious is Dr. Robinson's somewhat careless use of words. "Radical" and "radicalism," for example, appear in varied contexts and are likely to be misleading since they do not convey the meaning usually given to them. It is a bit strange to read, as an instance (p. 381), that the major political alignment in America has always been one of "radicals versus conservatives." The author traces at some length the development of an *interventionist* foreign policy by Roosevelt during the late thirties, but one is surprised to see this labeled repeatedly in the text (and in the chapter title) as an "aggressive" foreign policy. Again, in discussing the Yalta Conference, he speaks of Roosevelt's "concessions" (p. 360), but two pages later he uses the word "surrender."

Equally disturbing to the professional historian are the many generalizations from insufficient evidence or contrary to evidence. One is startled to read (p. 13) that Herbert Hoover was elected in 1928 because an overwhelming majority of voters believed his conceptions promised a "New Day" for all mankind. (Historians may recall that the most prominent "issues" in that campaign were rum, Romanism, and prosperity.) Dr. Robinson makes a flat statement that Roosevelt had "Socialistic objectives" (p. 263), that "No political program that emerged in the Roosevelt administration was distinctly the expression of the American tradition" (p. 404), and that the President and his followers sought to make government, and particularly the executive, "all-powerful" (p. 400). He further asserts (p. 386) that Roosevelt did not understand that there was a difference between the Russian and the American view of "democracy"!

The conclusion of the book is implicit in the title of the final chapter: "The Tragedy of Leadership." Dr. Robinson finds Roosevelt to be the most successful popular leader in history—but a tragic failure. This may appear paradoxical to the reader, but it is not so to the author, who reveals his own belief in the "frustrations of all popular rule" (p. 13). The author states that he sought a "frame of reference" in which to judge Roosevelt's leadership "without partisanship," but it clearly develops that his frame of reference is one profoundly opposed to the principle and practice of popular and party government as it has evolved in this country. Judging within this frame, Dr. Robinson quite naturally defends the policies of his friend and ideal statesman, Herbert Hoover, while indicting Franklin Roosevelt and the American people.

The work is not without value. It contains many shrewd observations upon Roosevelt and American politics. It is, moreover, a significant document of contemporary literature, showing how the events of the New Deal era appeared to a scholar of Dr. Robinson's point of view. And the author has labored conscientiously to be fair, he has read widely, and displays remarkable erudition. He concludes that Franklin Roosevelt was a "man of fundamentally good intention overwhelmed by the forces of his time." It might be said of Dr. Robinson, a man

of equally good intention, that in his effort to achieve "detachment" he was overcome by his own sympathies and preconceptions.

Michigan State University

THOMAS H. GREER

PREJUDICE, WAR, AND THE CONSTITUTION. By *Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson*. [Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement, Volume III.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 408. \$5.00.)

THIS analysis of a sector of the American home front in the Second World War suggests how the events of those years are falling into their proper perspective in our history. The relocation of the West Coast Japanese seemed to so many in 1942 to be a matter of course; half a generation later we consider it not so much impossible to believe that it happened as terrifying that it did. Messrs. tenBroek, Barnhart, and Matson of the University of California at Berkeley have exhaustively examined the record. Their conclusion is candid and unequivocal: "... the Japanese American episode of World War II looms as a great and evil blotch upon our national history." With this judgment we cannot cavil, for by our action we indicted a whole people.

Prejudice, War, and the Constitution is concerned with the meaning of our wartime behavior on the Pacific Coast as well as with a description of it. Part I is a careful, orderly account of the growth of what the authors call, "The Japanese Stereotype." They argue that by the end of 1938 anti-Japanese feeling was so well developed that the groundwork for the evacuation of 1942 had already been laid effectively. Pearl Harbor was merely the signal for "the activation of the stereotype." Part II treats of the relocation itself and maintains that it was not pressure groups and politicians who were its chief architects but Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command and his subordinates. The authors declare that the "military necessity" which DeWitt invoked was imaginary and a product of hysteria. Nevertheless, they justly charge DeWitt with folly rather than knavery. Part III is an extended discussion of the constitutional considerations in the court cases that grew out of the evacuation. The authors show that the detention of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry was unjustified in itself, in every respect, and violative of the equal protection of the laws.

It is meaningless to fix the blame, as the authors try, on the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Assistant Secretary John J. McCloy, the Congress, and the Supreme Court. The racism that underlay the evacuation order is inextricably entwined with our culture. The angry and repetitious language of this book reflects the frustration and wonder which comes from the realization that we cannot be a different kind of people from what we are. And what kind is that?—the kind that in the heat of war committed grave sins against some of its most cherished constitutional guarantees

and, simultaneously, with generous grants from foundations, began in outrage to study the indecent purport and effects of those transgressions. This volume—a result of that study—is not only important for what it has to say but because it exists.

Columbia University

HENRY F. GRAFF

THE STATE OF ALASKA. By *Ernest Gruening*. (New York: Random House. 1954. Pp. xiii, 607. \$7.50.)

GRUENING has written the story of economic exploitation and misgovernment of our largest territory, which, compared to similar jurisdictions and even to those dependencies called unincorporated territories, has been treated as the Cinderella among Uncle Sam's children.

For its first seventeen years under our flag, our new possession was left without any civil government. In 1884, it was made a "District," and equipped with a makeshift arrangement consisting of awkward executive and judicial machinery accompanied by the unrealistic Oregon code. Even the flood of population coming with the gold rush at the turn of the century did not induce Congress to correct the situation. A territorial delegate was granted in 1905, and full territorial status with a legislature was provided in 1912. Because of numerous restrictions, however, Alaska has been denied the local autonomy enjoyed by most of our other frontier communities. Since 1943 Alaskans have requested statehood, which alone promises a solution of their dilemma.

Earlier generations of pioneers were encouraged by generous land and mineral laws, but not so the Alaskans. Not only were such measures not extended to them but on occasion they were specifically excluded from federal beneficences. At times, the failure to provide surveys or necessary appropriations deprived the territory of subventions to which it otherwise was entitled by law. Whereas under the guise of conservation, resources were merely locked up, in the case of the fishing industry, controlled by outsiders, all efforts to preserve salmon through regulation of fish traps were frustrated. Military authorities refused to recognize Alaska's strategic position until World War II struck with full force in the Pacific. Since the cessation of hostilities, there have been extensive defense installations but no program for adequate communications. Daring and resourceful local pilots tried to solve the transportation problems, but bureaucratic restrictions have spelled virtual defeat.

This is a good, definitive history, but not in the sense of a general account, since social and economic developments are related almost exclusively in terms of their political implications. The mountain of evidence, which would dwarf a "Brandeis brief," is presented in candid language seldom cushioned by understatement. Although the book may read like a bill of indictment, it is not muck-raking, since the persons named are neither smeared nor judged. In spite of the

strong political emphasis, this work is unsurpassed as a local history providing due coverage of recent developments.

State College of Washington

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

THE RISE AND FALL OF MAYA CIVILIZATION. By *J. Eric S. Thompson*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 287. \$5.00.)

THIS seems to me the one best book about the ancient Maya. The reader receives from the author results of a lifetime devoted to the topic of the book. There is much on archaeological discoveries and inferences; on the possible origins and probable history of these remarkable American Indians; about their technology, architecture, and their daily life; concerning their religion and cosmology, and their calendrical and astronomical knowledge. The account of Maya conceptions of time is particularly good. There is even an attempt to describe the group-personality or "temperament" the Maya had a thousand years ago; and in the last chapter the author accounts for the Maya civilization as the result (not the cause) of Maya devoutness, moderation, and discipline. More topics relative to the ancient Maya are treated here, with knowledge, than are treated in any other book I know. Very few that might be expected are missing. (I find very little on ancient Maya kinship and social organization. The problem of correlating the Maya and the Christian calendars is not discussed at any length, and if Carbon-14 dating is mentioned, I have missed it.)

Like the ancient Greeks, the Maya tend to make those who study them into warm-hearted loyalists. Eric Thompson writes with love of and for the subject. The treatment is detailed, concrete, and in many respects quite personal. What Thompson has seen, what he argues for or ventures to guess, and what he likes about the Maya, appear on many pages. I for one am glad for this, although some will not welcome the embellishments from English poetry, the occasional asides as to our own contemporary life, and the lightly considered parallels seen with the history of England. A chapter is devoted to five vignettes of ancient Maya life: constructed episodes bringing history close in fictionalized form.

Where the author dissents from a general view, he labels his opinion a dissent. Thus, he thinks that the first Asiatic immigrants to America brought with them knowledge of pottery-making, spinning, weaving, and agriculture (without seeds). Most think these arts were re-invented here. Thompson has a new and interesting explanation for the abandonment of the sacred "cities" of the Peten: a series of peasant revolts against a theocratic elite (p. 87). The evidence is not strong. There are valuable arguments pro and con as to whether the priestly elite of the ancient lowland shrine-cities maintained some kind of unity on calendrical matters through discussion and decision (pp. 80 ff.).

The photographs and drawings are well chosen. The index is no better than

usual. Occasional unnecessary repetitions mar a lively and indeed fascinating text.

University of Chicago

ROBERT REDFIELD

LES TROIS AGES DU BRÉSIL: ESSAI DE POLITIQUE. By *Charles Morazé*, Professeur à l'Institut d'Etudes politiques de l'Université de Paris. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, no. 51.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1954. Pp. 198.)

M. MORAZÉ, to my mind, has written the best analysis of Brazilian political history since the appearance of Nunez Leal's *Coronelismo, enxada e voto* (on which he draws to good effect). Furthermore, he has carried the story down to 1953. He approaches the problem from the French point of view of *la politique*, a rather different matter from what in the United States is called political science. In order to make Brazil make sense to French readers, he has drawn a few comparisons and many more differentiations between the history of France since about 1800 and that of Brazil. I think that this is an advantage for readers in the United States. It means that we have to stop and think and see what his analogies and contrasts mean. Usually, when some relation between Brazilian and United States history is suggested, we are inclined to be flattered into complacency because we assume that Brazil, a region of the Western Hemisphere, must have much the same vocabulary of ideas as ourselves. The fact may be quite different. Brazil is not French. Neither is it to be explained in United States terms.

During his tour as visiting professor in the faculty of philosophy, sciences, and letters of the University of São Paulo, M. Morazé watched the complex and confusing pattern of present-day Brazilian politics. How was it to be explained? He was most interested in *la politique* but in his introduction he pledges himself to a historical interpretation. His answer is in three parts. One is in what he calls the roots of local power and central power. Here he dwells on the size of Brazil and the effect that sheer immensity has had on the slowness of the expansion of ideas and institutions and political control. He takes the empire apart to see what the result was of Dom Pedro II and the *poder moderador* and that of the *fazendeiros* and their effective local political coercion. Incidentally, it would be healthy for some United States professors of Latin-American history to see how he handles positivism. His second part is the conflict that he sees between rural and urban societies. Here he develops fully what he means by *coronelismo* (is "bossism" as close as we can come in English?) and military positivism and the Estado Novo. I like his treatment of Getúlio, partly as a person acting individually and partly as someone borne along by the stream of history, though I think he might have taken more into account the excesses of Getúlio's private police after 1937. To these themes, he then adds his third part, or the emancipation of the people and of the cities, i.e., the period between 1949 and 1953, when the rise of urbanism and the city vote had at last begun to make inroads on

classical rural *coronelismo*. His tracing of the structure and action of the present parties is in itself a contribution and is all the more enlightening because it is related to the main lines of development already laid down.

Vanderbilt University

ALEXANDER MARCHANT

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. By Sir *Alan Burns*. (London: George Allan and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. 821. \$12.00.)

MOST studies of Britain's tropical American sugar bowls have been made by professors who have labored conscientiously in traditional research centers but who are total strangers to the area. Their sturdy monographs consequently lack both local color and the deft intimate touch. Sir Alan, by contrast, is West Indian born and, during the course of a distinguished career as a colonial administrator, has held posts in three Caribbean dependencies, including the governorship of British Honduras, and has visited all of them. His earlier *Colonial Civil Servant*, *Colour Prejudice*, and *History of Nigeria* have already won him scholarly repute. Informed readers will, therefore, approach his latest production with high expectations. These will be largely realized, for author and subject are ideally suited to each other and the result is a noteworthy addition to the literature of European expansion.

Emphasis is, of course, placed upon territories today under the Union Jack. The *History* nonetheless embraces the West Indian islands as a whole since many now British were previously in foreign possession and economic, social, and political developments in all of them were closely interwoven. Now, for the first time, the Caribbean community is treated as a unit, thus affording perspective and avoiding the absurd distortions which arise from viewing each dependency as a separate entity rather than as a small part of a large whole. The West Indian viewpoint, so widely ignored when the story is told by outsiders, is everywhere present and is thoroughly refreshing.

Consideration of the geographic and racial setting is followed by a rapidly moving account of European exploration and an appreciative summary (almost unique in British works) of Spanish colonizing activities. No attempt is made to glorify early English interlopers in what was essentially a Spanish preserve, and frank recognition is accorded the fact that it was the French rather than the English who, during the first six decades of the sixteenth century, challenged Spain's monopoly. The significant role of the Dutch in undermining Iberian position, another fact of life commonly minimized by British authors, is freely discussed with calm detachment.

Sir Alan demonstrates that, generally speaking, events in the islands mirrored the course of affairs in Europe and that, in reality, the islands long had no history of their own. For Britain, the period 1739-1763 was one of triumph in the Caribbean and the two decades 1764-1784 were an era of almost unbroken

disaster. Later years were little better. The opening of new sugar producing areas within each of the several European empires coupled with abolition and emancipation brought ruin to group after group of Caribbean possessions and, by 1850, all save Spain's had fallen into decay.

The basic reconstruction of life in the islands as a whole since the advent of free labor is sketched in somewhat summary fashion, while twentieth-century affairs are presented in uncritical chronological form—the one serious defect in an otherwise admirable work.

The *History* is based largely upon source material and is well-documented throughout. It contains thirty maps and a dozen appendixes. The bibliography is not annotated and the presence of two indexes will prove confusing. The book will, however, well repay careful perusal. Let no serious reader be deterred by its bulk and its three-pound weight!

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

CHRISTIANITY AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION. Being the Raymond Fred West Memorial Lectures at Stanford University, April 5-7, 1954. By *Carlton J. H. Hayes*, Seth Low Professor Emeritus of History in Columbia University. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 63, \$2.50.)

MODERN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS. By *John T. McNeill*. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1954, pp. 197, \$3.50.) These two little books, each by a mature scholar distinguished in the field with which he is dealing, were delivered on university lectureships and are on related subjects. Professor Hayes develops the thesis that certain outstanding features of Western civilization are due to Judaeo-Graeco-Christianity, Catholic and Protestant. Those which he has selected are the emphasis of the West on individuality and liberty, the West's chronic repugnance to unlimited authority and its preference for plural and constitutional government, and the West's progressive character, coupled with a broadening application of its ideal of compassion. In the progressive character of the West he would include the dynamism which has spread Western civilization over the globe and has led to revolutions in the cultures of mankind, those of both Western and non-Western peoples. For his thesis, ignored by many historians, Professor Hayes makes a good case. It is all the more convincing because of the temperate manner with which it is put forward and the masterly array of factual information with which it is supported. A question at which the author hints but with which he does not deal and which is of major importance is why these features are in Western and not in Eastern Christendom. In both regions the Judaeo-Graeco-Christian heritage was present. Is the clue to be found in the tighter control of the church by the state which was part of the Byzantine tradition? Professor McNeill deals in brief compass with English Puritanism, German Pietism, the Evangelical Movement, Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism, the Ecumenical Movement "in historical perspective," and modern Roman Catholicism. In most of these areas he has already written and is a recognized expert. Here and there he brings in fresh material. However, and quite rightly, he is content to put into readable form what is already familiar to specialists. He points out that the first three movements displayed striking likenesses and influenced one another. He confines his treatment of Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism chiefly to the Oxford Movement. He makes wise remarks on modern Roman Catholicism, but on the whole the chapter with that heading is the least satisfactory one in the book. The word "modern" in the title really means post-Reformation and not "contemporary." As will be seen from the topics treated and as he clearly points out in his preface, Professor McNeill is seeking to provide background for an understanding of the churches in which the majority of the Christians of western Europe and America have membership. In this he is very successful.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, *Yale University*

WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE DER NEUZEIT VOM ENDE DES 14. BIS ZUR HÖHE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Hans Hausherr*. (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1954, pp. xv, 543, DM 18.50.) The author of this book undertakes another one-volume synthesis of "the economic history of modern times." The con-

tent of the book and the bibliography, more extensive than we are accustomed to in our one-volume surveys, indicate a wide and intelligent acquaintance with the literature. Not unnaturally, the lists for German history are especially valuable, but even more important are the indications of intelligent use of Polish and Russian literature. Not unnaturally too, there are surprising omissions, such as Marc Bloch's works, Usher's *Early History of Banking*, Van Dillen's *History of the Principal Public Banks*, Nef's *Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Harsin's *Works of John Law*, Usher's *Grain Trade in France*, Scelle's *La traité négrière*, and many others. As synthesis, the book has some interesting features, notably the linkage of the precious metal supply of western Europe in the fifteenth century with the American discoveries. A very considerable part of the work is devoted to successive ideologies, but the capital thinkers are separately linked with their several national stories, Marx with the English industrial revolution, and List, quite validly, with German industrialization, while the Physiocrats and Adam Smith have a chapter to themselves. A very solid chapter discusses the economy of the early European cities, but urbanism as a fact of later Europe is ignored. Hausherr's Europe is of uncertain limits, sometimes western Europe, sometimes including its extension overseas. Labor in the mercantilist period is made much of, labor in the nineteenth century, little—but the abolition of slavery in America and of serfdom in Russia each take a chapter. Professor Hausherr chooses to end his account about 1870. It is possible to sympathize with his disposition to "limit himself to the representation of the past," but it is rather frustrating to end the story at the beginning of so much fulfillment. On the whole, the book is disappointing as a synthesis, but valuable for some particular parts.

F. L. NUSSBAUM, *University of Wyoming*

ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE MONÉTAIRE DE L'EUROPE. By Marc Bloch. [Cahiers des Annales, No. 9.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1954, pp. 96.) Marc Bloch's literary executors, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel, explain by way of apology that this work is put together from manuscripts and notes of classroom lectures. It retains much of the spirit of its original purpose, with an informality of presentation and the frequent use of concrete examples. Moreover, like many general courses, it reflects the special interests of the lecturer: although it purports to be a monetary history for the whole of Europe, the greater part of the text deals with the medieval period and most of the examples pertain to France. This bias of the book is at once a strength and a weakness. It holds little of interest for students of the modern period in their own field, but medievalists and those interested in the origins of modern monetary systems will find much to instruct them. Although incomplete in outline and imperfect in detail, it is the only work of its kind currently in existence. Under the circumstances, its publication requires no apology.

RONDO E. CAMERON, *University of Wisconsin*

THE HISTORY AND CONQUEST OF COMMON DISEASES. Edited by Walter R. Bett. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. ix, 334, \$4.00.) This book contains essays on the following diseases: acute communicable diseases (that is, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, German measles, smallpox, chickenpox, mumps, and whooping cough), by George Rosen; influenza, by C. H. Stuart-Harris; pneumonia, by E. M. Brockbank; tuberculosis, by Lewis J. Moorman; rheumatism, by W. S. C. Copeman; arthritis, by Edward F. Hartung; heart disease, by Terence East; Bright's disease, by Ralph H. Major; tonsils and adenoids, by R. Scott Stevenson; the venereal diseases, by Douglas J. Campbell; rickets, by A. White Franklin; diseases of the endocrine glands, by A. P. Cawadias; gallstones, by Donald C. Bal-

four; appendicitis, by Walter R. Bett; epilepsy, by William G. Lennox; cancer, by Harold Burrows; malingering, by Edward L. Murphy. Twelve of the authors reside in Great Britain, five in the U. S. Though not all equally excellent, the essays are all scholarly, accurate, up to date, and well written. Prospective readers should be informed that with two exceptions (Rosen and Stuart-Harris, who combine both approaches) these doctors have not written the history of these diseases, that is, their successive occurrence in time and space. They have predominantly described the history of our knowledge and our treatment of these diseases. The difference is obvious. While the former data are those most important for the general historian, the latter are more relevant for the physician and the medical historian. I also disagree with the editor that this book is a book "mainly for patients." Most of the essays are written in such concentrated and technical language that they are no easy reading even for the medically trained consumer. Within these limitations this is a good book filling an often regretted gap in our literature. I enjoyed particularly the excursions on therapeutics, a field of medical history as badly neglected as it is important.

ERWIN H. ACKERKNECHT, *University of Wisconsin*

THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF FUSTEL DE COULANGES. By *Jane Herick*. (Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. vi, 144, \$1.75.) This study was done under the able direction of Friedrich Engel-Janosi, who has long been concerned with problems of historicism and historiography. It describes Fustel's ideas on the nature of history, historical method, and his own practice against the background of his theories. Fustel was a prime example of the nineteenth-century attempt to link history closely with natural science in methodology. He is a melancholy reminder to historians who decry the naive scientism of the newer social "sciences" that historians responded first to the siren call. Within its rather closely defined limits, this is a thoughtful and lucidly presented analysis.

LEWIS W. SPITZ, *University of Missouri*

LOUIS XIV, WILLIAM III, AND THE BALTIC CRISIS OF 1683. By *Andrew Lossky*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLIX.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. xi, 73, \$1.00.) Most students dealing with the crisis of 1683 concentrate their attention upon the problems of the Danube and the Rhine river valleys where the Turkish invasion and the Franco-Spanish war seemed to represent a two-pronged assault upon the lands of the Habsburgs in central Europe. While not ignoring these problems, Dr. Lossky points out in this little study that there were also political problems in the Baltic, quite unrelated to those in central Europe, that came near to starting a general war. In part this Baltic crisis seems to have been the result of the unending negotiations that were characteristic of the late seventeenth century, in part it emerged clearly from the underlying relationships between Sweden and her Baltic neighbors. In the course of the story, the navies of the three western powers (France, England, and the United Provinces) were all more or less involved. One easily assumes that the Sweden of Charles XI was almost entirely occupied with internal reorganization at this period, but this study clearly indicates how important and to what extent foreign affairs demanded attention. Dr. Lossky's monograph is obviously a part of a study undertaken as a doctoral dissertation and probably should be judged in its larger context. However, until the rest of the study has been published, this part testifies to the author's scholarship and energy as well as to his skill as a writer. Within the frame of reference that he has established, this is an excellent study.

JOHN B. WOLF, *University of Minnesota*

L'ALLIANCE RUSSO-TURQUE AU MILIEU DES GUERRES NAPOLEONIENNES. By *Boris Mouravieff*. Preface by *Carl J. Burckhardt*. [L'évolution du monde et des idées.] (Neuchâtel, Switz., Baconnière, 1954, pp. 424.) Politics makes strange bedfellows. Between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution Russia twice waged war against Turkey. But when, in 1798, the French Republic seized Egypt, a Turkish province, the indignant Porte did not hesitate to make an alliance with its old enemy and despoiler to the north. In this monograph, the author, formerly an officer in the Imperial Russian Navy, traces largely from printed sources the vicissitudes of the Russo-Turkish alliance from its inception in 1799 to its collapse following the accord of Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit; three additional chapters carry the story to the general settlement of 1815. He looks with favor upon the alliance because it gave the Russian fleet access to the Mediterranean. While Bonaparte was marooned in Egypt, Admiral Ouchakov organized the Ionian Islands into the Republic of the Seven United Islands (strange paradox!) under the protection of the Autocrat of all the Russias. But other experiences of the Russians in the Mediterranean were not so happy. In the hope of obtaining Malta—he had been elected Grand Master of the Knights of Malta—Tsar Paul was succumbing to the blandishments of Bonaparte when he was assassinated. His successor, Alexander, threw in his lot with France's enemies, then with France (after Friedland), then again with France's enemies. Mouravieff takes him severely to task for playing the role of a petty German prince rather than exerting himself to maintain and advance the cause of Russia. In fact Alexander does nothing right in this book. In the end he is held responsible for losing to Great Britain the Ionian Islands, Russia's toehold in the Mediterranean. Trained historians are likely to find as much fault with Mouravieff as he finds with Alexander. Above all, he rides his thesis too hard. There is no certainty that a different ruler could have maintained Russia's new position in the Mediterranean. Yet the book compels attention. It should be read with Puryear's *Napoleon and the Dardanelles* (1951), which Mouravieff does not mention.

CARL L. LOKKE, *National Archives*

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1938. Volume III. By *R. G. D. Laffan*, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Others. Edited by *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. xiv, 622, \$8.80.) This book completes the 1938 *Survey of International Affairs*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1941 and 1951. Its materials are divided into five parts. G. D. Laffan and V. M. Toynbee deal with the crisis over Czechoslovakia between Munich and March, 1939; Mrs. Toynbee surveys the inter-relations of Germany, Poland, and Lithuania; F. Ashton Gwatkin discusses the U.S.S.R.; George Kirk and Mrs. Toynbee consider the Balkan states; and Viscount Chilton assesses the rearmament of Great Britain, France, and Germany. Whatever unity the volume possesses comes from the fact that its materials relate roughly to the period between September, 1938, and March, 1939, although the essay on rearmament begins in 1933 and comes down only to Munich, while the section on the Soviet Union confines itself rigidly to the calendar year 1938 and that on northeastern Europe goes back to 1937 in its account of Polish-Lithuanian and German-Lithuanian relations. This would be a cavil, except that it illustrates the fact that this volume is a catch-all designed to pick up the various loose strings left dangling between its predecessors and the new series introduced by *The World in 1939*. In the light of its purpose, most readers will be tolerant of the organization of this volume. They are less likely to be tolerant of its balance. The most striking example is in the section on the

U.S.S.R., which is quantitatively the shortest (and qualitatively the poorest) in the volume. It consists of twenty-five pages, almost half of them devoted to a superficial account of the "internal situation" (mainly the purges), sandwiched in between some 102 pages on northeastern Europe and forty-three pages on the Balkan states. If Mr. Ashton Gwatkin's treatment were as incisive as it is brief, this might be of little import; as it is, the volume fails seriously in covering one of the most vital elements in the international relations of its period. This wry note of criticism needs to be tempered by the observation that there are other sections which maintain the high standards of these volumes. Of these, the account of the long death agony of Czechoslovakia is perhaps the most satisfactory, and the analysis of German, French, and British rearmament the most interesting. Mr. Laffan and Mrs. Toynbee (as indeed do the other authors) make full use in the first section of the materials in the *Documents on British Foreign Policy* and the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, so that we have a much more revealing picture of German policy in particular than was possible in earlier volumes of the series. Viscount Chilton's analysis of military strength is especially effective in its consideration of Anglo-French weakness in air defense as a factor in the Munich decision and in its demonstration of the rise to supremacy of German air power. Perhaps the one weakness of this section is its unsatisfactory treatment of the comparative naval strengths of the three powers, which is in rather painful contrast to a much more substantial survey of land armies. Taken as a whole, this is probably not one of the most successful of the Royal Institute *Surveys*, but as a compilation of data it will take its proper place alongside its redbound companions on the reference shelves.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Rutgers University*

GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1939-1941. By *Gerhard L. Weinberg*. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1954, pp. v. 218, 19 guilders.) This careful, chronological survey of German-Soviet relations is devoted essentially to the era of Nazi-Soviet collaboration based on the Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, although the monograph actually begins with the "Munich Agreement" of September, 1938. Following an examination of the backgrounds of the Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, and its modification on September 28, Mr. Weinberg plunges into the story of German-Soviet collaboration during the era before the Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The author provides a very well documented account of the "peace offensive" in 1939-1940, economic and naval co-operation between Germany and the Soviet Union, and German and Soviet expansion into eastern and southeastern Europe. There is also a brief account of the Hitler-Molotov-Ribbentrop conversation of November 12-13, 1940, and of the Molotov memorandum of November 25 concerning possible Soviet entry into the Axis, to which there never was a German response, and a more detailed delineation of the Soviet attempt at downright appeasement of Nazi Germany, especially after January, 1941, which ended in disaster to Stalin's policy when the Germans attacked in June. As Mr. Weinberg points out, in the hope of avoiding attack, the Soviet Union "turned to a policy of concessions" to Germany. During the few months prior to June, 1941, Soviet policy exhibited an inflexibility "which did not serve Russian interests even if judged exclusively by the standards of Russia's own diplomacy" (p. 172). The central theme, perhaps, is that the decisive change in Soviet-German relations took place in July, 1940, when Hitler made his irrevocable decision to attack the Soviet Union, both as an answer to the British challenge in the West and because of his inability to win a quick victory over Great Britain. In contrast to some earlier studies of Nazi-Soviet relations, the author holds that Nazi-Soviet dif-

ferences with regard to eastern and southeastern Europe, the Danube and the Turkish Straits were the result, not the cause, of the German decision to attack. This is a well-substantiated and quite plausible thesis, even if not entirely new. But it does not rule out the fact that failure to resolve the conflict over this area of vital interest in eastern and southeastern Europe confirmed the German decision. The author has utilized not only the pertinent published materials, but a vast amount of unpublished documentary evidence as well, primarily from German and Western sources. His work concludes with an excellent bibliography.

HARRY N. HOWARD, *Arlington, Virginia*

TRAGÉDIE DE LA DÉPORTATION, 1940-1945: TÉMOIGNAGES DE SURVIVANTS DES CAMPS DE CONCENTRATION ALLEMANDS. Choisis et présentés par *Olga Wormser* et *Henri Michel*. (Paris, Hachette, 1954, pp. 511, 1000 fr.)

LETTERE DI CONDANNATI A MORTE DELLA RESISTENZA EUROPEA. Edited by *Piero Malvezzi* and *Giovanni Pirelli*. Preface by *Thomas Mann*. [Saggi, No. 178.] (Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 1954, pp. xxxii, 703, L. 2000.)

LETTERE DI CONDANNATI A MORTE DELLA RESISTENZA ITALIANA (8 SETTEMBRE 1943-25 APRILE 1945). Edited by *Piero Malvezzi* and *Giovanni Pirelli*. Preface by *Enzo Enriques Agnoletti*. [Saggi, No. 150.] (3d ed.; Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 1952, pp. 315, L. 1000.) The first of these works is another important contribution to the history of the Resistance period in France, with which the name of Henri Michel has been so closely connected. The Commission d'histoire de la déportation has long been gathering materials for a scientific and objective work on deportation and the concentration camps. The present book is something else again: an extended selection of quotations from published works and from other statements of French participants, grouped in a "chronological" sequence of chapters: "Convoys," "Arrival at Camp," "Daily Life," "Camp Labor," "Social Categories," "Spiritual Life," "Hospitals," "Death," and the final "Evacuation of the Camps." Important biographical and explanatory notes accompany the documents, which give us a broad tableau of the life of the camps and of their inmates from many nations. This book is impressive precisely because it brings together independent witnesses speaking on the same subject. We are led with deepening conviction through this Kafka-esque nightmare and witness again totalitarianism's terrible assault on human dignity and its attempt to subvert the autonomy of human personality to its power-driven ends. Almost as terrifying as the suffering of the victims is the conversion to sadism of the camp administration, including, *inter alia*, political prisoners, purchasing a milder fate at the price of self-brutalization. Ironically, this book appears in French at a juncture when the French scarcely need to have their fears of Germany enhanced, and when a German translation could usefully remind free Germany of the perils of their recent history. The second work under review includes letters from the Resistants of sixteen different nations, written after their condemnation or when they had a presentiment of early execution. They come from both published and unpublished sources, checked in many cases against the originals or photostatic copies. A chronology of leading events and an important note on Resistance sources precede the section devoted to each country, and a brief biographical note introduces the letters from each individual. Thomas Mann's introduction paints in the ethos of these poignant human documents: the courage and pride of men who have refused in torture to betray their comrades, the recurrent concern for the grief they have caused their families, the conviction of the rightness of their cause and the belief in a better world to follow the war, serenity in the face of death and a mystic belief in the after-life (often shared even by the agnos-

tics). Important as these letters are as testimony to the unbreakable nature of the human spirit, their very repetitive character (and this is a most striking aspect) inevitably limits their historical usefulness. The third work under review is a parallel series of letters drawn from the Italian Resistance alone and prepared under the same editorship. They are introduced by Enzo Agnoletti, the well-known political editor of *Il Ponte*, who points out that the Italian Resistance involved an important difference from similar movements in other parts of Europe. Elsewhere the reaction was predominantly patriotic and in response to the invasion of a hated enemy; in Italy the deepest and most basic element was resistance to fascism and concern with the building of a new world—and the German enemy was just one more fascist. The tremendous difficulty in smuggling out a final message in the hours before death is emphasized again by the fact that only about 140 letters were recovered from a total of perhaps 80,000 lost in the Resistance. Brief biographical notes accompany all the letters except those written by "unknown" Resistants.

DONALD C. MCKAY, *Harvard University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

APOKRIMATA: DECISIONS OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS ON LEGAL MATTERS. Text, Translation, and Historical Analysis by *William Linn Westermann*. Legal Commentary by *A. Arthur Schiller*. [Columbia Bicentennial Editions and Studies.]

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

(New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. x, 111, \$5.00.) The document to which this volume is devoted is a Greek papyrus in the Columbia University collection (P. Columbia 123) which contains transcripts of thirteen judicial decisions made by the emperor Septimius Severus during his visit to Egypt in the years A.D. 199–200. The provenance of the papyrus itself is unknown but the decisions contained in it, which took the form of rescripts (*subscriptiones*) addressed to private petitioners, were posted in the Stoa of the Gymnasium in Alexandria. Other similar transcripts of judicial decisions made by Severus exist (and a convenient list of them is given on pp. 27–30), but the Columbia text makes a notable addition to the group both because of its textual completeness and the variety of cases which it contains. The excellent facsimile of the papyrus which accompanies the transcription of the text permits a few corrections to be made in the latter. In 1. 15, the double bracket [[σού]] should be omitted since the word was corrected to σέ and not erased; the σι which appears between 11. 16 and 17 should be placed close to and above the κελει of 1. 17 and not made an appendage to 1. 16; not parentheses, which indicate the solution of an abbreviation, but commas should mark off the clause καὶ . . . λεγωνται of 11. 29–30; and the καὶ αἱ of 1. 29 seems very dubious. The task of interpreting the judgments in the light of Roman and provincial law is made difficult by the copyist's omission of the petitions decided by the *apokrimata*, but Professor Schiller's excellent commentary has, in addition to providing an illuminating discussion of the general character of such decisions, gone as far as seems possible in reconstructing the cases at issue and providing the legal background for the legal principles applied. There are a few places where his translations differ from those of the editor. P. 9 has "Women are not forbidden to obligate themselves for loans or to exact payment in behalf of others," p. 63: "Women are not forbidden to borrow money and to pay on behalf of others"; p. 9: "it is not just that heirs written in wills—the wills themselves may even be said to have given rise (to them as heirs)," p. 74: "it is not right if the testament is said to be perfect that heirs written [in the will]"; p. 9: "if, indeed, the affair is of the type of case requiring a special judge," p. 74: "if the matter is in the order of inquisitory trials"; p. 10: "Those who are physically sick are subject to liturgical services if they are mentally capable of conducting their household affairs," p. 79: "if they are able to undertake the care of their own affairs," without any stress on mental fitness. In all these cases the reviewer favors the second over the first version. Since the subscripts were drafted in Latin and then translated into Greek, one may suggest that οἰκειος ἡμῶν of 1. 48 may be the Greek version of *comes noster*. Professor Schiller's view that the transcripts constituted "a memorandum prepared by a notary for his own use" seems the most reasonable explanation of their origin. This publication suggests that a detailed investigation of the effect of an emperor's presence upon the government of a province would be highly desirable. A. E. R. BOAK, *University of Michigan*

DAS WIRTSCHAFTLICHE GESICHT GRIECHENLANDS IN DER KAISERZEIT: KLEINSTADT, VILLA UND DOMÄNE. By Ulrich Kahrstedt. [Dissertationes Bernenses: Historiam orbis antiqui nascentisque medii aevi elucubranter, Ser. I, fasc. 7.] (Bern, A. Francke, 1954, pp. 295, cloth 28.50, paper 24.50 S. fr.) The Greece whose rural economic structure Kahrstedt seeks to reconstruct is the Greece of Pausanias' guidebook, written in the second century A.D. at the height of the empire's prosperity. Only those areas, central Greece and the Peloponnesus, described by Pausanias are discussed and the material is arranged as a commentary rather than a synthesis. A treatment of the big cities, like Corinth and Athens, is not a part of the plan although the statistical index of grave inscriptions is used to arrive at a conclusion about Athens' population and the published coins and lamps of Corinth are noticed.

Kahrstedt's primary concern, however, is with the small towns and the rural economy. In general, he draws a rather darker picture of the dissolution of the towns, the destruction of the urban bourgeoisie, and the growth of large estates than does Larsen (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, 436-92). The evidence utilized is appropriate, mainly archaeological and epigraphical, particularly the grave inscriptions, to supplement and correct the tendentious literary sources, but Kahrstedt is often arbitrary and his conclusions exaggerated, for the archaeological material needs as careful handling as does the literary. Pausanias, despite his detail, is an unsatisfactory source. His view of Greece may be colored by a latent comparison with his own more prosperous Asia Minor and is certainly affected by a nostalgic interest in the past. Thus, it seems dangerous to treat his material statistically or to emphasize his failure to mention a town when a sanctuary was close at hand (p. 223). It is probable that a ruined temple would catch his attention when an up-to-date civic building would not. Kahrstedt's search for villas is too relentless when it starts with the assertion that the notices of almost every "bath" discovered by modern topographers are mistaken: the remains are really those of villas (p. 14, n.4). The topographers at least had seen the remains. Many may well be villas, but the answer lies in excavation, which would also reveal something of their building history. The use of grave inscriptions as a statistical index for relative populations between the Greek and Roman periods is valuable and interesting but may be deceptive as is the use of any other single body of evidence for this period. Its results should be treated with great caution when they lead to such conclusions as that the population of Athens was much greater in imperial times than in Greek (cf. Day, *Economic History of Athens*, pp. 271-79). The chief value of the book is in the challenge of the author's assertions and its collection of the pertinent archaeological material for the separate regions of Greece—it was a lengthy and difficult task in the conditions of scholarship in Germany from 1939 to the present. Yet Kahrstedt's arbitrary use of the evidence and unfounded conclusions impose a cautious use.

CARL ROEBUCK, *Northwestern University*

CONSILIIUM PRINCIPIS: IMPERIAL COUNCILS AND COUNSELLORS FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN. By *John Crook*, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. xii, 198, \$5.00.) The so-called *consilium principis* has not been thoroughly studied since Cuq's *Mémoire* (1884) and Cicogna's *Ricerche* (1902). Mr. Crook ably re-examines this most important aspect of the imperial government from Augustus to Constantine. Magistrates and private individuals during the Roman Republic relied heavily on the advice of friends and experts, so that the use of a group of advisers became a regular feature of public and private life. But such groups were constituted informally from among friends or staff officers. Augustus and his successors did the same, and Mr. Crook properly differentiates this practice from the senatorial committees which Augustus established to facilitate his relations with the whole senate and which Tiberius unwisely abandoned. He well emphasizes the connection between the formal use of the term *amicus* or *comes principis* and the advisory system. That the system was informal is shown by the fact that the common modern phrase *consilium principis* was not used by the Romans to indicate a permanent advisory committee. Individual "friends" were called in to advise, *adsumptus in consilium* on various occasions or for particular types of problems, military, administrative, or judicial. Only during the second century did a more formal arrangement begin to appear with the salaried appointment to "staff" posts on the council of specialists of lower social rank than the senators and high equestrian officials who still served as principal advisers. In tracing this development, Mr. Crook plays down the roles of the individual em-

perors, notably Hadrian, in favor of gradual change. This system continued through the reign of the conservative Diocletian. But Constantine the innovator changed the advisory council of friends, including perhaps some department heads, into the cabinet, or *consistorium*, in which the bureau chiefs constituted the bulk of members. Thus he combined what had previously been distinct, the making of policy and administration. Two concluding chapters treat the organization of the advisory system and the way in which advisers, holding over from reign to reign, provided continuity of policy and mitigated the impact on the government of the personalities of new emperors. There are four appendixes on points of detail and an alphabetical index of persons known to have served as advisers, friends, or companions and of persons whose official duties or eminence or closeness to the emperors make it likely that they served as advisers. Students of Roman history will be grateful for this thorough, useful, readable, and timely study of an often neglected topic.

MASON HAMMOND, *Harvard University*

A HISTORY OF ROMAN SEA-POWER BEFORE THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

By J. H. Thiel, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Utrecht. (Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954, pp. viii, 367, \$7.00.) In this book Professor Thiel is concerned with Roman naval history from its ascertainable beginnings in the fourth century B.C. to the eve of the Second Punic War. The treatment of the subject is divided into three parts. There is an initial chapter of about sixty pages devoted mainly to Roman naval organization before the First Punic War. This is followed by a very long chapter (pp. 61-338) entitled "Naval Warfare in the First Punic War," and chapter III deals briefly with the years 241-218 B.C. Professor Thiel has omitted from his book little or nothing relating to the history of Roman sea power prior to 218. One suspects that a number of his opinions, theories, and conclusions will not be universally accepted, but on the whole what he has done is extremely valuable and important. It will be of general interest that he has found what appears to be the solution to the problem of the *corvus*. This is presented with clarity and documented with photographs of a model of the device (shown opposite p. 112). Less spectacular, though more significant, is his reconstruction of early Roman naval organization. In addition, he has brought into sharper focus the importance of naval operations in the conduct of the First Punic War. As in the case of his earlier *Studies*, concerned with Roman sea power in the years 218-167 B.C., Professor Thiel has chosen to write in his irrepressible English rather than in what he calls his "irreproachable Dutch." For this we may be thankful: not only will his useful work be accessible to a larger number of readers but also his vigorous English counterbalances his tendency toward almost unbearable repetition. In this study Professor Thiel has resolved to confine himself to naval history. On numerous occasions he conquers the temptation to discuss land warfare, but he is also a man of strong convictions and when he comes to the First Punic War he cannot resist a polemic on its causes and the problem of Roman war-guilt. As he himself says, he lives with intensity in the remote past, and one is inclined to agree with him that this is not really a serious fault. In fact, a passion for the past is a virtue when it can produce a book as good as this one.

TOM B. JONES, *University of Minnesota*

GENERAL ARTICLES

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

AMALARIUS OF METZ. By *Allen Cabaniss*. (Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954, pp. xii, 115, \$2.00.) The present study of Amalarius *ca.* 775-850, succeeds some studies of Agobard of Lyons, and (according to the introduction), precedes more monographs to deal with "other contemporaries of Abogard." In slightly more than a hundred pages divided into nine chapters, Dr. Cabaniss relates the career, ecclesiastical and literary, of the greatest Carolingian liturgist whose work was the object of many polemics and a formal, synodal condemnation. The biographer based his study on the barren, external sources, and on the meager, internal evidence afforded in the voluminous liturgical works so excellently edited by J. M. Hanssens, S.J. Withal, the result is disappointing because the work is neither a monograph providing us with a solid critique of the sources, the problems (e.g., one Amalarius or two?), and the literature, nor is it a simple accurate sketch of a popular biography for general or undergraduate reading. Nowhere is the relationship between Amalarius and the Carolingian liturgical reform movement tackled, nor does Professor Cabaniss essay to instruct the reader on the place of Amalarius in the history of liturgy. The absence of Edmund Bishop's name from a work dealing with Carolingian liturgy ought to be remarked. The book is another example of good, inexpensive Dutch printing. SCHAFFER WILLIAMS, *Cheverly, Maryland*

JOSCELYN I, PRINCE OF EDESSA. By *Robert Lawrence Nicholson*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXIV, No. 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. ix, 108, \$3.50.) This book is a biography of Joscelyn de Courtenay, count of Turbessel (1102-1113) and later of Edessa (1119-1131). As such it helps fill the need for a history of the County of Edessa, the least known of the four Latin Christian states established in the East by the crusaders. The author previously wrote a biography of Tancred of Antioch, which made him familiar with the history of the Franks in Syria. Of most value in this monograph are the accounts of the great Frankish disaster at Harrân in 1104; the resultant Turkish captivity of Joscelyn

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

and his suzerain, Baldwin II of Edessa; and their release and Turkish alliances (1108-1109) to recover their lands from Tancred of Antioch. Other matters of interest are an excellent account of the *jihāds* of Mawdūd I of Mosul (1110-1113), which fell most heavily upon the exposed County of Edessa; and the period of leaderlessness among the Franks in the East when Joscelyn, now count of Edessa, and Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, were again prisoners of the Turks (1122-1125). Joscelyn is shown to have been a daring and rugged fighter who was very successful in the defense and even the expansion of his own territories. He was shrewd in exploiting the weaknesses and divisions among the Muslims but not enough of a statesman to see the over-riding need of Frankish unity against the growing power of the Turks. Nicholson's monograph is a meticulous piece of scholarship and will probably prove to be definitive on the subject of Joscelyn. Slight errors are the statements that Mawdūd was the brother of the Saljūq Sultan Muḥammad; that Mawdūd and Ṭughdakin of Damascus arrived at Shayzar, September 25, 1111, rather than September 15; and that Roger of Antioch arrived at al-Ṣannabrah before the battle, June 28, 1113, rather than immediately afterward.

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L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'ÉCRITURE AUX UNIVERSITÉS MÉDIÉVALES. By *István Hajnal*. [Studia historica, 7.] (Budapest, Academia scientiarum Hungarica, 1954, pp. 187.) This is a highly controversial study, an elaborate essay in which the author expounds at greater length hypotheses previously stated in 1943 in an essay entitled "Vergleichende Schriftproben zur Entwicklung und Verbreitung der Schrift im 12.-13. Jahrhundert" (*Schriftlichkeit und intellektuelle Schichtung: Beiträge zur europäischen Entwicklungsgeschichte*, Heft I.) and more pertinently in 1952 in *Scriptorium*, VI, No. 2 ("Universities and the Development of Writing in the XIIth-XIIIth Centuries"). Neither article satisfied critics and this newer series of essays will hardly win many to accept and support contentions similar to those previously expressed. Following a brief introduction there is a section on elementary teaching in the universities of the Middle Ages. This is based on well-known and oft-used sources, is discursive in character, and does not serve the purpose for which it was obviously intended. A chapter on methods of teaching writing in the university is not approached with assurance when the writer opens this section with the statement that "it seems almost impossible to find in the sources incontestable and concrete facts concerning the teaching of writing." He then proceeds to explain, tenuously to be sure, that writing must have been taught in the universities and leans heavily on the custom "pronunciare ad pennam" to substantiate his claims. A section discussing "Courses for the drawing up of charters in the universities" and one discussing "The effect of scholarly teaching on the uniformity of European diplomatic usage" complete the study. It is doubtful if students of diplomatic and palaeographers will agree with the contentions put forth in these sections. There is no question of the sincerity with which Hajnal approaches his task, but it seems that he has let theory and conjecture carry him astray. To use fact as a brake is often wise, usually necessary. This has not been done here.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

MEDIEVAL MERCHANT VENTURERS: COLLECTED STUDIES. By *E. M. Carus-Wilson*, Professor of Economic History in the University of London. (London, Methuen, 1954, pp. xxxii, 314, 30s.) In this volume Miss Carus-Wilson has republished eight essays which had appeared previously between 1929 and 1950. The third study, "The Origins and Early Development of the Merchant Adventurers"

Organization in London," seemingly supplied the title of the book, but other studies, "The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Fifteenth Century" (chap. 1), "The Iceland Venture" (chap. 2), and three essays (chaps. 5, 6, 8) on the cloth industry and trade are related to the main theme; the relationship is less direct in two other chapters. Minor changes from the earlier versions have been made, "but beyond this no attempt has been made to incorporate the results of later research or to amend what is amiss." In two instances only (pp. 210, 261, n. 3) has the author taken cognizance of later work on the subjects. The author's disregard of later studies is legitimate; her earlier studies were in the nature of pioneer articles, designed to indicate new areas of study and new approaches. All were based on a meticulous exploration of the sources, most of them still in manuscript form. Typical of her provocative approach is the fourth essay, "An Industrial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century." In it Miss Carus-Wilson relates the thirteenth-century decline of the cloth industry in the cities to the development of the industry in the countryside; the basic revolution was the use of water power in the fulling mills and for this purpose the swift streams of the north and west served better than the calmer rivers of the south and east. In a devastating study, "The Aulnage Accounts: A Criticism," she shows the invalidity of these accounts and the hazards in their use by modern historians (chap. 8). In "Trends in the Export of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century," she points out that the export of English woollens increased as the export of raw wool decreased and that this development was synchronous to the decline of the older industries of Italy and Flanders (chap. 6). Each study in a clear and masterful way presents an approach, an interpretation that is suggestive and new. The book is remarkably free of errors, except for a few typographical slips. The volume is enhanced by a very good index, appropriate charts, enticing maps, and a delightful frontispiece.

HILMAR C. KRUEGER, *University of Cincinnati*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

HUMANISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN TUDOR ENGLAND. By Fritz Caspari. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. ix, 293, \$6.50.) The title of this book is more comprehensive than its contents. Except for chapters one and six, it is devoted to the detailed analysis of important sixteenth-century books concerned with the education of the upper classes in England. The chapter on Erasmus deals largely with his *Instituto Principis Christiani* and his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*; the chapter on Sir Thomas More with *Utopia*; the chapter on Eliot with

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

The Governor; the chapter on Thomas Starkey with *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*; the chapter on Sir Philip Sidney with *Arcadia*; and the chapter on Edmund Spenser with *The Faerie Queene*. The introductory chapter deals in general with the developing interest of the governing classes in humanistic learning. This theme is elaborated in the one remaining chapter, "Humanism and the Rise of the Gentry." The author has made a careful analysis of the pertinent writings of Erasmus and the others in terms of the cultural standards which they advocate, though his interpretation of More's *Utopia* is open to question. He has based the other parts of his text upon the findings of modern scholars. It does not appear that he has made any independent contribution to our knowledge of his subject. But what he has to say he has said well and scholars will find his book useful as a summary of far-scattered, pertinent secondary material. The book is well printed on good paper, attractively bound. Its price is forbidding.

CONYERS READ, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE IRISH CATHOLIC CONFEDERACY AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION.

By *Thomas L. Coonan*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 402, \$6.00.) The English Civil War was, of course, really a British Civil War, marking a decisive turning-point in the histories of Ireland and Scotland, as well as that of England. The consequences were radically different for the two smaller kingdoms, but of equally lasting significance. Yet in spite of the general recognition of this fact, the Civil War outside England is still too often treated from a narrowly English point of view. Professor Coonan's volume is a sound corrective to this deficiency. It contains a detailed account of the Civil War in Ireland, beginning with the Strafford regime and ending with the completion of the Cromwellian conquest in 1653. The focus of the book is on the Irish scene, particularly on the Catholic Confederacy. The author's thesis is clear. He sees the period as a revolutionary one for Ireland in that the Confederacy marks the first attempt to construct a national program for Irish resistance to the English. The desultory, piecemeal, and local resistance of the past was replaced by an attempt at nation-wide union, resting on the twin pillars of the Roman Catholic religion and the legislative independence of the Irish parliament. The attempt remained only an attempt because of the failure of Old Irish and Anglo-Irish to achieve any real unity. The author's estimate as to the causes of this failure is clear enough. For him the blame lies with the Anglo-Irish and particularly with their adored leader, Ormond. Their fear of the Old Irish was greater than their distaste for English domination, even by the Puritan parliament. Lukewarm in their Roman Catholicism and quite innocent of any Irish patriotism, they were anxious only to preserve their particular privileges. In short the first Irish nationalist program failed for lack of sufficient nationalists. The consequences were the extinction of the Old Irish leaders and their way of life; the events of 1689-1691 only confirmed this situation. Irish history is a warm subject even when the events have had three hundred years in which to cool. The author's emotional commitments are obvious and intrude on every page of the book. The tragic hero is Owen Roe O'Neill; the villain, Ormond. One may sympathize with the tragic quality of Irish history, especially in this epoch, and yet deplore so emotional a portrayal of it. This is a solid book in its exhaustive use of sources and its detailed treatment of events; it would have been still better had its tone been more dispassionate. A secondary theme in the work is the constitutional theory of the Confederates, which so interestingly anticipates much of that of the Americans of the 1760's. This problem might have been more effectively handled had it been treated topically in separate chapters rather than being mingled in a very complex narrative. The author

has rendered a useful service in giving a full narrative account of a major episode in Irish history and in providing a thoughtful interpretation of that episode.

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY, *Haverford College*

IL POPISSH PLOT: NELLE RELAZIONI INEDITE DEI RESIDENTI GRANDUCALI ALLA CORTE DI LONDRA (1678-1681). Fonti della storia d'Inghilterra nell'archivio di stato di Firenze. By *Anna Maria Crinò*. [Temi e testi, 3.] (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954, pp. 302.) Dr. Crinò gives in this volume a copious and continuous narrative, with many excerpts drawn from the dispatches of Giovanni Salvetti, resident of the grand duke of Tuscany at London, and Francesco Terriesi, who succeeded him in his functions. It is a very thorough work and adds one view to those already available of the Popish Plot. The labor of checking these witnesses with others has been left to the reader; it is not, evidently, a part of the task which the author has set herself. There are compensations, particularly an account and catalogue of Cosimo de' Medici's collection of pamphlets on the plot, now at Florence. Some of these are now very rare indeed. There are a few slips, such as a reference (p. 61) to the *twelve* chief justices of England and a habit of oversimplifying the embryonic Whig party into "il partito presbiteriano." No doubt here the terminology of Terriesi, who sided with the Catholics from the first and suspected the authenticity of the plot very early, has misled Dr. Crinò.

GEORGE HILTON JONES, *Washington College*

RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Roland N. Stromberg*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xi, 192.) The period treated in this book lies between the "1688 revolution" and the revolt of the American colonies. "Liberalism" is interpreted as a departure from current orthodoxy, though the latter is never definitely described. The "religion" considered existed largely in the realm of theory or doctrine. The efforts of the Established Church to maintain a monopoly of worship and to diminish the influence of other sects is scarcely a minor theme in the book, though it was a major subject of controversy in the early decades of the period. Little attention is paid to the habitual piety of a large majority of the people. The author is concerned primarily with the attempts of various writers to consider rationally some of the central doctrines of the church, especially those pertaining to the Trinity. Among the writers considered are John Locke, Samuel Clarke, John Toland, Anthony Collins, William Whiston, and their more orthodox contemporaries. Some of the chapter headings indicate the content of the discussion: "Arians and Socinians," "The Definition of Deism," "Highlights of the Deistic Controversy," "Orthodoxy at Bay," and "Arminianism." When the author ventures afield from this central theme, as he does in such chapters as "The Secularization of Politics," "Religion and the Ruling Class," and "Religion and Social Reform," his narrative is less informed. For example, John Tutchin was killed several years earlier and not "during the Sacheverell excitement" (p. 6). Few who have read widely in the sources concerning events will agree that "The eighteenth century in English history is an age of repose, in which men had time to debate religious questions, but few reasons to fight over them" (p. 133). One may agree that the mob in the Gordon riots was "aimless and leaderless" without concluding, "It was a sign of growing inequality and growing insecurity for many of the poor" (p. 140). Few will be wholly convinced that "Clearly Edmund Burke was a Christian because he was a conservative in politics—because, that is, he saw in the Church a useful tool of political conservatism and because the French radicals were inclined to deism" (p. 165).

W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

ROBERT OWEN OF NEW LANARK. By *Margaret Cole*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. vii, 231, \$3.50.) With the emergence to political power of the Labour party, a place has had to be found in the British pantheon for Robert Owen (1771-1858), spiritual father (in a way that is easier to feel than to explain) of the co-operative and workingmen's movements of modern Britain. Apotheosis inevitably produces hagiography. The new biography of Robert Owen by Margaret Cole must be looked upon as a responsible and honest representative of a class of works that often possess neither quality: namely, lives of the saints. In point of fact, Mrs. Cole is doing for the present generation what her husband, G. D. H. Cole, did for the 1920's with his *Robert Owen* (1925). Both authors present popular narratives, based principally on Owen's autobiography and the two-volume life by Frank Podmore (1906). The author's own contributions are not in the realm of original research (though Mrs. Cole does make use of certain recent studies), but in the realm of interpretation. In his biography of 1925, G. D. H. Cole treated Owen (almost for the first time) as one fountainhead of a living political and economic ideology rather than merely a spokesman of an early and outmoded movement of reform. Mrs. Cole's purpose is, of course, the same. Her perspective, indeed, is so similar to that of her husband's book of thirty years ago as to suggest that the Labour interpretation of history is hardening into a pattern as rigid as that once offered by the old Whig school. As a piece of writing, Mrs. Cole's biography of Owen is wholly admirable. It is compact (224 pages) but lively and readable. It covers in balanced fashion Owen's varied activities, captures his spirit and personality, and traces perceptively his somewhat inexplicable influence. Though the book attempts no penetrating analysis of Owen's ideas and offers no new information about his life, it does at least provide an accurate, succinct, and lucid account of his career and of the general principles for which he stood.

ARTHUR BESTOR, *University of Illinois*

THE CITY AND COUNTY OF BRISTOL: A STUDY IN ATLANTIC CIVILIZATION. By *Bryan Little*. (London, Werner Laurie, 1954, pp. xix, 399, 25s.) Bryan Little's history of Bristol is a bold venture in historical writing, for the author undertakes in three-hundred-odd pages to trace the city's development over a period of sixteen centuries. Skillfully he has selected the significant features of every era from Roman times to the present to explain the character of the "Atlantic civilization" that emerged in this west English port. American scholars who have struggled to analyze the far shorter history of particular New World communities cannot fail to admire Mr. Little's adroit handling of the complex of topics which competent urban biography must encompass. Shipbuilding and commerce, crafts and later large-scale industry, town and city government, education, religion, architecture, literary figures, newspapers, the theater, and recent *tourisme* all receive attention, fleeting at times, thorough at others, and generally spiced with specific data. Chronological down through the Civil War and Monmouth's rebellion, treatment then becomes topical for the Georgian Age and the nineteenth century. The chapters covering the economic life of eighteenth-century Bristol, her artistic and cultural progress, the *haute monde*, and the rise of the suburbs of Clifton and Hotwells, a spa once scarcely less famous than Bath, are particularly rich in interest. The twentieth century, perhaps properly, gets short shrift. Indeed, the discussion of every period suffers from extreme compression. For example, the thirty pages allotted to the years between the battle of Bosworth and the opening of the Puritan Revolution suffice for only cursory review of much that is highly important. Yet obviously the choice lay between a multivolumed work, a detailed study of a century or two,

and the swift-paced, sketchy story Mr. Little presents. In spanning Bristol's entire history he has done signal service, and, though he passes rapidly over some vital matters, his vivid descriptions of other events, his sharp vignettes of people involved, and a series of magnificent photographs combine to give the book unique value.

CONSTANCE McL. GREEN, *American University*

AGE AND YOUTH: MEMORIES OF THREE UNIVERSITIES AND FATHER OF THE MAN. By Sir *Ernest Barker*, Honorary Fellow, Merton College, Oxford and Peterhouse, Cambridge; Sometime Principal of King's College, London. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. viii, 347, \$5.00.) Although Sir Ernest Barker describes his own book as "only a conversation," it is autobiography at its best. Unlike the usual survey of one's own life, this work starts off, in Part I, with Professor Barker's work as a university teacher at Oxford. The story of his academic life for fifty years (1898-1948) is recounted with frankness, pungency, and well-selected detail. Part II, previously published, is a briefer account of the first twenty-four years of his life (1874-1898). The major portion of this work is a fascinating account of Professor Barker's association with three universities. After graduating as a "Greats" man in 1898, thoroughly steeped in Greek and Latin, classical history and philosophy, Professor Barker was elected to a classics fellowship but then was appointed to a lectureship in modern history at Wadham College, where he taught for ten years. During the next eleven years he continued at St. John's and New College. In these two decades he was a colleague of outstanding historians such as H. A. L. Fisher, C. G. Robertson, R. L. Poole, H. W. C. Davis, C. H. Firth, and Charles Oman. He tutored fifteen or twenty students each week, put examinees through their paces, and lectured on topics of his own choosing. What impresses the reader is the wide variety of themes handled in the lectures—general English history, medieval constitutional history, the Crusades, the German Reformation, working-class movements, and political theory. By 1920 the effect of the war, the lure of London, an itch for administration, and a hard-headed business acumen combined to precipitate a decision whereby Professor Barker accepted the position as principal of King's College, in the University of London. For the next seven years he was deeply immersed in educational problems, committees, conferences, speeches, sermons, planning, hoping, building. But in 1927 a professorship of political science was founded at Cambridge University, and Professor Barker was invited to occupy this chair. Despite a Puritan conscience which urged him to stick to the arduous task of administrative responsibility, despite his devotion to his colleagues and to the challenging life in London, despite his inability to reason the matter out, he instinctively decided to heed the siren voice that called him back to teaching and writing. For the next eleven years Professor Barker resumed his teaching career, and since 1939 has enjoyed the years of retirement and reflection. Consequently, the wisdom and mellowness and maturity to be found throughout this autobiography are the rewards of the reader.

LELAND H. CARLSON, *Rockford College*

A DIARY WITH LETTERS, 1931-1950. By *Thomas Jones*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xlv, 582, \$4.80.) This book gives a fascinating glimpse into a source of major importance for future historians. It may be fittingly described as "unique," especially in view of the British tradition of autobiographical reticence and delay in publication of official records. Dr. Jones, gifted biographer of Lloyd George, joined the newly formed cabinet secretariat in the first days of Lloyd George's prime ministership. Already trusted by George, who had earlier appointed him from a background of university teaching and social welfare work to be secre-

tary of the Welsh National Health Insurance Commission, Jones served for fourteen years under Hankey, becoming friend and confidential adviser to four prime ministers. When in 1931, with Baldwin's blessing, he moved to the post of secretary of the Pilgrim Trust, he continued to associate with Baldwin and other important figures in politics, government, and the arts. Throughout his career in and about Whitehall "T. J.," as he was known to friends, kept a secret diary, accumulating by the time of his semiretirement in 1952 some forty manuscript volumes. These will be, when available, of immense value to scholars. For the present generation Jones has now edited and released about one sixth of the material dealing with the period after he left the civil service, including excerpts from his correspondence. His selections are not of equal importance, some serving only to reveal the author's own personality and judgment. But the extracts contain significant revelations, despite Dr. Jones's highly developed sense of discretion. Perhaps his book's most valuable single asset is the new light it throws upon Baldwin's mind and methods. Of special interest also is Dr. Jones's full introduction—"Of Prime Ministers, Private Secretaries, Hostesses and Clubs"—which reflects the breadth of his experience in high political circles and stresses the vital role played behind the scenes by private secretaries and unofficial advisers who are seldom widely known and whose influence is frequently undetermined. As befits a volume touching on many subjects and personalities, this one is well indexed.

GEORGE CURRY, *University of South Carolina*

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FRANCE

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COMMENT LES FRANÇAIS VOYAIENT LA FRANCE AU XVII^e SIÈCLE. By Roland Mousnier, V. L. Tapié, A. G. Martimort, J. Meuvret, and G. Livet. [Bulletin de la Société d'étude du XVII^e siècle, nos. 25-26, 1955.] (Paris, the Society, 1955, pp. 136, 400 fr.) Each of the five studies in this book presents perceptions which result from the authors' endeavor to see their country through the eyes of seventeenth-century Frenchmen. M. Mousnier shows that most French writers believed that France had a constitution, i.e., fundamental laws, within which the government had to operate and which no person or institution could alter, in contrast with England. M. Tapié suggests the evolution of *patrie* from its early symbolization by the king and one's loyalty to him, to the hints in Vauban and Fénélon that the *patrie* was the people, to whom the king owed loyalty. M. Meuvret argues interestingly that indirect taxes, denounced by moderns as regressive, were less so when the majority of the lower classes were peasants who produced most of their needs and traded privately, tax-free, for the rest. He presents evidence indicating some of the tax riots of the little people were at least tolerated if not encouraged by officials and merchants who were more hurt by the *aides*. Chanoine Martimort discloses the wide range of attitudes toward the popes expressed by the many orders and groups in France, and shows that despite defiance and dispute the French always recoiled from the final acts which would have brought schism. M. Livet examines how the French saw Alsace and the Alsatians saw France and concludes that they didn't see much of each other.

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THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION IN THE OLD REGIME, 1700-1789. By Lester B. Mason. (Buffalo, the Author, 1954, pp. 124.) This is a study in political theory. The author has made a scholarly examination of the literature of mild protest in eighteenth-century France evoked by the absolutism of Louis XIV and his successors. While most of the complainants were nobles writing in defense of their "rights," which they based on that elusive thing called the French constitution, two or three were clergymen, and several were bourgeois critics appealing to the constitution in advocacy of reforms they wished. The study is carried to 1789, the pamphlets and *cahiers* on the eve of the Revolution being considered. The presentation is largely factual and analytical; generalization and integration with the movements of the day are inadequately done. No mention is made of the influence of the brochures, aside from indication of the number of editions they attained, nor of the government's reaction. Neither does the author evaluate the movement's influence on the constitutional discussions of the National Assembly. The political thought of the century is presented as static, with little or no intimation of the idea of progress. Despite these limitations, Mr. Mason has given on his narrow canvas a careful and useful study.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1788-1792. By *Gaetano Salvemini*, Professor of History in the University of Florence and Emeritus Professor of Harvard University. Translated from the Italian by *I. M. Rawson*. (New York, Henry Holt, 1954, pp. 343, \$5.00.) This revision of an earlier edition (1905) praised by both Aulard and Mathiez is an excellent work, although some might naturally think it dated in spite of the inclusion of new material in 1949 and in the present translation. However, its aim is not to present new facts but to give a "rapid synthesis" of the author's "conclusions." This aim has been ably accomplished. Some of the facts and conclusions are different from those ordinarily found in one-volume histories, and the proportions of the book are unusual. In dealing only with the period from 1788 to 1792 and primarily with the destruction of the monarchy, nine lines are given to the fall of the Bastille and a page and a half to the first Fête of the Federation. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the flight to Varennes are given two of the eight chapter headings. Facts and interpretations are thought-provoking and will be interesting to those concerned with the histories of the early part of the Revolution, thus fitting into the literature of the period. The translation is clear and readable in spite of such terms as "share-cropper" and "priest-ridden" and will not be too difficult for persons who have no great factual knowledge of the events and personages of the Revolution. Stress is laid upon the personal element in the Revolution; Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette are declared to be the chief authors of their ruin (p. 263). On the other hand, it is stated that the Revolution was the necessary outcome of social and economic developments (p. 14). Economics are stressed throughout the period. There are no footnotes and only a short bibliographical note by the author indicating that since it is impossible to go to the sources, uncontested statements are accepted if they are published in the principal reviews and receive good notices.

E. L. HIGGINS, *Arkansas State Teachers College*

HISTOIRE DES IDÉES SOCIALES EN FRANCE: D'AUGUSTE COMTE A P.-J. PROUDHON. By *Maxime Leroy*. [Bibliothèque des idées.] (Paris, Gallimard, 1954, pp. 395, 990 fr.) This is the third volume of M. Leroy's study of French social ideas since Montesquieu and includes roughly the period from 1848 to 1871. M. Leroy displays erudition and moderation in his effort to understand ideas. Of course, he has patent aversions; Babeuf, Blanqui, and all those who preached "creative violence" or who posed as the infallible doctors of society are objectionable to him. He is, however, more witty than bitter, especially in his descriptions of the vaticinations of the social romantics, Hugo, Vigny, Sainte-Beuve; of the savants, Comte, Renan, LePlay; the novelists, Balzac and George Sand; and the social caesar, Napoleon III. His coverage is broad, for he finds a variety of social ideas emanating from the effort to adapt men to two facts: experimental science and large-scale industry. Most thinkers felt that this was the task of an elite, whether scientific, literary, or revolutionary. Only Proudhon urged the people to make their own adaptation. Admitting Proudhon's contradictions, M. Leroy finds in his writings an admirable "spirit of liberty." But M. Leroy's interpretation of liberty is too narrow. To say that Proudhon represents liberty and Blanc authority is to misrepresent their differences. Unfortunately the opening chapter, "1848," is unsatisfactory; the reader does not see the intense conflict of doctrines nor the Second Republic as a watershed for socialist ideas between the pre- and post-1848 periods. 1848 differed from 1871. Had M. Leroy pointed up this transition, his chapters dealing with socialism would have achieved greater unity. Happily these weaknesses are amply compensated by the general excellence of the volume. It is an important tool for the historian, serving as a compilation of ideas and an analysis of their significance.

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L'OEUVRE DE LÉON BLUM: CRITIQUE LITTÉRAIRE; NOUVELLES CONVERSATIONS DE GOETHE AVEC ECKERMANN; PREMIERS ESSAIS POLITIQUES, 1891-1905. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1954, pp. xxxi, 588, 1,200 fr.) When shortly after Léon Blum's death in 1950 plans were announced for the publication of his complete works, many received the announcement somewhat skeptically in view of printing costs and the declining fortunes of the French Socialist party. It is a pleasure to report, therefore, that the first volume of the project has now made its appearance and specific plans disclosed for the publication of about five more volumes at the rate of about two per year. However, the editors have reluctantly abandoned the hope of publishing the complete works and have resigned themselves to a selection of all that they consider "durable." Laudably, whatever is selected is being presented in full and not in extract. The present volume, covering the writings of Blum's earliest years into his early thirties, includes such larger works as *Nouvelles conversations de Goethe avec Eckermann*, *Les Congrès ouvriers et socialistes*, and *En lisant* as well as articles of literary criticism and comments on politics culled from a variety of periodicals but principally from *La Revue blanche*. An appendix presents some of his youthful ventures into poetry and fiction. Because the larger works have long been readily available to scholars, even though several are now out of print, one is most grateful for the periodical pieces, some of which appeared originally without Blum's signature and might otherwise be lost. At least one selection, an article on the 1902 elections, has not hitherto been published. Perhaps an even greater effort might be made in future volumes to incorporate the more fugitive material and unpublished items along with the better known standard works. A complete bibliography, at least for the period to 1914, is promised; it is hoped that it will be extended down through the subsequent years.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke¹

WILLIAM OF HORNES, LORD OF HÈZE, AND THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS, 1576-1580. By *Gordon Griffiths*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LI.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. x, 91, \$1.25.) William of Hornes, Lord of Hèze, in four years (1576-1580) led a successful rebellion against Spain, later "betrayed" it and signed a treaty of reconciliation with the crown, and finally was executed for attempting to go against Spain once more. Gordon Griffiths has found the reason for Hèze's vacillations in the political and religious pattern set during the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain. He has been especially concerned with the French-speaking part of the Netherlands where Calvinism made its first inroads rather than in that area which eventually became the "Dutch Republic." The patriotism of Hèze caused him to play a leading role in the *coup d'état* of September 4, 1576, which led to the Pacification of Ghent and to the unification of both the Flemish and the Walloon Netherlands against Philip II. Religious and political differences developed between the two areas and among the various religious groups and social classes. The nobles became politically impotent and the burgher strength increased. Hèze and the nobles joined a middle group, the Malcontents, in "their desire to counter the influence of Orange and his Calvinist and burgher allies" (p. 54). This group finally accepted the overtures of Parma. When the latter showed no inclination to allow the nobles a share in the administration of Brabant, Hèze once more turned toward Orange and an alliance with France. He was discovered and executed on November 16, 1580. Griffiths considers Hèze to be a man of vision. "At its narrowest, during his Malcontent phase, this vision was of a Catholic, constitutional monarchy two hundred and fifty years ahead of its time, for the Treaty of Arras may be looked upon as foreshadowing the Belgium of 1830. At its widest, as exemplified in the Pacification of Ghent and in his final return to the French-Orangist alliance, Hèze's vision embraced a still larger, though in the end impractical, ideal—that of a free, tolerant, and united Netherlands" (p. 81). This too-brief summary does provide an insight into the political, military, religious, and economic factors which were paramount during the revolt of the Netherlands and as they were illustrated during the career of Hèze. Archival and printed sources were used, and the bibliography and the index are adequate. One would like to know more about Henry de Bloeyere, the burgher friend of Hèze, and about some of the others who bob in and out of Hèze's life. An expansion of the study would perhaps have made it easier for the reader to comprehend Hèze's vision more easily. It is hoped that this sample is a promise of additional studies in this field by Professor Griffiths.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

GESCHICHTLICHE KRÄFTE UND ENTSCHEIDUNGEN: FESTSCHRIFT ZUM FÜNFUNDSECHZIGSTEN GEBURTSTAGE VON OTTO BECKER. Edited by Martin Göhring and Alexander Scharff. (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1954, pp. viii, 316, DM 24.) In this volume sixteen historians, friends and former students of Professor Becker, pay tribute to a scholar whose writings (listed in an appendix) have already brought him recognition from grateful historians outside Germany. The essays found here cover a good deal of German history, offering an intellectual *smörgåsbord* that is rich and varied. Several touch on history before 1800—the Middle Ages, Henry the Lion and Denmark, the Schmalkaldic League and Sweden, the relations of Calvin and Hotman, the imperial elections and the Rhenish League of 1658. Two essays deal with the role of the German language in stirring up nationalism in the Danish-speaking areas of Schleswig. Three essays are concerned with phases of German unification—one on Hans Christoph von Gagern and his sons, one on Fredrick William IV of Prussia, a third on the warm interest of Americans in the efforts of Germans to become united through a federation. Of these three, that concerning Frederick William IV, by Alexander Scharff of Kiel, is of particular interest. It puts the German revolution of 1848-1849 in its international setting and shows that Austria, France, and Russia were so hostile to unification as to be ready to intervene to prevent it. Five essays deal with Germany's history since 1870—one with documents bearing on Bismarck's "bribing" King Louis II of Bavaria in 1870 in order to get him to propose that the king of Prussia be made German emperor, one given to a detailed analysis of the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887, one on the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 and the Straits question, one on the diplomatic turning point for Germany in the First World War, one on German military influence in Argentina. Oswald Hauser's paper on the role of the Straits question in the relations of Britain and Russia after 1907 is a most important contribution, deserving to be treated fully

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

in a book instead of being condensed in an essay. It has one significant error: the author still believes that in the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi Turkey gave Russia in 1833 the right to move her warships freely through the Straits while closing those waters to the warships of Russia's enemies. The last essay in the *Festschrift* is a stimulating one that asks and seeks to answer fundamental questions regarding the justified use of power to check an unjustified, brutal, and destructive use of power.

HARRY R. RUDIN, *Yale University*

"LANDRÄUMIG," SEBASTIAN FRANCK, EIN WANDERER AN DONAU, RHEIN UND NECKAR. By *Eberhard Teufel*. (Neustadt an der Aisch, Bavaria, 1954, pp. 123.) Sebastian Franck is one of the most fascinating figures in the religious life of sixteenth-century Germany. His command of the German language was excelled only by that of Luther. The range of Franck's interest was even wider than that of Luther, since it included geography and world history. Franck's greatest distinction is his detachment and objectivity in viewing not only the past but also his own age, even at points where he was himself a participant and a victim of its battles. His life was even more tragic than that of the martyrs, who died at the stake just once. He was banished continuously. His final migration with a dying wife and six children was to Basel. Yet despite such disturbances and the necessity of supporting his family by making and peddling soap, he contrived both to write and to publish an astounding amount, doubly amazing because he lived only to the age of forty-three. For the church historian the significance of Franck lies chiefly in this, that his spiritualizing of religion disintegrated the visible church. He himself refused to found a sect. For that reason he has left no disciples eager to cultivate his memory, reprint his works and write his biography. Systematic and sober work about him is scant. Eberhard Teufel has set himself the task of finding out all the concrete data that can be amassed about Franck's life and writings: the banishments and migrations, the printing of his books, the editions and the influence notably in Holland. This mode of treatment of necessity confines itself primarily to the concrete. Reference is made, of course, to Franck's ideas, and they are correctly classified in the history of thought, but they are not elaborated and discussed. There is room for another work dealing with Franck as a theologian and a philosopher of history. For this marvelously detailed and exact portrayal of his outward life and works, we are grateful.

ROLAND H. BAINTON, *Yale University*

GEHEIMES KRIEGSTAGEBUCH, 1870-1871. By *Paul Bronsart von Schellendorff*, Chef der Operations-Abteilung im Grossen Generalstab. With the assistance of *Theodor Michaux*. Edited by *Peter Rassow*. (Bonn, Athenäum, 1954, pp. 448, DM 24.) The reputations of leading Germans in the Franco-Prussian War, judges editor Rassow, are so firm that they will not be shaken by the comments in this diary. Still, one wonders what the good *Bürger* will think when he finds a Junker, a fellow Prussian with all the requisite qualities, saying these things: "Count Bismarck is really about ripe for an insane asylum" (p. 212); "Little thieves are hung; the big ones go free" (p. 309); Bismarck has promised [Moltke] . . . ; it is doubtful if he will keep his word" (p. 313); "He is eagerly conferring with his banker, the Jew Bleichröder. . . . The [banker] was in the office today and related that Bismarck had said. . . . Now, who is lying, the Jew or Bismarck? I believe it is the latter. . ." (p. 349). These extremely personal comments reflect the bitterness of the relationship between Bismarck and the General Staff during the war. Bronsart recorded his impressions day by day as the campaign progressed. Though mainly devoted to military affairs, the diary gives an authentic impression of Moltke's attitudes, for he and

Bronsart were very close. Significant sections deal with civilian-military friction. The memories of 1866, when the diplomat deprived the generals of their fruits of victory, haunt the GHQ of 1870-1871. In typical Bismarckian fashion crisis after crisis occurs over the chancellor's "interference in purely military matters." Bronsart considers the military arrangements for the new German Empire detrimental to the Prussian army and serving only to extend Bismarck's hallucinations of grandeur. Most Western historians will inherently oppose Bronsart's conception of the army's relationship to political authority, yet will sympathize with his problems of living with a chancellor who tampered with military telegrams. And how innocent is the military mind as it records the immediate origins of the Franco-Prussian War! "We were unanimous, . . . if it came to war, it would be solely the will of France. We were then disagreeably disturbed by the news about the withdrawal of the Prince of Hohen-zollern, for we suspected a retreat and feared that France would be content with this small political success. But already the next day we read the [Ems] Telegram . . . and drank to the health of the Duke of Gramont" (p. 35).

HENRY CORD MEYER, *Pomona College*

SECHS JAHRE REICHSKANZLEI, VON RAPALLO BIS LOCARNO: ERINNERUNGEN UND TAGEBUCHNOTIZEN, 1922-1927. By *Max von Stockhausen*. Edited by *Walter Görlitz*. (Bonn, Athenäum, 1954, pp. 279, DM 14.) Recent controversy between defenders and critics of the new West German state points up a general tendency among Germans to view the Weimar era as a rather melancholy chapter in their history. This is one legacy of the "National Revolution" of 1933 which still survives and which, to a large extent, explains the reluctance of German historians—particularly the older members of the profession—to exhume unhappy memories. Until recently native historians have left this task to non-German and ex-German scholars. Admittedly they are handicapped, as the editor of this volume points out, by the fact that a large portion of the relevant documents remain in foreign custody. Moreover, apart from Papen, none of the chancellors and only a few of the ministers of the Weimar Republic have published their memoirs. This volume seeks to help fill the gap. The author, son-in-law of Papen, served from 1922 to 1927 as a sort of cabinet secretary and adjutant to the chancellors of the First Republic. A member of the Westphalian Catholic aristocracy and son of a Prussian general, Stockhausen does not so much contribute any new, startling facts bearing upon the period he covers as that he reveals—one suspects inadvertently—the unsympathetic attitude of the civil servants the republic inherited from the empire toward the new democratic order. There is little or no evidence here that the conservative aristocrats, who largely dominated the higher civil service, went as far in their hostility as the army and members of the judiciary—the traditions of the service apparently inhibited overt political expression of personal prejudices. However, they did not seek to hide their dismay over the decline of German power, the presumed selfishness of the parties to the detriment of the national interest, and the apparent inefficiency of the parliamentary system. With "great sorrow" in his heart Stockhausen mourns "a happier past" at Bismarck's grave during the turbulent days of 1923. As a whole, his book confirms the prevalent German view: "misfortune pursued the destiny of the Weimar Republic."

LEWIS J. EDINGER, *Air University*

TYCOONS AND TYRANT: GERMAN INDUSTRY FROM HITLER TO ADENAUER. By *Louis P. Lochner*. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1954, pp. viii, 304, \$5.00.) Former Associated Press correspondent Louis P. Lochner, known also as editor of the Goebbels diaries, served as member of the Hoover Commission in Germany and

Austria in 1947. The impressions he gained then, and the renewal of many personal contacts made during his fourteen years in Weimarian and Hitlerian Berlin, caused him to reopen the question of the German producers' share in Hitler's coming to power and in Hitlerism. His study is based, in the first place, on scores of personal interviews with industrialists and other representatives of Germany's economic life, and also on the material of the *Industrie- und Handelskammer* of Essen. The author does not claim to have studied the voluminous records of the war crimes trials, indispensable for this purpose, or to have otherwise gained access to private sources like the ones used in the trials, nor does he seem to be familiar with the existing scientific literature on his topic. Being a journalist, he lays the greatest emphasis on "the man-to-man give-and-take of conversation and discussion." This procedure, while making the book often vivid, diminishes its value for the historian. Mr. Lochner's experience in properly appraising men and facts permits him to draw lively and on the whole accurate portraits of a fair number of captains of industry under Hitler and to destroy *prima vista* some of the most current misconceptions concerning his problem. He discards the stories that heavy industry helped the Nazis gain power by putting a financial levy on coal, that Hitler was exclusively industry-financed, that German industry tried to push him into the war, that Hitler's famous speech in the Dusseldorf Industrie Klub in January, 1932, brought the producers into his camp, and some related tales. Most of the author's statements on these topics assert the obvious and partly restate facts already stressed by others. But his failure to consult the available material makes him commit factual errors (two of them for instance, in his notes on the Stinnes director, Minoux [p. 97]) and overlook important points. Ignoring totally what is known as *Der Fall Gelsenkirchen* he fails to pay attention to the efforts of the United Steel Works circle to reconquer, by sponsoring Hitler's chancellorship, the famous Gelsenkirchen shares in which was embodied the control of United Steel, the key empire of German heavy industry, and which in 1932 over the protests of all big producers had been sold to the Reich by the questionable Friedrich Flick. He thus has no inkling of the game played in closest mutual co-operation by Albert Vögler, head of United Steel, Hitler's righthand man Keppler, and United Steel banker von Schroeder, who prepared the famous meeting between Hitler and Papen in von Schroeder's Cologne mansion, which led to the establishment of the Third Reich. Mr. Lochner tends to underemphasize the Nazi component in the aims of most producers, to use Hitler as a mere tool in the hands of a Papen-type cabinet, and he somewhat overestimates the significance of the tensions between Nazis and industry after their honeymoon of 1933. The fact that heavy industry, like the rest of the conservative classes, finally was disappointed about Hitler must not obscure the truth that it continued to reap the fruits of the German armament boom and that after the outbreak of the war it fought bitter internecine fights for the distribution of the spoils. There is much that is shrewd and sound in this book. But there is a chance that it will furnish German industry an opportunity to point out to the world, like Little Jack Horner, "What a good boy am I!"

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN, *Washington, D. C.*

SCHICKSALSJAHRE ÖSTERREICHS 1908-1919: DAS POLITISCHE TAGEBUCH JOSEF REDLICH'S. Volume II, 1915-1919. Edited by *Fritz Fellner*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 40.] (Graz, Hermann Böhlau, 1954, pp. 397, DM 24.) The second volume of the Redlich diaries fully lives up to the great expectations raised by the first (see *AHR*, July, 1954, p. 1007). Its main theme may be justly called the death agony of the monarchy, seen from the standpoint of an inside observer who never became a main actor on the political stage.

And yet, in the summer of 1917 it seemed as if Redlich's chance had come to be entrusted with the Austrian prime ministership. His main task would have been the initiation of administrative autonomy for the Austrian nationalities. This in turn should have paved the way for a negotiated peace. German pressure in and outside of Austria led to the failure of Redlich's mission, even before it commenced. He was called to office only as minister of finance in the Lammasch cabinet at the end of October, 1918. To say that this last Austrian caretaker government had the authority to preside over the tragic disintegration process of the monarchy would be an overstatement. Yet presumably the melancholy "too little and too late" would have held just as true if Redlich had been elevated into a position of greater power and authority in 1917. Indeed, the whole volume amply bears out the contention of those historians who believe that the forces which widened the assassination of Sarajevo into a world conflagration, sealed the doom of Austria-Hungary. It is the tragedy of men of Redlich's intellectual stature that they nobly and vainly tried to struggle against the inevitability of a fate which became increasingly clear to them. Nevertheless the many shades and nuances in Redlich's charming character portraits and subtle reflections lend highly welcome color and warmth to a canvas of which the great outlines appear only all too clear. Dr. Fellner, the editor, is again to be complimented on a difficult job very competently done.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

THE IMAGE OF AMERICA IN MAZZINI'S WRITINGS. By *Joseph Rossi*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1954, pp. vii, 188, \$3.50.) To the liberal element in America Joseph Mazzini was represented as "the apostle of the doctrines on which American institutions rested." After a study of Mr. Rossi's monograph the reader doubts the familiarity of the distinguished Italian patriot with the basic ideals of American republicanism. The author refers to Mazzini's knowledge of the founding fathers which, he admits, was "by no means overwhelming." It is odd that Mazzini's ardor for Italian liberation should not have been partially inspired by those very principles which achieved the independence of the American colonies. Mr. Rossi's book is the result of detailed research in contemporary American and foreign sources: letters, diaries, documents, newspaper accounts, and an intimate knowledge of Mazzini's *Scritti*. The book is a complement to the earlier study of Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy* (New York, 1932). Where Marraro viewed the complexities of Italian unification and the American reaction to its progress, Mr. Rossi has confined himself to America and Mazzini. He treats in detail Mazzinian movements in America: Young Italy, the Christian Alliance, the lecture tours of Louis Kossuth and Jessie White Mario, which are related in part in Marraro's work. He discusses Mazzini's contacts with the American diplomats, Lewis Cass, Jr., Nicholas Brown, and others. He has devoted an entire chapter to Margaret Fuller. It is somewhat of an exaggeration to state that "the friendship of Mazzini was one of the most important influences in Margaret Fuller's mature life." Her association with Mazzini was of great significance during her Italian stay, but it is to be remembered that at the time of Miss Fuller's residence in Italy she was a fully matured woman of an overwhelming intellect and a deep attachment for republican sentiment. In Margaret Fuller Mazzini should have recognized the embodiment of American philosophical and political ideology, a fact which has not been sufficiently stressed. Mr. Rossi has presented the relationship of Mazzini and America. The reader is not disappointed with the author's admirable and scholarly study but with Mazzini himself. The Italian patriot ardently longed for the emancipation of his homeland and the suppression of Austrian tyranny. America had achieved its independence through its challenge of and struggle with an oppressive regime. To Mazzini America re-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

mained a nation of financial support and not the inspiration of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," a sentiment expressed in his own *Manifesto of the European Democratic Committee to the Italians*.

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EASTERN EUROPE

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SOVIET UNION

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VISSARION BELINSKI, 1811-1848: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL CRITICISM IN RUSSIA. By *Herbert E. Bowman*. [Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, XXI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 220, \$4.25.) To the western student the intellectual career of Belinski is a most perplexing phenomenon. What was the inward connection between his limitless but temporary enthusiasms for imported schools of thought, his penchant for extravagant ideals, his inherent unhappiness, his amazing influence, and the Russia of Nicholas I? What strange situation created such an admirable and yet so wretched a character? Professor Bowman's book, the first full study of Belinski in English, is essentially a study of the relationship between literature and society in the various phases of Belinski's literary criticism. Belinski started, so the analysis runs, with the exalted aesthetic idealism of Schelling, until confronted with the realism of Gogol's early works. Then, turning to Hegel, he began to take a positive view of contemporary Russia. This stage, in turn, was shattered by the appearance of Lermontov's disillusioned hero Pechorin, and Belinski, now following the French utopian socialists, evolved a new ideal of human dignity deeply at variance with Russian reality. No wonder that toward the end he was beginning to cast the creative writer ever more directly into the dubious role of reformer. A historian may derive considerable pleasure from the critical alertness of the author's literary analysis, but he will be disappointed by its narrow scope.

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

He would like to have more than a "running illustration of Belinski's ideological positions" by way of an analysis of his changing conceptions of the writer's role in society. Even the somewhat broader introductory chapters and the interspersed notes on Belinski's personal affairs hardly offer all that is needed for understanding either Belinski or the origins of social criticism in Russia. In short, this book provides a subtle but tenuous thread through the baffling passageways of Belinski's intellectual career, but one is left wondering whether it reduces or increases the bafflement itself.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

THE ARAB WORLD: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. By *Nejla Izzeddin*. Foreword by William Ernest Hocking. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953, pp. xii, 412, \$6.50.) This survey of "The Arab World," with an interesting foreword by W. E. Hocking, is one of those books which become the victims of the ever-changing scene in the Middle East. Events move faster than printers and authors, and parts of the survey become outdated before the binding is put over the pages. The author, Miss N. Izzeddin, an able Arab scholar, a Druze, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, although motivated by too much emotion and zealotry partisanship, has given an able and readable account of "The Cultural Heritage" the Arabs have bequeathed, "The Arabs and the West in the Middle Ages," and presents in a series of chapters the political and social problems and structures of each of the Arab countries—Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, the Arabian peninsula, North Africa. The problem of Palestine is of course dealt with in great detail. A special chapter is devoted to "The Arab Woman" and to "The Powers in the Arab World" and in her chapters "Towards Arab Unity" and "The Greater Struggle" the author advocates the strengthening of the many common bonds which bind together the Arab world linguistically, culturally, and politically. The objective student of history and observer of political affairs cannot but disagree in many points with the author's presentation of facts and their interpretation. The real issues are somehow obscured by too many propaganda slogans. Despite these defects the book imparts valuable knowledge on an area which should become much more known to everyone interested in the problems of world politics.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

ELEMENTS OF CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY. By Han Yu-shan. (Hollywood, Calif., W. M. Hawley, 1955, pp. 246, \$7.50.) The author of this handbook and guide is associate professor of history at the University of California at Los Angeles. By commenting briefly on eminent Chinese historians and their writings in the past 2000 years, he makes known the many types of history that were produced, and the place occupied by historians at various periods. The work differs from Charles S. Gardner's admirable *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, published in 1938, in giving numerous concrete examples—in Chinese as well as in English—of the titles, offices,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

and functions of Chinese historians. At the same time it defines hundreds of technical and descriptive terms employed in historical literature. Biographical and bibliographical information is given on some 860 historical works, ranging from ancient to recent times. The twenty-six official dynastic histories, compiled in the past twenty centuries, are conveniently analyzed, including the method of compilation, the periods covered, and the topics treated. These histories alone add up to a total of 4,052 *chüan* or chapters of which, according to the author, 62 per cent are devoted to biographies; 21 per cent to treatises on astronomy, geography, foreign relations, and a score of other topics; 11 per cent to the annals of emperors; 4 per cent to chronological tables; and only 2 per cent to noble families—showing how little class distinctions have figured in Chinese life. Many other histories tracing the development in specialized fields of knowledge are recorded, though some of these are as much treatises on the subject as they are historical documents. A minor error needs correcting: no “Union List” of Chinese local histories “enumerating 5832 editions” has been published by the Library of Congress. The list referred to is a three-volume Chinese work, *Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih tsung-lu*, compiled by Chu Shih-chia and published in Shanghai in 1935. The work published by the Library is not a union list; it represents only its own holdings. Added attractiveness is lent to this work by the inclusion of specimen pages from histories printed in the Sung period (960–1279); and line-drawn portraits of thirteen famous historians. A fine specimen of a civil service examination paper, submitted by a graduate with high honors in 1808, is also reproduced, from the author’s own large collection of such papers.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Washington, D. C.*

THE EMPIRE OF MIN. By *Edward H. Schafer*, Associate Professor of Oriental Languages, University of California. (Rutland, Vt., Charles E. Tuttle Company for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1954, pp. xii, 146, \$3.00.) In this monograph Dr. Schafer has brought together useful data on a small Chinese state that flourished in the first part of the tenth century in what today is Fukien Province. The disintegration of the T’ang Empire opened the way for the rise of the mighty Liao Empire in the northeast, and to the south of it for a number of territorial states whose rulers struggled for the mantle of the Son-of-Heaven. Between 907 and 960, a succession of five such states, the “Five Dynasties,” claimed supreme authority. Although the country of Min was not one of them, its rulers, also, took the title of “emperor.” Dr. Schafer has drawn industriously upon Chinese sources. But while he devotes separate chapters to such topics as the court, history, economy, arts, and religion, he does not place his material in any meaningful institutional frame. Recalling Max Weber’s discussion of imperial China as a society headed by a managerial and educated bureaucracy, and recalling Balazs’ discussion of the T’ang version of this society, we would like to know whether the state of Min, on a local scale, reproduced or modified the traditional bureaucratic and despotic order. Schafer’s monograph does not answer this question. It does not illuminate the governmental order, the pattern of political or private economy, or the class structure of Min. Schafer deplores that Western scholarship has paid little attention to the period of the “Five Dynasties.” True, but not as little as is suggested by his reference to one nineteen-page article by Piton and two articles, totaling twenty-eight pages, by Eberhard. Chavannes’ account of the Kingdom of Wu and Yüeh, which was the northern neighbor of Min (*T’oung Pao*, XVII, 1916) covers almost as many pages as Schafer’s monograph. And Wittfogel and Feng’s comprehensive work on the Liao Empire discusses in several of its sections Chinese conditions at the time of the “Five Dynasties.” Regrettably Schafer utilizes neither of these studies.

However, despite its serious deficiencies, his study adds important details on a too little scrutinized period of Chinese history.

KARL A. WITTFOGEL, *Columbia University*

THE NIEN REBELLION. By *Chiang Siang-Tseh*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia.] (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 159, \$3.50.) Publication of the results of research into the Nien Rebellion by Dr. Chiang Siang-Tseh brings us to an area of study which heretofore has had little attention. In the source materials which he has analyzed, documented, and organized we see not only the rise and fall of the rebellion but the basic fabric of Chinese society as it was at this time, in its economics, politics, and, most important, in the workings of the mind of the Chinese of the mid-nineteenth century. Origin of the Nien Rebellion, relationship of the rebellion to secret societies, and the organizations, objectives, and strength of the rebellion are all clearly given. The text has five useful maps, tables giving the names of the leaders of the rebellion, and of those leaders of the government who suppressed the rebellion. The Chinese characters are in longhand for the photo-offset printing. Most of the personal and geographical names, bibliography, and significant terms are given in romanization and Chinese, an indication of the advancement in Sinological studies since World War II. Several romanizations, due, probably, to the dialect of the author, deviate from the standard system he otherwise follows: *Cheng* for *chen*, *chou* for *tsou*, *hsien* for *hsüan*, *li* for *i*, *ping* for *pin*, *sun* for *hsün*, *hsien* for *hsuan*. The size of the letter type in the photo-offset process should perhaps have been made larger for easier reading.

YU-SHAN HAN, *University of California, Los Angeles*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5545.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. iv, 911, \$4.00.) Half of this volume is a continuation from Volume III of the papers relating to the "Undeclared War between Japan and China." This half is concerned first with the moves to bring about a settlement, under the heads: "The League Phase," "Preparations for the Brussels Conference," and "The Conference at Brussels, November 3-24, 1937." These papers have interest because of what they show concerning the attitudes of the various governments toward the League. They also bring out clearly the futility and the hazards of such a conference as that held at Brussels when there is an evident unwillingness to go beyond the reaffirmation of general principles previously advanced. The second half of this section contains the exchanges on such matters as the protection of American lives and property under the conditions of conduct of hostilities in China; the effect on foreign shipping of naval measures taken by China and Japan in the prosecution of the war in China; the bombing of the President Hoover by Chinese aviators; the Panay incident of December 12, 1937; and the attitude of the American government on the export of military materiel to China and the service of American citizens with the Chinese Air Force. The second half of the volume contains papers dealing with a variety of topics under consideration in American-Chinese relations. Among these are questions of economic assistance and loans, the application of tax and customs laws to Americans, and the question of resumption of negotiations over extraterritoriality. The China papers are followed by a Japan section containing papers included in the previously published two volumes on *Japan, 1931-1941*. Among these are dispatches from the embassy containing interesting comments on Japanese politics. The final section, "Siam," contains drafts of

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HAROLD M. VINACKE, *University of Cincinnati*

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

GESCHICHTE DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON NORDAMERIKA: WERDEN DER WELTMACHT. By *Ernst Samhaber*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Band VIII.] (Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1954, pp. 454, DM 22.) Neither author nor publisher has specified the audience to whom this volume is addressed; it appears, however, to have been produced primarily to bring United States history to the German lay reader in a form which he will find at once readable and instructive. On the whole the book seems admirably adapted to this purpose. It is well planned and well written; and a consistent argument, centered upon a few main themes, is pursued throughout. The principal theme is American power in its historical aspects. "The freedom of the world rests today exclusively on the strength of the United States," Herr Samhaber writes as he nears the end of his story. Having thus accepted the present fact of American power as a good thing, he is able to survey the historical process which produced the power with remarkable dispassion. The American reader on the lookout for "typically German" judgments and emphases will find few pickings in this book, especially for the period before the New Deal. After 1933 the story becomes, one understands, more controversial, and the author, while seeming to search for a judicious middle ground, does not disguise his opinions. In the period of Munich, he remarks, "American policy . . . only sowed confusion." And in 1940: "Roosevelt, with his opaque policy of half promises and inadequate support, plunged his friends into misfortune." But did General Marshall, returning from his Far Eastern mission, really advise, as Samhaber states, "that China be completely abandoned"? An outstanding feature of the book is the emphasis on the sociological and economic elements in the American story. The author stresses repeatedly that, from the seventeenth century on, the winning of the West was accomplished by group activity; the idea of the state was preceded by the idea of the community, and nurtured by it. Individualism as a dominant force in American life was limited, as he sees it, to a relatively brief period after the Civil War. A major weakness of this volume is that the factual underpinning is so unreliable. Even the unwary suspects that something may be amiss when the Pilgrim Fathers start landing at Princetown, and when a

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

preacher named Rogers from Massachusetts founds the colony of Connecticut. Slips of this sort, many of them due obviously to careless work on manuscript and proofs, abound. Until a second edition appears, the German reader will be well advised, when he wants to check up on his facts, to stick to his Brockhaus. There is no bibliography, and no historical work is mentioned or acknowledged.

PAUL R. SWEET, *Washington, D. C.*

THE AMERICAN REBELLION: SIR HENRY CLINTON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS CAMPAIGNS, 1775-1782, WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS. Edited by *William B. Willcox*. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts. No. 21.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, pp. li, 658, \$7.50.) Sir Henry Clinton's full-dress defense of his conduct of the war in America, now published for the first time from the original manuscript in the Clements Library, is important not so much for the relatively few new significant facts it discloses about military operations as for the documented self-portrait that it furnishes. With his own pen the British commander spells out his ineptitude, his inability to get along with officers immediately superior to him or directly under his command, his suspicions, his timidity, and his fatal inertia. If one were to argue that the British lost the colonies because of mediocre leadership in the field, this document could provide substantial ammunition. As regards the two crucial campaigns of the war—Saratoga and Yorktown—the Clinton narrative is disappointing. What the general tells us about Cornwallis and Yorktown he had previously said at some length in his tedious published defenses of his conduct. His account of his role in the Burgoyne campaign is about as brief as was his military participation. Clinton points out that when Howe embarked for Philadelphia he had not left instructions to support Burgoyne, and that the first orders to that effect were dated July 30. Even though Clinton had seven thousand effective troops in New York and knew that Washington had moved against Howe, he still felt that forces Washington might have left east of the Delaware were a threat to him. "I thought it behooved me to be cautious," epitomizes his strategy. Obsessed with the need for preserving the safety of his base, Clinton abandoned his campaign to relieve Burgoyne when, as the editor points out, a hard-driving commander might have pushed on regardless of rule-book logistics. If Sir Henry's narrative substitutes special pleading for new evidence, Dr. Willcox's brilliant introduction constitutes a superb appraisal of Clinton's role in the war and of his shortcomings as a military leader, chiefly of his adherence to the policy of minimum risk, which in the long run is the riskiest policy of all. Years of labor went into deciphering Clinton's eccentric and almost illegible handwriting, and the text is buttressed by illuminating references to the Clinton Papers in the Clements Library, and to many other relevant items. Dr. Willcox's handling of the narrative as well as of the appended letters and reports in Sir Henry's files, particularly full for the latter years of the war, conforms to the highest editorial standards.

RICHARD B. MORRIS, *Columbia University*

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES INDIAN FACTORY SYSTEM, 1795-1822. By *Ora Brooks Peake*, Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colorado. (Denver, Colo., Sage Books, 1954, pp. 340, \$5.00.) The system of government stores for the Indians was a unique experiment. Between 1795 and 1822 about thirty so-called factories were established. These factories were designed to offset foreign influences among the Indians, win their allegiance to the United States, promote peace and good will on the frontier, protect the Indians against the greed of private traders, and lessen the amount of liquor dispensed to the Indians. The story has been told and

retold but never before in such detail as in the volume under consideration. This attractive volume encompasses a variety of materials. The reader gets a realistic sense of the buying and assembling of goods, their transportation to the factories, the work and worries of the factors, the storing, transporting, and sale of furs and other products obtained from the Indians, and of the nagging, fault-finding stream of criticism and opposition which finally led to the abolition of the factory system. Less relevant to the story, but interesting and informative, is the space devoted to the educational and religious work of the Indian Trade Office. The volume contains one map, three pictures, sixteen illegible and rather pointless reproductions of invoices and accounts, thirty-one appendixes, and a very adequate bibliography. Dr. Peake has assembled all the data necessary for a definitive treatment of the factory system. Unfortunately, the account is laborious, overwhelmed by excerpts from sources, and rather poorly structured. She erroneously says (p.3) that the whole purpose of the system was to render a service to the Indians. No table of the number, location, and duration of the factories is provided, and the map (p.10) that presumably supplies some of this information is difficult to read and contains at least one serious error. It shows a factory at St. Peter on the Minnesota River. The author probably confused St. Peter, the early name of Fort Snelling, with the modern town of St. Peter, but no factory was ever located in Minnesota. And in spite of thirty-one appendixes, there is no complete table of factors, assistants, and interpreters. Among all the causes advanced to explain the overthrow (the author calls it "failure") of the factory system, the major one—the downright selfishness of competitors—is scarcely identified. The volume is relatively, although not altogether, free from misprints and minor errors. In spite of these faults this topic scarcely deserves further study. EDGAR B. WESLEY, *Stanford University*

JUSTICE WILLIAM JOHNSON THE FIRST DISSENTER: THE CAREER AND CONSTITUTIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF A JEFFERSONIAN JUDGE. By *Donald G. Morgan*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xv, 326, \$6.50.) Johnson was a justice of the Supreme Court from 1804 to 1834, the period in which so many decisive decisions were taken in that body under the leadership of Marshall. In general, Johnson followed that leadership, but he was independent enough, although not the first dissenter, to wreck Marshall's effort to preserve the appearance in the Court of unanimity expressed through the chief justice, and he dissented more frequently than any other justice of the Marshall Court. Appointed as a staunch Republican, he upheld the doctrine of implied powers. A South Carolinian, he deprecated the hysteria over the Vesey slave insurrection, declared the act for imprisoning Negro seamen unconstitutional, and fought the Nullifiers. A nationalist, Johnson came to tolerate considerable autonomy for the states. It is Mr. Morgan's view that this toleration and other new directions in Johnson's thinking were inculcated in the judge by Jefferson, through a correspondence in 1822-1823. The author attributes much of his ultimate significance to a line of opinions that ranged Johnson on the side of those who feel that government, state or federal, may act for the welfare of the individual, and hence brought him a new vogue in our own generation. This thesis is not too clearly illustrated here, but then we are inclined to agree with the great Story that Johnson's opinions lacked precision and certainty. We are inclined also to agree on occasion with John Adams, who said Johnson was restless, turbulent, and hot-headed. Altogether a paradoxical and interesting person he was. Mr. Morgan, who is associate professor of political science in Mount Holyoke College, has made an admirable book of him. The research is close; the figure is reasonably alive for one whose papers are lost; and the ancient problem of organization is not badly handled. Our excessive concentration on Marshall is here corrected,

and we see a justice who disagreed with him, for example, in *his* excessive concentration on the sanctity of property. WILLIAM B. HAMILTON, *Duke University*

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE: DISCIPLE TO ADVANCING TRUTH. By *Arthur S. Bolster, Jr.* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1954, pp. xii, 373, \$4.50.) Of the Unitarian ministers of his day, none was better known than James Freeman Clarke (1810-1888). He wrote thirty-two books, nearly seventy-five pamphlets and tracts, and more than a thousand contributions to magazines, while for many years his sermons were regularly published in one of the Boston papers. But since he was less original than Emerson and less controversial than Parker, his career has been more quickly forgotten than theirs. Mr. Bolster's new biography is based on large quantities of personal papers, long forgotten and recently rediscovered; and within the limits the author set for himself it is a good piece of work. Yet it may be argued that those limits were far too narrow. If not a creative thinker, Clarke was still a representative one. His writings illustrate the growing influence of German thought and the process by which Transcendentalism was tamed and assimilated by Unitarianism. His *Ten Great Religions*, which went through many editions, stimulated interest in the new field of comparative religion. His confidence in "the progress of mankind onward and upward forever," against which our own generation has reacted sharply, was deeply rooted in the evolutionary optimism of the day. But Mr. Bolster makes only a gesture in the direction of analysis of Clarke's ideas—*Ten Great Religions* gets one sentence and *Self Culture* is not mentioned at all—and he does almost nothing to relate Clarke to the intellectual currents of his century. He has been so overwhelmed by the richness of detail concerning Clarke's external biography, yielded by the Clarke papers, that the drama of ideas has been neglected. In short, the most important part of the story remains untold. CONRAD WRIGHT, *Harvard Divinity School*

THE JOHN H. HAUBERG HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Compiled and Edited by *O. Fritiof Ander*. [Augustana Library Publications, No. 26.] (Rock Island, Ill., Denkmann Memorial Library, Augustana College, 1954, pp. xii, 70, \$2.50.) This little volume, under Fritiof Ander's competent editorship, is no conventional tribute to the zealous Illinois local historian whom it honors. His praise is sung, not in eulogy but through the quality of the half dozen essays that claim the pages of the book. Several are interpretations of wide interest, notably Paul Angle's appraisal of the significant contributions made in recent years by professional historians to understanding of "The Changing Lincoln," and Carl Wittke's sure-handed analysis of the impact of "The German Forty-eighters" upon American life. Alongside these interpretations is an account by Edward Everett Dale of "Pioneer Speech," presenting with the light Dalean touch many pungent and picturesque illustrations. In straightforward factual vein are Harry E. Pratt's narrative of "Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War" and Paul W. Gates's documented study of "Weyerhaeuser and Chippewa Logging History"—which incidentally notes the surprising omission from the *Dictionary of American Biography* of Frederick Weyerhaeuser. A brief and sensitively written profile of Mr. Hauberg by Conrad Bergendoff closes the volume. This book is a delight to read. I agree with Merle Curti, who in his foreword commends both the scholarship of the contributors and the "freshness and joyousness" of their writing.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN, *University of Minnesota*

AFTER SARATOGA: THE STORY OF THE CONVENTION ARMY. By *William M. Dabney*. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 6.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1954, pp. 90, \$1.00.) This volume fills a real

need. The fate of Burgoyne's troops after their general signed a "convention" with Gates, by which technically the army neither surrendered nor capitulated, has puzzled many people including professional historians. Except for an occasional article, fragmentary accounts in books, and one unpublished dissertation at the University of Michigan, the Convention Army has received scant attention. Now in a brief monograph that includes notes, an appendix, and a bibliography (but unfortunately no index), Mr. Dabney has made available the history of that army in its long march from the Hudson to Boston and thence to prison camp in Virginia. Congress ultimately repudiated the convention and permitted none of the troops to return to Europe until after the war. What happened in the interim to those officers and men, British and German, makes an intriguing story that is well told in this little gem of scholarship.

WILLARD M. WALLACE, *Wesleyan University*

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND HIS AMERICA. By *Harry Barnard*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1954, pp. 606, \$6.00.) Rutherford B. Hayes's reputation has suffered from political obscurity, the disputed presidential election of 1876, and lack of a critical appraisal of his career. Harry Barnard's biography, the first in almost a generation, seeks to correct these deficiencies but successfully meets only the last of them. In spite of Barnard's diligent research and excellent writing, Hayes remains almost as obscure as before. The chief reason for writing a life of Hayes is that he was President, and when the author devotes only 86 of the 523 pages of text to an analysis of Hayes's presidency he helps to foster the idea that Hayes was a colorless and mediocre chief executive. The author also fails to change the traditional view, of historians and laymen alike, that the four months of the disputed election outweighed the four years in the White House. On the contrary, Barnard lends credence again to this belief by devoting more space to the election than to the presidency. Barnard goes over the familiar explanations for Hayes's obscurity and difficulties—his own ambivalence, his concept of the presidency, the clouded conditions under which he entered the White House, and Democratic control of the Congress for most of his administration. In addition, and with considerable emphasis, he introduces a new explanation for Hayes's behavior: the psychological effect of his yearning for a father and of the purely feminine influence surrounding Hayes throughout his early and formative years. This psychological factor is also treated at greater length than the account of the presidential years. Mr. Barnard has given us a much-needed fresh interpretation of Hayes's career, but it is disappointing on a number of counts, only a few of which can be mentioned here. Barnard had a real opportunity to make a serious revision in American historiography when he came to the problem of the removal of the troops from the South. The public in 1877 and for many years to come linked the recall of the troops with part of an agreement that permitted Hayes to become President. While historians have had to revise their thinking on this score since the appearance of C. Vann Woodward's *Reunion and Reaction* in 1951, they have not yet been able to explain the reasons that prompted Hayes to take the troops out of the South, for the argument of the withholding of the army appropriations has not been any more valid than the bargain at Wormley's Hotel. In view of the fact that the explanations for Hayes's motives are to be found in the various sources used for this biography, it is regrettable that Barnard did not take the opportunity to clear up the matter. Two other faults mar Barnard's work. He relies too heavily upon Woodward's interpretation of the disputed election which overemphasizes the Texas Pacific "deal." Barnard also fails to come to grips with perhaps the most important aspect of Hayes's presidency—his attempt to create a strong and winning Republican party in the South. Hayes worked valiantly to ingratiate himself and the Republican party with

the white South, and his attempt reversed previous Republican policy in the South and inaugurated a series of efforts by Republican leaders to break up the Democratic South. The importance of this problem, then and now, would seem to justify a fuller and more adequate treatment than is here accorded it.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS, *University of Notre Dame*

BLACK MOSES: THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION. By *Edmund David Cronon*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 278, \$5.00.) Marcus Garvey, a pudgy black Jamaican, has been acclaimed as one of the three greatest Negro leaders in the United States. In this reviewer's judgment, Garvey exercised less influence on American Negroes but more on those in Africa, the West Indian colonies, and Latin America than did either Frederick Douglass or Booker T. Washington. Professor Cronon has very effectively integrated an objective appraisal of the man with the forces that made possible his meteoric rise and catastrophic fall. His main compulsion, perhaps—hatred of white and colored men—stemmed from the class and color inequities he witnessed in his native island, Central and South American countries, and the United States. It was made more consuming by the withering attacks of such light-colored intellectuals as W. E. B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson and of Robert S. Abbott, owner of the *Chicago Defender*. Garvey arrived in New York in 1916, an opportune time to launch his demagogic program of black chauvinism under his flamboyantly messianic leadership. Booker T. Washington had recently died. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League evoked little enthusiasm among the Negro masses. Increasingly large numbers of Negro migrants from the South found no utopia in the North. Race riots after the "war to make the world safe for democracy" increased Negro disillusionment and resentment. For some time Garvey filled the vacuum and stridently rode the crest of discontent. But his Universal Negro Improvement Association and his steamship companies foundered upon the shoals of his own incompetence in business affairs, his egomania, the incompetence and skullduggery of some of his associates, white and colored. His vision of himself as provisional president of Africa was naively premature. He nonetheless frightened the white world as no other Negro in the United States had done. In 1923 he was sentenced to prison for using the mails with fraudulent intent. Deported after his release in 1927, he never regained his pristine fame and glory. He died in England on June 10, 1940. He told a friend that "Mussolini copied Fascism from me but the Negro reactionaries sabotaged it" (p. 199). He opposed trade unions, publicly wooed the Ku Klux Klan, and favored Bilbo's plan for the deportation of American Negroes to Africa. In evaluating Garvey's role in engendering a powerful feeling of race pride, stimulating the Negro renaissance and current African nationalism, the author might well have given more consideration to the part played by the NAACP and the Pan African Congresses.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, *Howard University*

THE REPUTATION OF THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN. By *Sigmund Diamond*. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. 209, \$4.00.) Short-term changes in American attitudes toward business leaders appear to have depended largely on political reform movements or swings of the business cycle. But Mr. Diamond finds that, running through these fluctuations over the last century and a quarter, there were also long-term changes. His method of arriving at this conclusion was to read the obituary articles and editorial comments at the death of six very wealthy men: Stephen Girard, John Jacob Astor, Cornelius

Vanderbilt, J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and Henry Ford. For each of the first three millionaires, he examined between 166 and 248 newspapers and magazines; for the last three he was able to include more magazines and also trade-union publications and company house organs. In covering the death of Henry Ford Mr. Diamond looked at 672 publications of all these types. The most important conclusion from this broad research is that there has been a change from viewing outstanding business success as the result of the inner virtues of the individual to seeing it as inherent in our type of society. Hence to attack successful businessmen is to attack the American system. The entrepreneurs have, according to this argument, become like the emperors of Rome or the Tudor kings the leading symbols of patriotism. Girard's wealth, for example, was attributed primarily to his personal virtues of ability and hard work, Ford's to his being a normal American who seized opportunities open to all. There are some weaknesses in Mr. Diamond's type of evidence which could not be overcome. Most editors, being businessmen themselves, are not necessarily representative of public opinion regarding business. In the case of the first three millionaires, left-wing press opinion is lacking, whereas in that of the last three it is considerably used. In general, no typologies or formulas for classification of periodicals will hold over the 125-year period, and hence we are getting the opinions of editors and writers whose own position in society was continually changing. Less pervasive weaknesses are the lack of obituaries on any rich man between Vanderbilt in 1877 and J. Pierpont Morgan in 1913, and the occasional introduction of material not written at the time of the subject's death. But it is seldom that a historian can find a really defensible sample, or material that does not contain unmeasurable biases. Mr. Diamond has made an intelligent and well-written interpretation of his material as he found it. His book is a valuable addition to the increasing literature on the businessman in American culture.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE PARCHMENT PEACE: THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, 1921-1922. By *John Chalmers Vinson*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1955, pp. xi, 259, \$4.50.) The major contribution of this brief but interesting monograph is the further demonstration it provides of that unhappy alliance of idealism and irresponsibility that so generally marked the American approach to international affairs throughout the 1920's. For as Professor Vinson so clearly brings out, the Senate at this time—and it certainly reflected prevailing public opinion—hailed the Washington Conference treaties as an epochal contribution to world peace, and at the same time did everything possible in approving them to make assurance doubly sure that the United States assumed no obligations whatsoever for maintaining peace. Nothing could more aptly illustrate the vast changes that have marked American policy in recent years than a comparison of the current attitude toward international responsibilities and that shown toward "the parchment peace" of 1921-1922. What Professor Vinson has done, more specifically, is to trace the role of the Senate in helping to bring about the Washington Conference, analyze the views of its members toward disarmament and policy in eastern Asia, and discuss the debates on approval of the treaties. He has largely confined himself in treating of senatorial attitudes toward the conference results, however, to consideration of the Four Power Treaty. The core of this study, indeed, has already appeared in an article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (XXXIX [September, 1952], 303-14), and the new material in the monograph, generally dealing with the background of the disarmament movement, does not add greatly to what has already been published on this topic. Professor Vinson does not make any real attempt to con-

sider the Washington Conference as a whole, and both the Five Power and the Nine Power Treaty are almost ignored. Although from this point of view he has not completely fulfilled the promise of his title in the light of the close inter-relationship, so often asserted by the United States, of the Washington Conference treaties as a whole, one point may be made in his defense. It was the Four Power Treaty which led to the real debate over the political implications of the conference accords and became the principal point of attack for those bitter-end isolationists who continued to insist that the treaty was in fact an alliance and a dangerous restriction on the nation's freedom of action.

FOSTER RHEA DULLES, *Ohio State University*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A HAPPY LIBERAL: A BIOGRAPHY OF MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE. By *Kenneth E. Trombley*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954, pp. xvii, 270, \$4.00.) The subject of this biography, as an important conservationist, is fully aware and has many times proclaimed the necessity of preserving the topsoil, lest disastrous consequences follow. In the realm of preserving manuscripts and of carefully examining available materials, both Morris Llewellyn Cooke and the author, a journalist friend, appear to be guilty of poor "conservation" practices. Cooke apparently rarely kept correspondence, though he did collect published material by and about himself. The author, relying heavily on Cooke's memory through interviews and questionnaires, very superficially skims the surface of a constructive and important career. Morris Llewellyn Cooke, an engineer with a social conscience and a disciple of Frederick W. Taylor, the father of scientific management, started his public career on the municipal level as director of public works in 1912, fighting the privileged utility companies that were partially responsible for corruption in Philadelphia. His most recent accomplishment was in 1950 as chairman of President Truman's Water Resources Policy Commission (whose work and report are barely discussed). In between he held a variety of jobs. As a technically trained person who could think in terms of the public interest, Cooke has talents that progressive administrators on all governmental levels did not ignore. But his most important contribution was as a trouble shooter for F. D. R.—as the first director of the Rural Electrification Administration, as the author of several reports on conservation, as a member of small but important defense and wartime committees, and finally as a diplomat in Mexico and Brazil. A careful examination of his career could have cast much light on some of the inner recesses of the New Deal as well as directed attention to one of the more important, but sorely neglected, issues of recent American history—conservation. Though the author's confusion with the word "liberal" is readily apparent, and though he relies heavily on long quotes, the book is easily read. Neither footnotes nor a bibliography is provided.

RICHARD LOWITT, *Connecticut College*

ADMIRAL KIMMEL'S STORY. By *Husband E. Kimmel*. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1955, pp. xvi, 208, \$3.75.) As a poignant story of a sorely tried and shabbily treated public servant, this slender volume is of absorbing interest. As a new and arresting contribution to the question of the Pearl Harbor disaster, it is of little value to historians. Five of the nine chapters are taken almost verbatim from testimony offered to the joint congressional committee in January, 1946, and have long been in print. They deal with the material readiness of the Pacific Fleet in 1941, the orders and information given its commander, the significant data withheld from him, and the first investigations of his case. The remaining four chapters are concerned with the author's long fight to make public evidence that could not be released in wartime, with Admiral William H. Standley's scathing comments on the proceedings of the

Roberts Commission, with the letters of vilification and encouragement the admiral received after December 7, and with alleged prewar secret commitments in the Far East. Because its contents were written at different times and for different purposes, the book is repetitious and badly organized. Minor slips and unclear references abound. There is no index and no evidence Admiral Kimmel has studied the writings of other historians. He concentrates upon his problem and treats it in a vacuum. Admiral Kimmel believes that if he had known what officials in Washington had gleaned from decoded intercepts, the Japanese raiders would have been repulsed and perhaps defeated. Since his superiors were intelligent and normally communicative, he attributes their failure to keep him properly informed to some higher authority. He concludes that President Roosevelt was determined to enter the war through the Pacific backdoor, to maneuver Japan into firing the first shot; and, therefore, he purposely exposed Pearl Harbor to a successful attack. Like others who have reached the same conclusion, the admiral presents no evidence, only deductions. It is one thing to agree, as historians must, that Admiral Kimmel was made a scapegoat and that wartime necessities compelled him to undergo a deeply painful and largely undeserved punishment. It is something else again to regard him as the victim of a malign plot, hatched by those who, having tried vainly to goad Japan into war, intentionally jeopardized men, ships, and even the nation's security in the Pacific. This reviewer finished the book with respect for the author, sympathy for his ordeal, and regret that he had chosen to state his case in this way.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD, *Northwestern University*

HAWAII UNDER ARMY RULE. By J. Garner Anthony. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1955, pp. x, 203, \$5.00.) This is not a definitive work nor was it intended to be. The author, a Honolulu lawyer who was Territorial attorney general when Hawaii was under army rule, is frankly partisan. Inasmuch as his main theme, to which all else is subordinated, is whether military tribunals have the right to try civilians for offenses unrelated to military security, his primary concern is "The Hawaiian Judiciary under Army Rule." Though he points out that there was "never anything resembling disloyalty, civil disorder, or misconduct on the part of the civil population which justified the proclamation of martial law," his procedure is that of the advocate making the best possible case for his client—which is more often the courts than the people. At times Mr. Anthony is very persuasive and where he had personal knowledge of the events of which he writes he makes a definite contribution. But when he departs from his firsthand account of law enforcement, of military government in the courts and the cases where habeas corpus was at issue, he is often guilty of oversimplification and omission. There is no case for the opposition. Nevertheless, Mr. Anthony makes it possible for Americans to note how the army gained control in Hawaii and how that control was used—and abused. The military governor not only made the decrees, he interpreted and enforced them. Only after the war did the United States Supreme Court find that under the circumstances military trials of civilians had been unconstitutional. The author's dictum is that this may "serve as a warning for the future that the seizure of a civil government by the military authorities in the absence of invasion or rebellion will not receive the sanction of the highest court in the land." The book is not attractively made; most of the seventy-three pages of documents need a magnifying glass to read; the text is documented but there is no formal bibliography; and the three-page index is inadequate.

CHARLES H. HUNTER, *University of Hawaii*

LEYTE: THE RETURN TO THE PHILIPPINES. By *M. Hamlin Cannon*. [United States Army in World War II. The War in the Pacific, Volume V.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1954, pp. xvi, 420, \$6.75.) The battle for Leyte was won less than a week after the date originally scheduled for its beginning. December 20, 1944, was the day on General MacArthur's timetable for the assault to open. Moved ahead two months, largely on the advices of Admiral Nimitz' naval intelligence, American victory was so clearly established within sixty days that Japanese General Yamashita, commanding the 14th Area Army, notified 35th Army Commander Suzuki on Christmas Day that he had written off the Leyte campaign as a loss. Not only Leyte was lost, we know now, but Japan. Costly fighting was to continue in the Philippines. Iwo Jima was still to come, and bloody Okinawa, but in Tokyo the top imperial advisers were discussing ways and means to bring the war to a close. Six months later the emperor himself importuned the Soviet government as a neutral to receive a peace delegation headed by Prince Konoye. Moscow curtly declined and treacherously kept Japan's desperation a secret from the Allies, and so the end of the road opened by General MacArthur in the Philippines was not reached until Russia was astride the other end, with the blood money extracted at Yalta safely in pocket. Leyte, then, was the battle which won the war although not ending it. Actually it was more than a battle; it was a small war in itself. The naval phases—on the sea, under it, and above it—if ever detailed as comprehensively as Mr. Cannon presents the army's campaigns, would make a book of comparable size. It will be, however, a less arduous assignment than that of the author of *Leyte: The Return to the Philippines*, who has had to credit the parts played by armies, divisions, regiments, battalions, and companies of the contending forces. He has written factual history, not a military critique nor yet journalism, in text as concentrated and nutritious, albeit as flavorless, as emergency rations. This is a soldier's history, as, under the auspices, it should be. The historian's history of Leyte, which will have to describe and evaluate the interdependence not only of all the branches of the services employed but also of the dominant personalities involved, is yet to come and that probably not soon.

WALTER KARIG, *Alexandria, Virginia*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

KNICKERBOCKER BIRTHDAY: A SESQUI-CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1804-1954. By R. W. G. Vail, Director of the Society. (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1954, pp. xix, 547, \$6.00.) There is pride in these pages, a justifiable pride in the record of a great institution, a pride in the city of New York, a pride in the *noblesse* of the "rich, well-born and able," so many of whom have belonged to the New-York Historical Society. The early years are a familiar story: lack of money, lack of space, lack of public appreciation. Then after thirty-four years came the early moves to win public support: a lecture series, the local observance of the semicentennial of the Washington inaugural, sociables, great collectors, successful money raisers, and maturity for an institution which in its collections, in its six-hundred-odd publications, and in its recent wooing of the public—young as well as old—to its portals to learn of heritage, has contributed notably to the advancement and dissemination of American history, national as well as local. The author can write with power and effectiveness, as witness the opening passages of Pintard fantasy and the contemporary attestations to the soporific effects of mid-century lectures. Yet this book has curious features. It is hardly written in a vacuum, yet the attempts to place the development of the society in its historical setting produces a mere recitation of important but disconnected and unrelated events of national importance. In effect, at the beginning of every subchapter the reader is forced to inspect the potpourri of a good Victorian cabinet of historical curiosities. The author is well aware that individuals shape the history of any institution at any particular period. Yet his chosen organization of material, president by president, brings the narrative to a series of halts, grinding because they are for the most part artificial. Worse, it buries the contributions of other leaders on the board and, most importantly, those of the staff in utter obscurity. One gets the impression, jarred a bit by two specific credits to Mr. Vail's distinguished predecessor, that the presidents did all the work. One's curiosity is aroused by the fact that though the invalid octogenarian president, Albert Gallatin, was unable to attend many meetings, the society was greatly enriched in collections and exchequer and gained over 1000 new members during his seven-year administration. Yet, his teammates remain largely anonymous. The cozy atmosphere created by consistent use of the first person plural (and possessive) strengthens an early impression that the book is written for the members, not for the general public. Certain landmarks in the history of the society are themselves landmarks in the evolution of this type of institution. The remarkable publication program; the early trade of natural history specimens to the Lyceum of Natural History in return for the papers of the United States Military and Philosophical Society; the support given the appropriations which started O'Callaghan's *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, and the *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress*; the promotion of the idea which became the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the contributions of specialists like William Sawitzky, made their mark not only on the New-York Historical Society but on its sister institutions throughout the land. This is a happy addition to the small but growing shelf of histories of our major historical societies. When many more monographs have been added, some one will surely attempt a genuine assessment of the role of the historical society in American culture and intellectual history.

CLIFFORD L. LORD, *State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK CITY LEGISLATURE. By Frederick Shaw. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 581.] (New York, Columbia Uni-

versity Press, 1954, pp. vi, 300.) This work is essentially a study of an institution. It is useful as defining one of the pieces which comprise the municipal puzzle which is the great American city. The period covered is 1898-1949, or the first fifty years of Greater New York. For the most part it makes dismal reading. Until the advent of proportional representation in 1936 the role of the municipal legislature was largely perfunctory, the docile creature of the party machine. The important decisions were made either in the "invisible government" behind the scenes or by the mayor and the Board of Estimate. The typical alderman was a district politician, a henchman of the boss, whose function it was to keep the maximum number of voters in his bailiwick happy and loyal to the party. Some interesting data are presented to show how little the Board of Aldermen really influenced appropriations. With the coming of proportional representation in 1936, the caliber of the legislators improved greatly. Yet the really effective power remained as before—either with the mayor and Board of Estimate or the Democratic party machine. For brief periods the city council discussed and decided important issues. The larger constituencies and the lessened party machine control which accompanied proportional representation brought a considerable number of able persons into the council. But, as the author so well remarks, it is administration far more than legislation that determines the quality and achievements of a municipal government. The New York City Charter gave the mayor a great opportunity, and a mayor like La Guardia took full advantage of it. Even the basic financial responsibility for budget belonged to the mayor and the Board of Estimate. Within limits, the book is a workmanlike job. One could wish, though, for more of what light the author might have shed upon certain questions which have for many decades baffled students of municipal government. Why has the political machine persisted? Is the recent undeniable improvement in the tone and standards of municipal government attributable to a higher civic sense, to a better charter, to the imperious necessities of contemporary administrative problems, or to what? The more profound aspects of municipal history have been largely bypassed.

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH, *Library of Congress*

A HISTORY OF THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. By R. Gordon Hoxie, et al. [The Bicentennial History of Columbia University.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 326, \$4.50.) Writing the history of an educational unit which is itself part of a larger institution is a difficult task whether undertaken by a person or a group. It is still more difficult if the span of the writers' association with their assignment has been brief and the sources are necessarily college catalogues or trustees' minutes. To breathe the breath of life into that kind of material requires a magic touch given to few in any generation. The group of younger staff members who were assigned the task of writing the history of the departments that make up "The Faculty of Political Science" in Columbia University have done their conscientious best and the result shows a group of scholars in history, political science, economics, and allied departments that in consistent group eminence for the last half century can be matched by no other American university. Professor R. Gordon Hoxie, biographer of Professor John W. Burgess, is author of the historical survey from the beginning of the faculty by Professor Burgess in 1880 to the present. There can be only praise for the way he has discharged his task and paid overdue credit to the indomitable will and vision of this Civil War veteran. He uncovers in Samuel B. Ruggles that *rara avis*, a trustee who knew what it took to make Columbia a university and picked Burgess. He reveals a more than usually bull-headed law dean who had to be outlived. Later it helped mightily to have a president like Seth Low ready to use his private fortune

when the budget was tight. After Burgess as a builder I would rank Professor E. R. A. Seligman. This first section of 150 pages is really enough. The chapters on the several departments vary in merit and repeat, beginning always with Burgess. They could have been rigidly edited without loss. There is a table of the names of all who have served in the faculty of political science. It is a bead roll in the rise in America of history and the social sciences, in teaching, research, and service.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Washington, D. C.*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY: AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS. Edited by *William B. Hesseltine*. (Nashville, Tennessee Historical Commission, 1954, pp. xvi, 367, \$5.00.)

This volume will be welcomed by students of American history and by students of American historiography, for Dr. Ramsey not only made history as a leading citizen of East Tennessee for more than half a century but also found time to write a volume on the history of his state and to carry on an interesting correspondence with Lyman C. Draper, the founder of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. As a staunch Calvinist Dr. Ramsey had no place in his life for idleness; his days were full and his activities touched almost every phase of life including medicine, education, religion, agriculture, transportation, banking, politics, war, and literature. This volume throws light on all these topics but especially on the last two. The discussion of transportation will interest readers concerned with modern Tennessee Valley problems; they will find that many of these are old problems indeed. Unlike most East Tennesseans Dr. Ramsey was not a Unionist when the Civil War came; instead, as Professor Hesseltine points out in his preface, he was a Southern aristocrat bound to the land of Dixie by his politics, his economic interests, and "his whole emotional nature." Consequently he was bitterly critical of Yankees, both civilian and military. At the outbreak of the war he was appointed a Confederate treasury agent and over a four-year period disbursed some fifty million dollars for the Southern government. He also served as an army surgeon, and whenever his treasury duties permitted he cared for battle-wounded Confederates. The war brought grief and economic ruin to Dr. Ramsey and his family. Of two sons who fought in the Confederate army one was killed. "Mecklenburg," his plantation mansion at the headwaters of the Tennessee River, was burned, and eventually his wife and daughters fled from the state and found refuge in North Carolina. Not until 1872 did Dr. Ramsey and his family return to Knoxville. Professor Hesseltine has brought together in this volume valuable documents from two widely separated depositories. The autobiography, which brings Dr. Ramsey's life story to the year 1870, is from the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library in Knoxville. The letters to Draper, found in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, cover another decade and in addition supplement the autobiography at several important points. On the whole Professor Hesseltine has done an excellent piece of editing. He has furnished a stimulating preface and numerous explanatory notes. He has taken certain liberties in rearranging portions of the autobiography and in modernizing spelling and capitalization which clearly increase the readability of the volume. Some critics may disapprove these changes as undesirable alterations of original documents as well as of the portrait of Dr. Ramsey. The insertion of a

few dates would have helped the reader to keep the chronology straight and certainly a map would have been most welcome.

BRAINERD DYER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

CONFEDERATE LETTERS OF JOHN W. HAGAN. Edited by *Bell Irvin Wiley*, Professor of History, Emory University. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. 55, \$1.50.)

REBEL PRIVATE, FRONT AND REAR. By *William Andrew Fletcher*. With a Preface by *Bell Irvin Wiley*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1954, pp. xvii, 162, \$3.75.) These accounts by two Confederate infantrymen who fought at the front lines, one as a private and the other as a sergeant, afford the reader of general histories a different perspective of military events in the Civil War. Fletcher recalled his experiences some forty years after they occurred, while Hagan's story results from a chronological arrangement of some of his war letters to his wife and relatives. Although Fletcher saw more action while attached to the Fifth Texas Regiment, a part of Hood's famous Texas brigade, and later to the Eighth Texas Cavalry, he and Hagan, unknown to each other, shared in the Atlanta campaign. Hagan served with the Twenty-ninth Georgia Volunteer Infantry from the first year of the war, but his fighting was largely confined to the battles in this campaign. Both men were captured in 1864, but there the similarity in their experiences ends. Fletcher escaped and after great difficulty rejoined his unit to serve out the last days of the war with General Johnston. Hagan remained in prison until a month before Lee's surrender. Superficially the two men differed in background and character. Hagan, a farmer, married, father of one child, and a little older than Fletcher, was a sober individual who took his army and family responsibilities very seriously. Fletcher, a carpenter and single, seemed a little easier going. He fought with the *élan* and resourcefulness of a person who enjoys a good scrap. Fundamentally they were alike, for they both represented that hard core of resistance of the plain people of the South which explains much about the nature of the war. Optimistic, uncomplaining, and loyal, they fought the Yankee with surprisingly little rancor but with deadly efficiency. Though devoid of the literary qualities of Fletcher's memoirs, Hagan's letters furnish a truer index of a soldier's reactions to his experiences. EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

RECONSTRUCTION AT SEWANEE: THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH AND ITS FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1857-1872. By *Arthur Benjamin Chitty, Jr.* (Sewanee, Tenn., University Press, 1954, pp. 206.) Ante-bellum planning, announcements of program, hard-headed as well as idealistic educational thinking of Episcopal Bishops Otey, Polk, and Elliott, leading to the prospective founding of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee—all this was frustrated and delayed by the Civil War. The zeal and devotion of Bishop Quintard, "the refounder," saw the revival and actual opening of "Sewanee" in 1868; and for the next few years supported by the ten "owning dioceses" of the Episcopal Church in the South, the college and seminary prospered to a degree, despite unpropitious times for higher learning in the Reconstruction South and in the face of a financial struggle. Mr. Chitty has written a charming little account, sympathetic but not uncritical and fitted well into the larger regional and national picture, of the five influences (the Oxonian, the military, the classical, the Southern, and the Episcopal) which have shaped the modern "Sewanee."

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

- WEST TO OHIO. By *Alta Harvey Heiser*. (Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1954, pp. ix, 219, \$3.00.) This little volume tells a bit of the story of the early years of Cincinnati and environs, including Hamilton, with particular emphasis upon John Cleves Symmes and his son-in-law, William Henry Harrison, and their families. While the book lacks organization and apparent purpose, it contains important items of local social and economic history and a considerable amount of interesting family gossip.

JAMES H. RODABAUGH, *Ohio Historical Society*

HISTORY OF THE IRISH IN WISCONSIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By *Sister M. Justille McDonald*, of the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. ix, 324, \$3.50.) Despite the importance of the Irish in the history of American immigration, comparatively little of a scholarly nature is available for this significant segment of the American population. The present study, a doctoral dissertation of the Catholic University of America, is a sample of the kind of investigation which must be made for other areas before a definitive history of the Irish in America can be written. It is a thorough piece of work, loaded with facts drawn from newspapers, the papers of some of the leading political leaders of Wisconsin, and above all, from a painstaking analysis of the manuscript sources for the censuses from 1840 to 1870 to be found in the National Archives. The author is to be commended not only for her exhaustive study of population statistics but also for the scholarly caution and restraint which she shows in evaluating the influence of the Irish in Wisconsin. After a brief discussion of the causes of Irish immigration to Wisconsin, the author proceeds to a detailed study of Irish settlement, and the occupations of Irishmen, virtually township by township and county by county. First drawn to the frontier state by employment in the lead mines, on railroads, and in lumber camps, the Irish eventually became more permanent settlers in the rural areas and in the cities. In the rural sections, many of the Celts were slowly crowded out by the "peaceful penetration" of the Teutons. Excellent population maps and many pages of tables testify to a prodigious amount of research in the census records. Two chapters deal with the Irish in Wisconsin politics, and here one encounters the more familiar story of their allegiance to the Democratic party and the rather ineffective efforts of the Republicans to win their support. Both parties encountered the troublesome problem of nativism, and both played on Irish Anglophobia, on such issues as Fenianism, Home Rule, and the tariff, in their efforts to bait and hold Irish votes. The author's discussion, in this connection, of the many instances of friction between Irish and German Catholics, Lutherans and radical freethinkers is especially interesting, and shows that nationality, language, and religious issues were touchy problems for the leaders of both parties. The chapter on the religious and social life of the Wisconsin Irish reveals the close connection of practically all Irish activities—total abstinence societies, the Hibernians, literary, dramatic, musical, and benevolent organizations—with their church. The author discusses the relation of the schools question to the larger struggle over the "Americanization" of

the church in the United States. The line between public and parochial schools apparently was not so sharply drawn in earlier days, and some prominent Irish Catholics in Wisconsin defended the Bennett Law, which created such a furor in the early 1890's over private schools and the use of a foreign language for purposes of instruction.

CARL WITTKE, *Western Reserve University*

MATTHEW HALE CARPENTER: WEBSTER OF THE WEST. By *E. Bruce Thompson*, Professor of History in Baylor University. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, pp. viii, 335, \$4.50.) Most people know little, if anything, about Matt Carpenter. But during the Reconstruction era he was a conspicuous figure, especially so while representing Wisconsin in the United States Senate (1869-1875, 1879-1881). To resurrect the unruly and brilliant Carpenter from oblivion, Mr. Thompson was confronted with two distinct difficulties. They were the chore of excavating material, since Carpenter left no set of papers to posterity, and a problem in interpretation, for Carpenter was "one of the most perplexing figures in the reconstruction era." The author has proved equal to this double task. The result, especially in his treatment of Matt's senatorial career, is a well-documented, well-reasoned, and well-written book, a valuable addition to the Reconstruction picture. Young, Vermont-born (1824) Carpenter was already a well-trained lawyer when he arrived in Wisconsin in 1848. He began practice in Beloit but later moved to Milwaukee. By the time he entered the Senate (1869), his pleading before the United States Supreme Court had earned him recognition "as one of the most eminent constitutional lawyers in the nation." Although Carpenter became identified with the Radical Republicans, because he generally voted with them on strictly political matters, he often talked and voted like an old-time Democrat. At times he was a courageous battler for justice; at times he was an opportunist and an apologist for corruption. "He had no sense of mission; he lived in and for the present." But he did seem to be deeply devoted to the "present," in so far as it conformed to his legalistic interpretation of the Constitution. In the Senate Carpenter often utilized his remarkable oratorical and legal talents to defend "the antiquated doctrines of decentralization and strict construction." Though he was fighting a lost cause, his colleagues listened respectfully, recognizing a defense of the Constitution unsurpassed since the days of Calhoun and Webster.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL, *University of Maryland*

BUSINESS WITHOUT BOUNDARY: THE STORY OF GENERAL MILLS. By *James Gray*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. xiii, 343, \$4.75.) When executives of a business decide to have a history of their firm written, they have to make up their minds at the same time what sort of a reading public they want to reach. Should the projected history be produced for employees only or for employees, customers, and consumers of the firm's products? Should any attempt be made to produce a thorough, objective study that would help to answer questions asked by economic and business historians? Managers of General Mills apparently came to the conclusion that they wanted a semipopular book that would highlight the outstanding achievements of the corporation during the first twenty-five years of its existence (1928-1953). To write the history of their business they chose a professor of English at the University of Minnesota. James Gray has given General Mills men what they wanted. He has written a well-organized, clearly expressed exposition of the beginnings of the company and of its remarkable growth since its formation in 1928. The book is eminently readable, graced with many mellifluous phrases, especially in connection with characterizations of individuals. Seven chapters are devoted to the history of the Washburn-Crosby mills prior to 1928 and one to the other three

main entrants into General Mills, Inc. The remaining fourteen chapters deal with developments of the first quarter century of the large company. Those chapters include discussion of many subjects usually covered by the economic and business historian; advertising, research, depression policies, relations with the federal government in war and peace, employee relations, public relations, diversification of product, and changes in the organization of the firm all are accorded space. Effective illustrations enliven the text. There are no footnotes, though a three-page essay at the end of the book points to sources used and graciously gives thanks for help received by the author. Nevertheless, specialists in economic and business history, not to mention some of wider interests, will be disappointed in Professor Gray's book. The author is a narrator, not an analytical historian. Among the most effective chapters are those entitled "The Story of Wheaties" and "The Life and Times of Betty Crocker." Sections on employee relations and on organization of the firm are distinctly impressionistic. The research program of General Mills is discussed in thirty-two pages of informative prose, but the author gives inadequate recognition to the fact that emphasis on research has become quite common among American corporate enterprises. Financial policies are given almost no attention, and the student who desires tabulated data for drawing his own conclusions will find none whatever. In other words, though eminently readable, the book contributes much less than many readers might wish to an understanding of American business practices.

RALPH W. Hidy, *New York University*

OKLAHOMA: A HISTORY OF THE SOONER STATE. By *Edwin C. McReynolds*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. xii, 461, \$4.95.) This is another of the scholarly histories of the American states. It is intended to be a "brief yet reasonably comprehensive account" from the first explorers to 1953. It contains a good short bibliography.

INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE IN THE FAR WEST. By *Solomon Nunes Carvalho*. A Centenary Edition. Edited and with an Introduction by *Bertram Wallace Korn*. [The Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy.] (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954, pp. 328, \$4.50.) Since its first appearance ninety-eight years ago, the *Incidents* of Solomon Nunes Carvalho's journey, the only record of the last expedition of John C. Frémont in the Far West, has become one of the classics of American exploration. The diary of Carvalho and his letters to his wife are the sources of this narrative, which has been republished several times. This present edition is particularly attractive, and the informative biographical introduction by Bertram W. Korn gives it additional importance. A special merit is the inclusion of examples of the author's artistic pursuits—portraits and paintings—which are typical of the mid-nineteenth century style.

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER, *University of Arkansas*

BEYOND THE CROSS TIMBERS: THE TRAVELS OF RANDOLPH B. MARCY, 1812-1887. By *W. Eugene Hollon*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 270, \$4.00.) It seems strange that an army officer whose explorations in the trans-Mississippi West were so well known by the people of his generation should have failed to win a niche in history equal to Frémont or other explorers of the nineteenth century. This is further confounded by the fact that this officer, Randolph B. Marcy, was a prolific writer about his experiences and the West, having written three books and numerous articles. Two of his journals were edited by Grant Fore-

man and published under the titles of *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* and *Adventure on Red River*. It is Hollon's point of view that Marcy deserves better of history for his contributions. Marcy was the first to explore the headwaters of the Red and Wichita rivers, the first to prepare accurate maps of the region beyond the Cross Timbers in central Oklahoma, the first to write extensively about the Southwest, and the officer whose winter trip from Fort Bridger to New Mexico in 1857-1858 stands as one of the great feats of exploration and travel. His journals and reports still stand as the principal source materials on the Southwest before the Civil War. But this is more than a book to place Marcy in a better historical focus. It is a full biography of an officer in the era when poor pay, slow promotions, and long separation from the family characterized army life. In a half century of service, Marcy not only led five exploring expeditions but also accompanied the army to Utah in the Mormon "uprising," served as chief of staff to his son-in-law, General George McClellan, in the Civil War, and occupied numerous other posts that took him over most of the nation. This biography, based on family correspondence as well as the official records and characterized by excellent style and balance, is a worth-while contribution.

WALKER D. WYMAN, *Wisconsin State College, River Falls*

WESTWARD THE WAY: THE CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY AS SEEN BY ARTISTS AND WRITERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Edited by *Perry T. Rathbone*. (St. Louis, City Art Museum in collaboration with the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 1954, pp. 280, \$3.95.) This book was prepared, the introduction states, to honor an event of 150 years ago, the Louisiana Purchase, by selecting and interpreting pictures as "a visual-literary form"—whatever that may mean. The works of some 50 artists have been reproduced in 214 plates, 4 in color, the remainder in black and white, and small, about 3 by 5 inches being an average size. The illustrations have been selected apparently to depict life and its surroundings beyond the Mississippi from the time of the Louisiana Purchase until 1900. The "interpretation" consists in accompanying each plate with a brief contemporary quotation. In general the author of the quotation is not the artist represented by the accompanying picture. Many times little relevance exists between the illustration and the quotation. This book illustrates a point that the reviewer has been making now for some years, namely, that most historians, be they art historians or professional historians of other pedigree, have virtually no judgment when it comes to the use of pictures. Totally imaginary scenes are reproduced along with authentic eyewitness transcripts of events and scenes and no information is supplied to guide the reader in making a judgment. For example, the only picture to be reproduced in this book as a two-page spread (and in color) is Fanny Palmer's "Emigrants Crossing the Plains." It is doubtful if Fanny was ever west of the Hudson River, and the scene she depicts is totally imaginary and false; yet the claim is made that the artists whose work is reproduced were eyewitnesses to "the winning of the West." Although seven pages are devoted to "Biographies of the Artists," no sources of information upon which the biographies are based is given, an irritating omission as several artists are included about whom little is known. A "Catalogue" is supplied giving type, size, and owner of the picture reproduced. Even such information is open to suspicion. For example, plate 191 is called a lithograph on page 224, an engraving on page 270. As a matter of fact, the original was actually an engraving, probably based on a daguerreotype. One wonders, too, about the reliability of many other statements. For example, are the reproductions of the work of Samuel Seymour based on original water-colors or are they hand-colored copies of the black and white illus-

trations that appeared in the James account of the Long expedition? A particularly irritating feature of the book is the lack of an index.

ROBERT TAFT, *University of Kansas*

THE POINT LOMA COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA, 1897-1942: A THEOSOPHICAL EXPERIMENT. By *Emmett A. Greenwalt*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLVIII.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, pp. xii, 236, cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.75.) America's freedom of association, characteristic optimism, and capacity for organization have, under conditions of duress, provided fertile ground for the multiplication of strange sects and the spawning of utopian colonies. Between 1850 and 1950 there grew up at least seventeen utopian societies in California alone. Most historians have heard of Theosophy, if at all, only in connection with its support of Edward Bellamy's Nationalist Clubs. Of the Point Loma community itself there have been only a few brief accounts, the best previously being in R. V. Hine's *California's Utopian Colonies*. Now Professor Greenwalt has written a full and careful narrative of the career and contribution of this separatist branch of Theosophy. As a religion Theosophy is derived from Indian philosophy, spiritualism, and simple Christian ethics. At Point Loma the influence of Katherine Tingley, the colony's autocratic ruler, shaped the community in the direction of her own practical bent as a social worker and educator with a keen taste for music, drama, and horticulture. Professor Greenwalt tells the story in scrupulous detail with an orthodox "objectivity" which, though praiseworthy for its fairness, avoids clear resolution of some controversial questions that have stirred around the colony and its dominating high priestess, whose early instability and dubious claims to occult communication invite psychological inquiry. Nor do we learn much here about what kinds of people are drawn to Point Loma and why they come, or about the social relations within the colony. Historical comparisons with other communities are sketched rather than explored. Though a welcome contribution to knowledge, this study has earmarks of the conventional dissertation wherein ideas, interpretation, and style are sacrificed to "science." But, as Carl Becker used to say, the trouble with so many contributions to knowledge is that they are made by scholars who know too many of the right answers without knowing enough of the right questions.

CUSHING STROUT, *Yale University*

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Latin-American History

Rollie E. Poppino¹

GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. Number 17, 1951. Prepared by the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress. *Francisco Aguilera*, Editor; *Elsie Brown*, Acting Assistant Editor. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1954, pp. x, 305, \$8.50.) The seventeenth annual *Handbook of Latin American Studies* brings together all important bibliography published in 1951 relating to Latin America. A corps of forty-four specialists in the humanities and social sciences selected and annotated a total of 3,198 items, which are arranged topically with geographic subdivisions. This *Handbook* maintains a tradition of bibliographic excellence. The *Handbook*, like the *Writings on American History*, has always had to forego timeliness; it sometimes takes two or more years for Latin American publications, many of them issued by authors privately, to arrive in the United States. The three- or four-year gap occurring between publication of the *Handbook* and the date of issue of its items is especially unfortunate for a bibliography which has several sections devoted preponderantly to the current scene. Many items in such categories as "Government" and "Economics" are now too outdated to warrant attention. Indeed, from the

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

advanced viewpoint of four years, several items of continuing interest in these categories, e.g., C. H. Haring's analysis of the Brazilian presidential election of 1950, might more properly be placed in the category "Twentieth Century History." Perhaps the key to reconciling the dilemma of timeliness and definitive coverage lies in an innovation in this *Handbook*: the date of publication is now included in every citation. This device might be used to include, in a *Handbook* of a given year, citations of all important recent publications received during the preceding year—whatever the date of their publication. The subject index in the *Handbook* is a model of its kind. Mr. Francisco Aguilera and his assistant, Miss Elsie Brown, are to be congratulated on a meticulous job of editing.

JOHN FINAN, *Library of Congress*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

LA SOCIÉTÉ COLONIALE AUX XVII^e ET XVIII^e SIÈCLES. Volume II, LES COLONS DE SAINT-DOMINGUE ET LA RÉVOLUTION: ESSAI SUR LE CLUB MASSIAC (AOÛT 1789-AOÛT 1792). By *Gabriel Debien*. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 411.) Like previous works from the pen of Gabriel Debien, this study of Saint-Domingue and its relations with the mother country on the eve of and during the French Revolution is scholarly and interesting. Very little has been done in recent years in this field, and this book will prove a useful guide to other scholars. The Société correspondante des colons français de Saint-Domingue was a group of proprietors of plantations in the French part (west) of the island. Some of these men lived permanently, or for long periods, on their estates, others were absentee landlords who left their affairs in the island to overseers—in some cases mulattoes related by blood to their employers. The society came into being in France for the purpose of protecting their interests, since the Creoles felt that France was neglecting them in the interest of her other commerce. They sought a continuation of their lucrative trade with the North American mainland, in opposition to a French monopoly, and they also constituted the principal opposition to the propaganda of the Société des Amis des Noirs. They managed to exercise a considerable influence on the first two revolutionary assemblies. As the Revolution progressed, there were uprisings in the islands, and the influence of the club declined as that of the Amis des Noirs increased. It collapsed on August 16, 1792, as officers and members attempted to burn their papers, only to be stopped in the midst of the process by the arrival of the police. The club took its name from its meeting-place in the Hôtel Massiac, Place des Victoires. There the agents of the police confiscated such records as had not been burned and used them to assist in hunting down persons who had concealed other papers. Tragic as this was for the Creoles involved, it is fortunate for scholars of today. In the Archives nationales one may examine all that remains, little in comparison with what was lost but much compared to losses in other documents. The author has rendered a valuable service in his bibliographical introduction. He has listed the documents he used in the Archives nationales, not only the records of the Club Massiac but administrative papers of colonial assemblies and of the ministry for the colonies. He has indicated available sources in the Chambres de Commerce of the great seaport towns, especially La Rochelle and Bordeaux. And he has put at our disposal his unique acquaintance with papers in the possession of descendants of the great Creole families, many of whom loaned their archives to him for this study.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN, *Frederick, Maryland*

BIBLIOGRAFÍA MEXICANA DEL SIGLO XVI: CATÁLOGO RAZONADO DE LIBROS IMPRESOS EN MÉXICO DE 1539 A 1600, CON BIOGRAFÍAS DE AUTORES Y OTRAS ILLUSTRACIONES. By *Joaquín García Icazbalceta*. New Edition, by *Agustín Millares Carlo*. [Biblioteca Americana.] (Mexico, Fondo de cultura económica, 1954, pp. 581.) Researches in the history of early Mexican printing have for two generations depended upon García Icazbalceta's *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (1886) as a standard work of reference. Though outdated in detail and repeatedly shown to be incomplete, it has remained a monumental and comprehensive guide. Its compiler was the first in Latin America to adapt to Hispanic colonial materials the techniques and criteria of European bibliographical scholarship. García Icazbalceta's writing was always learned and urbane. His classic study of sixteenth-century Mexican bibliography now reappears in an improved and enlarged form. In the new edition the discoveries of José Toribio Medina, Nicolás León, Emilio Valtón,

Henry R. Wagner, Agustín Millarés Carlo, and others have been methodically incorporated. Some sixty titles have been added to the basic list of García Icazbalceta, the new material consisting mainly of short thesis publications of the 1580's and 1590's. The 1954 edition contains 150 illustrative plates as against the 50 of the edition of 1886 (not all of those 50 are included, however). García Icazbalceta's essays on medicine, silk culture, *auto da fe*, and other subjects—some tangential to the central theme—are retained, as are the important, and more germane, biographies of sixteenth-century writers. Where pertinent the entries are accompanied by statements on the present location of the particular copies cited by García Icazbalceta, and hundreds of additional notes embellish and modernize his earlier text. Appendixes list sixteenth-century publications mentioned in secondary references in the absence of known exemplars. An ample index greatly facilitates consultation. The edition is published in an issue of 2000 ordinary and 100 numbered copies, as compared with the original limited edition of 362. Exceptional care has been expended upon format: the volume is one of the handsomest products of Mexican publishing in recent years.

CHARLES GIBSON, *State University of Iowa*

THE CABILDO IN PERU UNDER THE HAPSBURGS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS AND POWER OF THE TOWN COUNCIL IN THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU, 1530-1700. By *John Preston Moore*. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 310, \$6.00.) This is an excellent work, based on extensive research in primary sources. Fundamental among them are the records of the town councils. Among these were the *libros del cabildo* of Quito and Guayaquil, of present-day Ecuador; of Lima, Arequipa, Trujillo, Jujuy, and Cuzco, of Peru; of Santiago, Chile; of Mendoza, Santiago del Estero, and Santa Fe, of Argentina; and of Montevideo, Uruguay. No mention is made in the preface of research in the countries which were parts of the former viceroyalty of Peru. However, such research, expensive and laborious as it would be, would probably have affected very little the findings of the work. The *cabildo*, or town council, was the sole institution of the Spanish system in the Americas where the inhabitants participated to any degree in their government, though participants in elections were rather scant in number. This study makes clear that the degree of democracy which actually did exist declined toward the conclusion of the period covered, the sale of offices being one of the means by which the alteration was effected. Moreover, the councils were seldom free from interference of the Spanish-appointed chief executive. The author states that the dominance of the aristocratic element in local affairs became more pronounced as time passed. It is made abundantly clear that "Love of representative government was not a feature of Hapsburg policy" (p. 122). As the functions of the *cabildo* were, in theory at least, broad, this study illustrates many features of the Spanish colonial system—relations between state and church, finances, land distribution, defense, trade, social welfare, Spanish-Indian relations, and many others. An entire chapter is devoted to the subject "Fiestas and Celebrations." The thoughtful reader will close this book with a feeling of amazement at the ignorance of economics and psychology which the Spanish government continually manifested in its relations with its American colonies. (He will also better understand some of the happenings in the "Good Neighbor" countries.) Says the author, "Surely the loyalty and attachment of the creoles to the mother country would have been far stronger had Spain sanctioned the survival of electoral liberties and rights on this primary stratum" (p. 281). In addition to excellence of content and organization, the author is to be congratulated on the quality of the English in which the book is written.

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

THE LIBERATORS OF MEXICO. By *John Anthony Caruso*. (New York, Pageant Press, 1954, pp. 342, \$4.50.) The author, associate professor of history at West Virginia University, has done a skillful job of relating the independence movement as seen in the lives of its three principal leaders, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Iturbide. It is a work reminiscent of the broader and older, but still useful, work of William Spence Robertson, *The Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of Their Liberators*, of which, incidentally, the author has made valuable use. In general, Professor Caruso has used the printed sources, both primary and secondary, to give a well-balanced account. He makes no claim to original research but has done a careful job, for the most part, in canvassing the state of our knowledge in respect to controversial questions, of which there are many, in the lives of these three Mexican liberators (e.g., the question of Morelos having been a student of Hidalgo). His book is judicious, free of prejudice in its evaluative comments, and generally well written. On the whole, it is a welcome addition to the list of good books in English for the serious general reader or student of Mexican history. But the reader finds, nevertheless, a considerable number of poor or awkward sentences that could have been improved by more careful editing. The sketch of Iturbide is somewhat less satisfactory than the others, partly, perhaps, because the author made no use of William Spence Robertson's *Iturbide* (1952).

HAROLD E. DAVIS, *American University*

JOSE AUGUSTÍN CABALLERO Y LOS ORIGENES DE LA CONCIENCIA CUBANA. By *Roberto Agramonte*. (Havana, Biblioteca del Departamento de Intercambio cultural, Universidad de la Habana, 1952, pp. x, 403.) Cuba completed its first half century as an independent state in 1952. Perhaps it is the consciousness of national youth that has recently motivated a number of Cuban writers to search for the intellectual and psychological origins of the Cuban nation and to try to define its characteristics. The nineteenth century in Cuba was one of political and intellectual turmoil during which an elite, as well prepared as their colleagues in the mother country,

debated and struggled to determine the future form of the Cuban state: whether it was to be independent, annexed to the United States, or an autonomous dominion of Spain. It was quite evident that this elite had attained its intellectual majority and no longer needed the tutelage of Spain. In fact, it saw that what it sought Spain itself did not have to give. It is necessary, therefore, to go farther back to find the precursors who enabled nineteenth-century Cubans to contend on such a high level of culture and political consciousness. Dr. Agramonte, as do most Cuban scholars, finds the principal intellectual liberator of Cuba in the Augustinian, Father José A. Caballero (1762-1835). Principally an analysis of Caballero's thought and influence, Agramonte's book is a thorough and documented work which does much to clarify the Cuban picture during the decades when the enlightenment of the eighteenth century reached Spain's American empire. Caballero, an able coadjutor of the liberal captain-general, Luis de las Casas, did much to close the intellectual gap between Cuba and Europe and to break down archaic colonial barriers to progress. As professor of philosophy in the Royal Seminary-College of San Carlos, his principal struggle was with the continuing effects of Scholasticism, but, as an active member of the Sociedad económica and collaborator in the *Papel periódico*, his influence extended to many other aspects of the island's life: public education, social customs and welfare, political institutions. Cuban-born, as were his parents, Caballero gave a local application to his writings that did much to awaken patriotism. Like the precursors of independence in other Spanish-American states, his personal influence shaped a number of leaders to continue his work. Father Félix Varela, who died in exile in Florida for his vigorous support of liberal ideas during the early nineteenth century, was his student; José de la Luz Caballero, his nephew whose education he personally directed, was Cuba's great educator during the nineteenth century. Agramonte not only traces the philosophical currents that Caballero caused to flow through Cuba (Locke, Descartes, etc.) but relates his efforts to the rest of Spanish America where a similar process of academic liberation was in progress. Ample footnotes make the book usable as a guide to any of the numerous topics treated. ROBERT E. McNICOLL, *Havana, Cuba*

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SOUTH AMERICA

THE SANTANDER REGIME IN GRAN COLOMBIA. By *David Bushnell*. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, No. 5.] (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1954, pp. ix, 381.) In brief, Professor Bushnell endeavors to set forth the main currents of Gran Colombian domestic history for the years 1821-1827. He employs a topical approach stressing politics and politicians, trade and economic developments, education, emancipation of the slaves, religion, the presence of the army and military claims, disaffection in Venezuela and Ecuador, and the Bolívar-Santander differences of 1826-1827. This "fairly broad though detailed survey of the domestic scene" (p. v) depicts the attempts of Francisco de Paula Santander and his liberal cohorts to enforce the constitution of 1821 and those laws which were designed to make of Colombia a nation. Custom, lack of experienced personnel, domestic and foreign debts, regionalism, corruption, caste, a large army, and the newly won freedoms of speech and press seemingly conspired to make difficult, and in many respects impossible, the transition from monarchy to republic. Patterns for future development, however, were formulated. Representative government, complete emancipation, a separate judiciary, tariff reduction, Indian tribute elimination, a public school system, foreign economic penetration, and state control of the church constituted some of the liberal measures of the day that were to mature in other years. No other work in English or Spanish transgresses this book. Its author is to be commended for his industry; yet the result is not without faults. Santander, his principal ministers of state, and congressional and departmental heads, with the exception of José Antonio Páez, lack character delineation. In a land and time when personality predominated, the men who were the regime are submerged in a welter of governmental and legislative mechanics. Moreover, the dominant figure of the period, Simón Bolívar, is relegated to the final chapters, although his influence permeated the entire Santander regime. By deliberate design neither the war for independence nor foreign relations are treated; therefore the major achievements of the regime—freedom from Spain and foreign recognition—are not recorded. Even though the volume "does not pretend to be a definitive treatment . . . or [a study] of the whole administration of Vice-President Santander" (p. v) these lacunae mar the interpretations and generalizations contained therein. The author has made frequent use of pamphlets, newspapers, and published laws and

decrees. His reliance on manuscripts from the Archivo del Congreso in Bogotá has hampered his efforts to clarify the workings of the government and led him to conclusions that might have been altered had he relied more heavily on the ministerial sources in the Archivo Nacional of Colombia.

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American Historical Association

The names of A. Paul Levack, professor of history at Fordham University, and Thomas P. Robinson, of New York University, were inadvertently omitted from the list of members of the local arrangements committee in the report of the December meeting of the American Historical Association which appeared in the April issue of the *Review*.

Joseph R. Barager has resigned and Rollie E. Poppino has succeeded him as compiler of the bibliographical lists for Latin-American history in the "Other Recent Publications."

Other Historical Activities

Significant additions have been made to the Naval Historical Foundation Collection, which is in the Library of Congress on long-term deposit. Included are some 6,000 papers of Captain Washington I. Chambers, pioneer in naval aviation, covering the period from 1872, when he was a student at the U. S. Naval Academy, to the time of his death in 1934; more than 3,000 papers of Admiral Charles O'Neil, chief of the Bureau of Ordnance during the Spanish-American War, which are composed of correspondence, scrapbooks, and forty volumes of his diaries covering the years 1872 to 1927; papers of Admiral Henry Clay Taylor which concern primarily the period 1897-99, while he was in command of the battleship *Indiana*; and seventeen diaries of Admiral Albert Gleaves, for the years 1902-36, during which he originated and developed the practice of fueling ships at sea, and organized and directed United States convoy operations in the Atlantic in World War I.

The Library's collections of material relating to American religious history have been enriched by a gift of about 12,000 papers of Charles Henry Brent, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. These papers, which include his diaries, memoirs, and sermons, as well as an extensive correspondence, cover the years 1890 to 1929. They reflect his work among the underprivileged when he was in charge of St. Stephen's Church in south Boston and during the time he was first missionary bishop to the Philippine Islands (1901-18), his service as chief of chaplains of the American Expeditionary Force in France during World War I, his work at various international opium conferences, and his accomplishments in the field of Christian unity.

Shortly before his death on December 3, 1954, Nelson Trusler Johnson presented to the Library a large group of his personal papers, covering his career in the foreign service from 1922 to 1937. During this period, Johnson served in the Far East on assignment to the Inspection District of Eastern Asia (1922-

25); in Washington as chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs (1925-27) and Assistant Secretary of State (1927-29); and again in the Far East, from 1930, as envoy extraordinary, minister plenipotentiary, and, finally, ambassador to China. His personal appraisals of the situation in the East up to mid-July, 1937, are contained in letters to Josephus Daniels, Stephen Duggan, Joseph C. Grew, Thomas Lamont, and others. It is hoped that additional Johnson papers will be received soon. The Library has also received a first installment of the papers of Stanley Washburn, author and newspaper correspondent, as a gift from Mrs. Washburn. This first group, which consists mainly of letters written by Washburn, will provide the student of recent history with a wide range of contemporary comment on events in Europe, and particularly in Russia, between 1914 and 1943.

A collection of records of the National Child Labor Committee and related materials was presented to the Library as part of the committee's fiftieth anniversary celebration. The gift includes minutes of meetings of the board of trustees, 1904-45; stenographic reports of proceedings of the committee's annual conferences, 1905-16; minutes of meetings, 1916-18, of the National Aid to Education Committee (organized in 1916 to promote federal aid to elementary education); and field notes and reports of field studies concerning child labor in many types of industry, among them, street trades, night messenger service, canneries, cotton mills, and tenement home work.

The May, 1955, issue of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains a comprehensive report on materials added to the holdings of the Manuscripts Division during calendar year 1954.

Among recent publications of the National Archives are *Federal Population Censuses, 1840-80: A Price List of Microfilm Copies of Original Schedules* and seven more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 76, *Records of United States Participation in International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions*, compiled by H. Stephen Helton; No. 77, *Records of the War Relocation Authority*, compiled by Estelle Rebec and Martin Rogin; No. 78, *Records of the National War Labor Board (World War II)*, compiled by Estelle Rebec; No. 79, *Records of the Commission of Fine Arts*, compiled by Richard S. Maxwell; No. 80, *Records of Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives relating to an Investigation of the War Department, 1934-36*, compiled by George P. Perros; No. 81, *Cartographic Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior*, compiled by Laura E. Kelsay; No. 82, *Records of the Bureau of the Second Assistant Postmaster General, 1814-1946*, compiled by Arthur Hecht. "Archival Principles: Selections from the Writings of Waldo Gifford Leland" is the title of a brochure issued by the National Archives as one of its Staff Information Papers (No. 20, March, 1955). It consists of excerpts from Dr. Leland's writings and speeches 1909-1921, and concludes with a postscript written by Dr. Leland in 1955.

The American Antiquarian Society has completed Evans' *American Bibliography* by the publication of Volume XIII carrying the work through the year

1800. Evans himself in his later years realized that the production of the American press in the nineteenth century had become so voluminous that it was no longer feasible to describe it with the thoroughness of his earlier volumes, an idea with which the present editors thoroughly concur. There is, however, a project afoot to fill the gap between Evans and Roorbach by a short-title catalogue.

A Bibliography on South American Economic Affairs: Articles in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals, compiled by Tom B. Jones, Elizabeth Anne Warburton, and Anne Kingsley, has recently appeared under the imprint of the University of Minnesota Press. In progress since 1948, the *Bibliography* contains 9,939 entries grouped under eleven major headings: South America, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Under each of the major headings are nine subheadings: agriculture (and grazing), commerce, communications, finance, immigration, industry, labor, mining, and transportation.

Parts of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, now housed at Whaddon Hall near Bletchley, Bucks, England, are being microfilmed by the General Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Since material after 1920 falls within the competence of the editors of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, the library's selections are being made from the period 1867-1920, a high proportion of which was not published in *Die Grosse Politik*. Documents filmed so far are in the Bismarck period, Anglo-German and German-American relations. They also include important areas of German internal relations and of relations with other countries including Russia and China. The files concerning Germany's relations with Russia, Austria, and Italy for the period 1867 to 1914 are being systematically screened and filmed. The Bancroft Library, research center of Western history and literature in the General Library, Berkeley, has participated in the program by microfilming important areas of German relations with Mexico and Central America. In May of 1954 the Bancroft Library began a project that will film all the materials in the volumes relating to South American countries listed in the *Altes Repertorium*. Copies of the microfilms made under both projects will be available from the Library Photographic Service, University of California, Berkeley 4, California.

A new edition of the political writings of Freiherr vom Stein will be published in 1957, the two hundredth anniversary of his birth. They will be edited by Erich Botzenhart, the editor of the first edition. Publication will be undertaken by Kohlhammer Verlag of Stuttgart.

The Columbia University Press recently announced plans to prepare and publish translations of many key documents of Oriental history hitherto available to only a few scholars. Publication will be made possible over a five-year period by a grant of \$100,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. The new series will be

under the editorship of the board, headed by Jacques Barzun, which for many years has supervised the publication of the well-known series of translations of historic Western documents, "Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies." The editorial policy of the Far Eastern series will be similar to that of the Western series: "to make accessible in English representative texts which may aid in an understanding of the past; through careful introductions and commentaries, to bring within the reach of the reader who is not a specialist the fruits of modern scholarship; and to furnish bibliographical guidance to those who may wish to push their studies further."

The secretary of state of Louisiana has initiated a survey of state and local records with a view to determining their condition, location, and availability. Professor Edwin Adams Davis of Louisiana State University has been designated chief consultant, and John C. L. Andreassen, once director of the Historical Records Survey in Louisiana and recently director of administration in the Library of Congress, has been named associate director.

The commission on research of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, 535 West 123d Street, New York 27, as part of its regular program, is compiling a continuing bibliography of social scientific studies in all aspects of American Jewish life. Scholars and communal agencies are requested to forward information about recent or current studies, published or unpublished.

Dr. Jennings B. Sanders of the U. S. Office of Education has recently published the paper he read at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Historical Association ("College Social Sciences: A Statistical Evaluation with Special Reference to History," *Higher Education*, April, 1955, pp. 109-13). According to Dr. Sanders, college enrollments in history in the spring term in 1954 totaled 448,000, about forty-three per cent of the number enrolled in economics, political science, sociology, and history. During the period from 1950 to 1954 as the college population decreased, history enrollments showed a decline of only about eight per cent while the declines in economics, political science, and sociology ran from twenty-five to thirty per cent. In the fall of 1954 about forty-one per cent of the history enrollment was in United States history, forty-nine per cent in European and English, and ten per cent in "other" (Latin American, etc.) history. When total enrollments were decreasing, from 1950 to 1953, there was a twenty-nine per cent decline in the number of bachelor's degrees in history (smaller decline than economics, but somewhat larger in percentage than sociology and political science). But a major problem will arise in 1956, when the great influx of students begins. If, in 1952-1953, 301 students completed their Ph.D.'s in history and if perhaps a quarter of them did not stay in teaching, then 600 or more could be needed in 1970, when enrollments might be doubled. (See also A.C.L.S. estimate, *AHR*, July, 1954, p. 1069.)

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its forty-eighth annual meeting at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis on April 28-30. At some thirty-four sessions historians from all over the country presented papers on many aspects of American history and on the teaching and writing of history. Walter Prescott Webb's presidential address, read at the annual dinner, was entitled "The Historical Seminar: Its Outer Shell and Inner Spirit." Officers elected for the coming year are Edward C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College, president; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, vice-president; James C. Olson continues as secretary-treasurer and William C. Binkley as managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

The Midwest Conference on Business History, sponsored by the School of Business Administration and the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Michigan, met in Ann Arbor November 20, 1954. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the teaching and writing of business history. One result of the meeting was the decision to prepare a brochure on the teaching of business history to be distributed to those interested. This project is under the direction of A. K. Steigerwalt, University of Michigan.

A European history breakfast conference will be held during the annual convention of the Southern Historical Association, Memphis, Tennessee, November 10, 1955. Anyone who teaches ancient, medieval, modern European, or English history in colleges and universities in the southern region of the United States, as well as graduate students in these fields, is invited to attend. European scholars who may be visiting in American institutions during the fall of 1955 are also invited. Those who plan to attend the conference are requested to notify John L. Snell, Tulane University, by October 10, 1955, so that final arrangements may be made.

Wendell Holmes Stephenson, professor of history in the University of Oregon, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History in March, 1955, at the Louisiana State University. His subject was "Pioneer Historians of the South."

Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University gave the Taft Memorial Lectures at the University of Cincinnati in February, 1955. His topic was "Savagery vs. Civilization in the Far West."

Just at the time when special efforts were being made at Cornell University to secure funds with which to publish results of current and recent research in the social sciences came announcement of an endowment of a quarter of a million dollars for the publication of "books or articles written by members of the University . . . in the field of liberal studies; history and political science, philosophy, language and literature. . . ." Upon the end of certain trusts the fund will be further augmented by half as much again. The Hull Publication Memorial

Fund was devised to the university by Miss Mary J. Hull, sister of Charles Henry Hull, professor of American history at Cornell from 1901 to 1931. Professor Hull was active in the American Historical Association over many years, as member of the Executive Council, the Winsor Prize Committee, the Program Committee and the Nominating Committee.

The University of Pennsylvania has received a grant of \$113,000 from the Richardson Foundation, Inc., Greensboro, North Carolina, for the establishment of a foreign policy research institute. The operations of the institute will be guided by a senior staff conference which will instruct a small research group consisting of post-graduate research associates and graduate fellows. The head of the institute will be Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and chairman of its graduate program in international relations.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation grants for 1955 have been awarded to the following scholars in history and related fields: Norman Francis Furniss, Colorado A. and M. College, History of the Mormon War, 1857-58; William Kendrick Pritchett, University of California, Berkeley, Ancient Greek battles and battlefields; James Frank Gilliam, State University of Iowa, The auxiliaries of the Roman imperial army; Shelby Foote, Memphis, Tennessee, The American Civil War as seen from the point of view of participants; Frank E. Vandiver, Washington University, The campaigns and life of General Stonewall Jackson; Stanley K. Hornbeck, Washington, D. C., Studies in the recent history of eastern Asia and of developments in the field of United States foreign relations and policy in the twentieth century; Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Catholic University of America, Relations between the Vatican and the Habsburg Monarchy; Goldwin Smith, Wayne University, Canadian reaction to the foreign policy of the United States, 1945-55; H. Duncan Hall, British Embassy, Washington, D. C., History of the British Commonwealth of Nations; Edward C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College, Attitudes and policies of the business community in the United States, 1860-1900; John M. Letiche, University of California, Berkeley, History of economic thought from mercantilism to laissez-faire; Warren C. Scoville, University of California, Los Angeles, History of the French Council of Trade; Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin, Legal and canonical influences upon the theory and practice of representative assemblies in the thirteenth century; A. Arthur Schiller, Columbia University, Development of the law of Rome into the law of the Roman Empire, in the period 117-235 A.D.; Brian Tierney, Catholic University of America, Ecclesiastical law in relation to the relief of poverty in the Middle Ages; John Frank Cady, Ohio University, Political history of Burma; Shou-yi Ch'en, Pomona College, History of early cultural relations between Asia and the West; John R. Alden, University of Nebraska, The South during the period of the American Revolution; Thomas B. Alexander, Georgia State Teachers College, Studies of the persistence of the principles of the American Whigs, 1860-1900;

Mary Wells Ashworth, Richmond, Virginia, The life and times of George Washington, in the period 1793-99; Eric F. Goldman, Princeton University, History of modern American isolationism; Bray Hammond, Washington, D.C., History of American banking from the time of the Civil War to the mid-1930's; Irene Dakin Paden, Alameda, California, Studies of the exploration and settlement of Oregon and California; George W. Pierson, Yale University, Studies of the effects on the American character of the migration of men and culture; Walter Prescott Webb, University of Texas, History of the American West; Arthur James O. Anderson, Museum of New Mexico, Studies of Aztec accounts of Spanish settlement in the Americas; Robert Cooper West, Louisiana State University, Historical-geographical studies of mining activities in central Mexico and Honduras during the early Spanish colonial period; Marie Boas, Brandeis University, Studies in the history of seventeenth-century chemistry, centered on the work of Robert Boyle; Gertrude Himmelfarb, London, England, The intellectual history of Darwin and Darwinism; Cyril Stanley Smith, University of Chicago, A historical study of the development of metallurgy; Glenn Allen Sonnedecker, University of Wisconsin, Studies of the influence of new drugs, found in the New World, upon European medicine and pharmacy; Ernest Samuels, Northwestern University, The life and times of Henry Adams; Kenneth John Conant, Harvard University, Studies of the Romanesque Abbey Church and Monastery of Cluny; Horst Woldemar Janson, New York University, History of art and artists of the Italian Renaissance; Yury Arbatsky, Newberry Library, Historical studies of music and musical instruments, from pre-Hellenic times to the fall of Constantinople; Noah Greenberg, New York, Medieval and Renaissance music and the traditions of its performance; Walter L. Woodfill, University of Delaware, Music and musicians in seventeenth-century England; Jacob J. Finkelstein, Yale University, Political and socio-economic conditions in the period preceding the fall of the first Babylonian Empire; Morton Smith, Brown University, Studies in the history of religions, in particular of the Eastern Church in the fourth century, A.D.; Josephine Waters Bennett, Hunter College, History of the Renaissance in England; H. Stuart Hughes, Stanford University, A study of the development of social and moral ideas in western Europe in the period 1890-1930; Wacław Lednicki, University of California, Berkeley, Cultural and political trends in Russia and Poland from the end of the nineteenth century to the independence of Poland; Gerhard S. Masur, Sweet Briar College, Intellectual history of Western man; Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, The life and times of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Tudor statesman; Detlev Walther Schumann, University of Illinois, French émigrés to Schleswig-Holstein; George E. Mylonas, Washington University, Excavations of the ancient Greek city of Eleusis; James H. Oliver, Johns Hopkins University, History of Athens under the rule of Rome.

In the last five years the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford

Foundation) has given 141 fellowships to college and university faculty members in history. Eighteen in history (out of a total for all fields of 138) have been awarded for 1955-56. These are: John Higham, Rutgers University; Richard Schlatter, Rutgers University; John B. Christopher, University of Rochester; James T. Liu, University of Pittsburgh; Emma Lou Thornbrough, Butler University; Leland P. Johnson, Drake University; Goldwin Smith, Wayne University; Glen R. Driscoll, University of South Dakota; Fred H. Harrington, University of Wisconsin; John A. Harrison, University of Florida; Harold A. Bierck, Jr., University of North Carolina; Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Vanderbilt University; Archibald R. Lewis, University of Texas; Stewart Oost, Southern Methodist University; Rodman W. Paul, California Institute of Technology; Edward Tannenbaum, Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College; William A. Williams, University of Oregon; and Scott H. Lytle, University of Washington.

The 1954 Bancroft Prizes, given annually by Columbia University "for distinguished writings in American history," have been awarded to Leonard D. White for *The Jacksonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1829-1861* (Macmillan) and Paul Horgan for *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* (Rinehart).

The Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography for 1954 went to Paul Horgan for his *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* and William S. White for his *The Taft Story*.

Conyers Read, professor emeritus in the University of Pennsylvania, won the Folger Library prize in the field of history for his book manuscript "Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth."

The Minnesota Historical Society has established the Solon J. Buck Award, to be granted each year to the author of the best article published in *Minnesota History*, the society's quarterly magazine, which was founded by Dr. Buck in 1915. The winner of the award for 1954 was Francis Paul Prucha, author of "Minnesota 100 Years Ago as Seen by Laurence Oliphant."

The winner of the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1955 was Dr. G. F. E. Rudé for his essay "The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims." Essays for the 1956 competition must be sent in by January 31, 1956. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.10.

Waldo G. Leland is engaged in preparing a brief biography of J. Franklin Jameson for Volume XXII of the *Dictionary of American Biography* and would be glad to hear from anyone who may have interesting and significant recollections of Dr. Jameson and his work. Letters may be addressed to 1219 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Edgar B. Wesley, as centennial historian of the National Education Association, 1857-1957, is eager to secure sidelights and anecdotes about well-known educators. Any help that *Review* readers give him will be gratefully received and discreetly utilized. His address is P.O. Box 1201, Los Altos, California.

The Asia Foundation is asking for books, especially textbooks, in the social sciences and humanities for distribution to Asian professors and students. Except for basic useful books, the date of printing is specified as after 1946. Those wishing to donate books should send them by the least expensive way to: Warehouse, The Asia Foundation, 21 Drumm Street, San Francisco, California. The Foundation, a private, non-profit organization with representatives in twelve countries, will pay the costs of transportation to Asia and distribute the books where they will be most helpful.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Margaret Buss Des Champs, assistant professor of history in Agnes Scott College, has been granted a fellowship by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., to study in Scotland in 1955-56.

Lowell Ragatz, on leave from the Ohio State University, is serving as visiting professor of history at the Australian National University in Canberra through December, 1955.

René Albrecht-Carrié has been promoted to professor of history in Barnard College and named chairman of the department.

The Brown University department of history announces that Donald H. Fleming has been promoted to a professorship, and David S. Lovejoy has been appointed assistant professor.

Raymond Walters will retire on September 1 after twenty-three years as president of the University of Cincinnati. Walter C. Langsam, now president of Gettysburg College, will succeed him.

Douglass Adair, presently associate professor of history in the College of William and Mary and editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, has accepted appointment as professor of American history in the Claremont Graduate School. His new duties begin in September.

Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, former minister of education in Pakistan, has been

¹ In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements.

appointed visiting professor of history in the Near and Middle East Institute of Columbia University.

The Council on Foreign Relations announces the appointment of Philip E. Mosely as director of studies and of John C. Campbell as director of political studies.

Ann Beck, formerly of the University of Connecticut, has been appointed associate professor of history in Detroit Institute of Technology.

Joseph C. Robert is resigning the presidency of Coker College to become president of Hampden-Sidney College on August 1.

Frank Freidel, formerly of Stanford University, has been appointed professor of history in Harvard University, effective July 1. He will be on leave of absence at Oxford during the coming year. Myron Gilmore has succeeded David Owen as chairman of the department of history at Harvard.

Clanton W. Williams has resigned his professorship in the University of Alabama to accept the post of vice-president in charge of academic affairs in the University of Houston.

In the department of history in Hunter College Abbie T. Scudi has been promoted to full professor, Thomas B. Davis, Jr., to associate professor, and Louis Hallgring, Jr., to assistant professor.

At La Sierra College, Arlington, California, Wilfred J. Airey is chairman of the division of social studies; Charles B. Hirsch has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science and named chairman of the newly formed department of social sciences; and Frederick G. Hoyt has been appointed instructor in history and sociology.

At Mercer University, Malcolm Lester, professor of history, has been appointed dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

A. C. Krey retired from the University of Minnesota in June. His successor is Robert S. Hoyt, formerly of the State University of Iowa.

Elmer Ellis has been named president of the University of Missouri. Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences since 1946, Dr. Ellis has been acting president since last September.

Lacey Baldwin Smith, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will go to Northwestern University in the fall as associate professor of history. Clarence L. Ver Steeg has been promoted to associate professor at Northwestern.

Albert Norman has been promoted to associate professor of history in Norwich University.

John E. Selby, formerly of Brown University, has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Oregon.

Kenneth M. Setton, professor of medieval history in Columbia University, has been named director of libraries, University of Pennsylvania.

Russell J. Ferguson has been named chairman of the department of history in the University of Pittsburgh.

John H. Gleason of Pomona College will be on sabbatical leave during the year 1955-56. He will go to England to carry on his study of the British justices of the peace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the department of history at Princeton University Eric Goldman has been promoted to professor and Robert A. Lively, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor.

William M. Pearce, chairman of the department of history in the Texas Technological College, has been appointed to a three-man advisory committee to assist in a cattle industry research study recently undertaken by the State Historical Society of Colorado and supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

A. Stanley Trickett, formerly president of Kansas Wesleyan University and professor of history, is now executive director of the Association of Non-Tax-Supported Colleges and Universities in Washington, Inc., Seattle.

Gabriel Jackson has left Goddard College to accept an instructorship in the department of history of Wellesley College.

Helen Adams Nutting has been promoted to associate professor of history in Wells College.

George L. Mosse left the State University of Iowa in June to become a member of the department of history of the University of Wisconsin.

RECENT DEATHS

Summerfield Baldwin III, chairman of the department of history in the University of Akron, died suddenly on January 15 at the age of fifty-eight. Dr. Baldwin received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1928, and taught at Seton College and at Western Reserve University before going to Akron in 1943. Among his publications are *The Organization of Medieval Christianity* (1929) and *Business in the Middle Ages* (1937).

Marie Goebel Kimball, member of a distinguished academic family, died in Philadelphia on March 2. She was graduated in 1911 from the University of Illinois, where her father was head of the Department of German. She married

M. Fiske Kimball in 1913 and began a long, happy, and mutually stimulating partnership. As wife of a brilliant and versatile teacher, architect, art historian, and museum director, Marie Kimball found in her husband's manifold interests and in his prideful confidence in her a never-failing stimulus to creative scholarship. As a Philadelphia hostess presiding with wit and charm over "Lemon Hill," Robert Morris' elegant seat on the Schuylkill, she made her dinners famous. Besides leaving her guests with the happiest of memories, she became an authority on French and American cuisine of the eighteenth century and—turning a chatelaine's duty into a historical adventure—published *Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book* in 1938 and *Martha Washington's Cook Book* in 1940. Her travels, research, and associations in the world of art, music, and history also resulted in some fiction and a large number of essays in the *North American Review*, the *Virginia Quarterly*, and other reviews. She also wrote for such popular journals as the *Saturday Evening Post*, whose stipends characteristically supported her favorite charities or her more serious scholarship. Her crowning achievement was her biography of Thomas Jefferson. The first volume, *Jefferson: The Road to Glory*, appeared in 1943; the second, *Jefferson: War and Peace*, in 1947; and the third, *Jefferson: The Scene of Europe*, in 1950. All of these were marked by fresh investigations of the sources and the last is the fullest and most authoritative account of Jefferson's years in France. This ambitious undertaking was carried forward with heroic courage in spite of the grave shadow hanging over her last years. Her friends and admirers will not be surprised to learn that her indomitable will carried her to the triumphant completion of a fourth and final volume.

Allan Chester Johnson, for thirty-seven years a member of the department of classics in Princeton University, died March 2 at the age of seventy-three. A native of Nova Scotia, Dr. Johnson graduated from Dalhousie University in Halifax in 1904 and received the Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University in 1909. After several years of research in Athens and a year of lecturing at the University of Alberta, he was called to Princeton in 1912. In 1923 he was appointed Musgrave professor of Latin and in 1943 Andrew Fleming West professor of classics. For many years he was a trustee, and from 1940 to 1945 the chairman, of the American Academy in Rome. He was also a member of the managing committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. He retired from teaching in 1949. Besides his contributions to many scholarly journals and his *Roman Egypt* (1936), he was co-author or editor of a number of works, including (with Louis C. West) *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (1944). He had been the general editor of the "Princeton University Studies in Papyrology" since 1934.

Elizabeth Donnan, professor of economics emeritus in Wellesley College, died in Washington on March 15. A native of Ohio she graduated from Cornell University in 1908, and in 1911 she became a member of John Franklin Jame-

son's staff of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, serving until 1919 as editorial assistant of the *American Historical Review*, and as compiler and editor of *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade [1544-1808]*, Volumes I-IV (Carnegie Institution, 1930-35). Upon retirement from her Wellesley professorship, she devoted her chief attention to selecting and editing; with the late Dr. Leo F. Stock, a large and representative collection of Jameson's letters which is shortly to be published by the American Philosophical Society. An interesting by-product of this labor was her article "A Nineteenth-Century Academic Cause Célèbre," printed in the *New England Quarterly* of March, 1952. This deals with the leadership of Jameson in 1897, then professor of history in Brown University, in the protests of faculty, alumni, and others to the Corporation of the university respecting its position on the resignation of President E. Benjamin Andrews, who had been an advocate of bimetallism in 1896. At the time of her death Miss Donnan was arranging the papers of Jameson, including a substantial part of the files of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, 1903-1928, for transfer to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

Justice Jesse C. Adkins, retired Washington jurist and professor of law, died March 28 at seventy-five. He was a life member of the American Historical Association, having been nominated by J. Franklin Jameson in 1927.

Rufus Kay Wyllys, chairman of the department of social studies at Arizona State College, Tempe, since 1930, died April 15. He was fifty-seven. Dr. Wyllys received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1929. Among his publications were *The French in Sonora* (1932), *Pioneer Padre: The Story of Father Kino* (1935), and *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State* (1950). He contributed reviews to this journal and had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1923.



Index

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume LX

The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks, except where they are listed under general headings. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R).

- Abdurrahman I. *See* Irving, T. B.
- Abernethy, T. P., "The Burr Conspiracy," 127; (R) 685.
- Ackerknecht, E. H., "Rudolf Virchow," 178; (R) 932.
- Adair, Douglass, (R) 214.
- Adams, Herbert Baxter, Prize, 751; Com. for 1955, 761; rep. of Com., 752.
- "Adams Federalists," by Dauer, 125.
- Adams Papers, 480.
- Adkins, J. C., deceased, 1036.
- Aduard, E. J. L. van, "Japan: From Surrender to Peace," 374.
- "Age of Absolutism, 1660-1815," by Beloff, 639.
- Agramonte, Roberto, "Jose Agustín Caballero y los orígenes de la conciencia cubana," 1013.
- Agriculture: Fite, George N. Peck and the Fight for Farm Parity, 136; House, ed., Planter Management and Capitalism in Antebellum Georgia: The Jour. of Hugh Fraser Grant, Ricegrower, 385; Range, A Century of Georgia Agric., 216.
- Aguilera, Francisco, (ed.) "Handbook of Latin American Studies," 1951, 1008.
- Aitken, H. G. J., "The Welland Canal Company," 413.
- "Alaska, The State of," by Gruening, 926.
- Albion, R. G., (R) 157.
- Albrecht-Carrié, René. *See* Carrié, René Albrecht.
- Alden, J. R., "The Am. Revolution, 1775-83," 118; (R) 684.
- Alexander, Enid, "Morris Alexander," 163.
- Alexander, H. B., "The World's Rim: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians," 446.
- Alexander, Morris, by Alexander, 163.
- Alexander, P. J., (R) 594.
- "Alexandra," by Tisdall, 162.
- Allen, G. C., "Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Econ. Development: China and Japan," 439.
- Allen, Walter, Jr., (R) 147.
- "Alliance russo-turque au milieu des guerres napoléoniennes," by Mouravieff, 934.
- "Amalaricus of Metz," by Cabaniss, 943.
- "Ambassadors and Secret Agents," by Cobban, 426.
- "Ambassadors in Arms," by Murphy, 692.
- Ambler, C. H., "Waitman Thomas Willey, Orator, Churchman, Humanitarian: Together with a Hist. of Wesley Methodist Church, Morgantown, W. Va.," 459; (R) 698.
- "American Business Corporations until 1860," by Dodd, 620.
- "American Businessman, The Reputation of the," by Diamond, 986.
- American Council of Learned Societies, 754.
- "American Demagogues," by Luthin, 632.
- American Historical Association: annual dinner, 1954, 750; annual meeting, 1954, 720-51; annual meeting, 1955, 766; award of prizes, 751; business meeting, 1954, 764-66; committees for 1955, 760-62; council meeting, 1954, 759-64; job register, 766; rep. of Exec. Secretary and Managing Ed. for 1954, 751-59.
- American Historical Review, 758; new member of Bd. of Eds., 763.

- American history: Book reviews, 115-39, 378-97; 614-36, 906-30. *See also* Latin-American history; United States history.
- "American Hist., The Writing of," by Kraus, 445.
- "American Industrial Science, Hist. of," by Hall, 199.
- "American Painting," by Flexner, 616.
- "American People in the 20th Cent.," by Handlin, 631.
- American Revolutionary War: Alden, *The Am. Rev.*, 1775-83, 118; Dabney, *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army*, 984; Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the Am. Rev.*, 908; Gipson, *The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-75*, 614; Johnson, *Swedish Contributions to Am. Freedom, 1775-83*, I, 120; Malone, *The Story of the Declaration of Independence*, 684; Ritcheson, *British Politics and the Am. Rev.*, 354; Taylor, *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution*, 210; Toles, *The Am. Rev. Considered as a Social Movement: A Re-evaluation*, 1-12; Wallace, *Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold*, 121; Willcox, ed., *The Am. Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-82*, 982.
- "American Scholarship in the 20th Cent.," ed. by Curti, 378.
- Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley*, by Fine, 777-99.
- Ancient history: Book reviews, 71-72, 344-45, 583-85, 863-70; notices and lists of articles, 144-51, 401-406, 643-47, 937-43.
- "Ancient Hist. of Western Asia, India, and Crete," by Hrozný, 144.
- "Ancient Science and Modern Civilization," by Sarton, 583.
- Ander, O. F., (ed.) "The John H. Hauberg Hist. Essays," 984; (R) 690.
- Andersen, T. A., "A Century of Banking in Wisconsin," 463.
- Anderson, E. N., "The Social and Political Conflict in Prussia, 1858-64," 891; (R) 360, 580, 860.
- Anderson, G. W., (R) 62.
- Andressohn, J. C., (R) 152.
- "Anglican Church in New Jersey," by Burr, 695.
- Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 483.
- Angus, H. F., "Canada and the Far East, 1940-53," 192.
- "Anschluss" of 1938, *The Policy of England and France toward the*, by Wathen, 642.
- Anthony, J. G., "Hawaii under Army Rule," 989.
- Anthony, Katharine, "Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal Hist. and Her Era," 689.
- "Apokrimata: Decisions of Septimius Severus on Legal Matters," by Westermann, 937.
- Appointments and staff changes, 249, 485, 771, 1032.
- "Arab World," by Izzeddin, 974.
- "Aramaic Papyri, The Brooklyn Museum," ed. by Kraeling, 401.
- Arberry, A. J., (ed.) "The Legacy of Persia," 578.
- Archives. *See* Libraries and archives.
- "Archivkunde," by Brenneke, 637.
- "Arid Domain," by Greever, 464.
- "Arkansas, The Territory of," Vol. XX of "The Terr. Papers of the U.S.," ed. by Carter, 464.
- "Army, The Historian and the," by Greenfield, 204.
- Arnold, Benedict, by Wallace, 121.
- Aron, Raymond, "The Century of Total War," 68.
- Aron, Robert, "Histoire de Vichy, 1940-44," 889.
- Art and archaeology: Crozet, *La vie artistique en France au xvii^e siècle (1598-1661)*, 657; Flexner, *Am. Painting: The Light of Distant Skies, 1760-1835*, 616; Idzerda, *Iconoclasm during the French Revolution*, 13-26; Larkin, Samuel F. B. Morse and Am. Democratic Art, 451; Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship*, 178.
- Artz, F. B., "The Mind of the Middle Ages, A.D. 200-1500," 72; (R) 579.
- Asia, Eastern: Notices and lists of articles, 439-43, 677-81, 975-79.
- Asia, Southern: Notices and lists of articles, 444-45, 681-83, 979-81.
- "Astrology in Roman Law and Politics," by Cramer, 584.
- Atelier. *See* Cuvillier, Armand.
- Atherton, Lewis, "Main Street on the Middle Border," 625; (R) 462.

- Atkin, Edmund, Report. *See* Jacobs, W. R.
 Atkinson, J. H., (R) 464.
 Ault, W. O., (R) 406.
 Australia. *See* Hasluck, Paul.
 "Austria, The Rebirth of," by Hiscocks, 179.
 "Austria e la questione romana dalla rivoluzione di luglio alla fine della conferenza diplomatica romana," by Nada, 181.
 Awards: Alexander Prize, 1031; A. H. A., 751; Bancroft Prizes, 1031; Beveridge, 478; Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize, 771; Cultural Freedom Award, 248; Folger Library, 1031; Fund for Advancement of Educ., 247, 1030; Guggenheim, 1029; Institute of Early Am. Hist. and Culture, 248; John Gilmory Shea Prize, 771; Mexico-United States Commission on Cultural Cooperation, 248; Minnesota Hist. Soc., 1031; Pulitzer Prizes, 1031; Rockefeller Foundation, 247; Social Science Research Council, 248.
 Aydelotte, W. O., (R) 161.
 Babinger, Franz, "Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit," 348.
 "Babylon and Assyria, Everyday Life in," by Contenau, 344.
 Bagby, W. M., *Woodrow Wilson, a Third Term, and the Solemn Referendum*, 567-75.
 Bailkey, N. M., (R) 144, 145, 344.
 Bailly, Jean-Sylvain, by Smith, 658.
 Bainton, R. H., (R) 664, 964.
 Bald, F. C., "Michigan in 4 Centuries," 463.
 Baldwin, Summerfield, III, deceased, 1034.
 "Baltic Crisis of 1683, Louis XIV, William III, and the," by Lossky, 933.
 "Baltic Question, The Rise of the," by Kirchner, 103.
 "Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860," by Semmes, 213.
 "Baltische Geschichte," by Wittram, 609.
 Bancroft Prizes, 1031.
 "Bank, Biog. of a," by James and James, 221.
 Barager, J. R., lists of articles, 224-27, 466-72, 708-13.
 Bardolph, Richard, *The Distinguished Negro in America, 1770-1936*, 527-47.
 Barié, Ottavio, "Idee e dottrine imperialistiche nell'Inghilterra vittoriana," 161.
 Barker, C. A., (R) 921.
 Barker, Ernest, "Age and Youth: Memories of 3 Universities and Father of the Man," 951.
 Barnard, Harry, "Rutherford B. Hayes and His America," 985.
 Barnes, D. G., (R) 190.
 Barnhart, E. N., *et al.*, "Prejudice, War, and the Constitution," 925.
 Barnhart, J. D., "Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818," 383; (R) 701.
 Barnouw, A. J., (R) 883.
 Baron, S. H., (R) 673.
 Barzun, Jacques, (R) 631.
 Basler, R. P., (R) 197.
 Bassett, Marnie, "The Hentys: An Australian Colonial Tapestry," 414.
 Bates, J. L., *The Teapot Dome Scandal and the Election of 1924*, 303-22.
 Batten, J. M., deceased, 256.
 Battistini, L. H., "Japan and America," 439.
 "Battle Cry of Freedom," by Johnson, 702.
 Beale, H. K., (ed.) "Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal," 116; (R) 453, 918.
 Beall, O. T., Jr., and Shryock, R. H., "Cotton Mather," 382.
 "Beard, Charles A.: An Appraisal," ed. by Beale, 116.
 Beard, Charles Austin, Memorial Prize, 771.
 Beauregard, E. E., (R) 154.
 Beck, Richard, (R) 153.
 Becker, Otto, *Festschrift*, 963.
 Beer, George Louis, Prize, 751; Com. for 1955, 761.
 "Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture," by McDonnell, 877.
 "Belinski, Vissarion, 1811-48," by Bowman, 972.
 Bell, H. I., "Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt," 145.
 Beloff, Max, "The Age of Absolutism, 1660-1815," 639.
 Benns, F. L., (R) 642.
 "Bernardo, S.: pubblicazione commemorativa nell'VIII centenario della sua morte," 647.
 Bernstein, M. D., (R) 202.
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 Donnan, Elizabeth, communication, 496; deceased, 1035.
 Dorris, J. T., "Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson," 196.
 Douglas, Donald, "The Huguenot," 209.
 Douglass, E. P., "Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the Am. Rev.," 908.
 Dowd, D. L., (R) 87.
 Downey, G., (R) 146.
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 Draper, Lyman Copeland, by Hesselstine, 133.
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 Drummond, D. F., (R) 400.
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 Dulles, F. R., (R) 372, 987.
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 Dumbauld, Edward, (R) 620.
 Dunham, A. L., (R) 167.
 Dunning, John H., Prize, 751; Com. for 1955, 761; rep. of Com., 753.
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 Earle, E. M., deceased, 256.
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- Edinger, L. J., (R) 965.
- Editor's notes, 257, 499.
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- Ehrenberg, Victor, "*Sophocles and Pericles*," 146.
- Ellsworth, C. S., (R) 702.
- Emerson, D. E., (R) 142.
- Emerson, Rupert, (R) 681.
- Emmitt, Robert, "*The Last War Trail: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado*," 704.
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- Engel-Janosi, Friedrich, (R) 605.
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- Evans, Cerinda E., "*Collis Potter Huntington*," 220.
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- Fairchild, Byron, "*Messrs. William Pepperrell*," 118.
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- Fay, S. B., (R) 89.
- "*Febvre, Lucien, Hommage à*," 577.
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- Felling, Keith, "Warren Hastings," 903.
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- Fellowships. *See* Awards.
- Ferguson, W. K., (R) 349.
- Ferguson, W. S., deceased, 253.
- Fernald, Charles. *See* Rogers, Cameron.
- Ferrara, Orestes, "Le xvi^e siècle vu par les ambassadeurs vénitiens," 140.
- Field, J. A., Jr., (R) 630.
- Filler, Louis, (R) 699.
- Finan, John, (R) 1008.
- Fine, Sidney, *Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley*, 777-99.
- Fink, H. S., (R) 943.
- Fischel, W. J., (R) 578, 974.
- Fisher, M. M., "Negro Slave Songs in the U. S.," 386.
- Fisher, R. H., (R) 107.
- Fisher, S. N., (R) 348.
- Fishwick, M. W., "American Heroes: Myth and Reality," 683.
- Fite, G. C., "George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Parity," 136.
- Fleming, Donald, "William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine," 914.
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- Foster, Sir Augustus John. *See* Davis, R. B.
- "Founding Fathers," by Schachner, 124.
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- Frantz, J. B., (R) 220.
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- Furniss, N. F., "The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-31," 204.
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- Gershoy, Leo, (R) 577.
- Gerson, L. L., "Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland, 1914-20," 203.
- Gibson, Charles, (R) 467, 1010.
- Gilbert, Felix, (R) 338.
- Gilbert, William, (R) 60.
- Gilkey, G. W., (R) 178.
- Gipson, L. H., "The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-75," 614; "The Great War for the Empire: The Culmination, 1760-63," 596.
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- Gooch, G. P., "Catherine the Great and Other Studies," 141.
- "Gorges of Plymouth Fort," by Preston, 209.
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- Govan, T. P., (R) 621.
- Graff, H. F., (R) 925.

- Graham, G. S., (ed.) "The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711," 413.
- Grant, Michael, "Roman Imperial Money," 643.
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- Grants. *See* Awards.
- Graves, E. B., (R) 870.
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- "Greece, British Policy towards the Change of Dynasty in," by Prevelakis, 437.
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- Greeley, Horace, by Van Deusen, 129.
- Green, Constance McL., (R) 950.
- Green, F. M., (R) 388.
- Greenbaum, L. S., (R) 658.
- Greenfield, K. R., "The Historian and the Army," 204; (R) 857.
- Greenlee, J. A., (R) 414.
- Greenwalt, E. A., "The Point Loma Community in California, 1897-1942," 1006.
- Greer, T. H., (R) 923.
- Greever, W. S., "Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant," 464.
- Gregg, Josiah, "Commerce of the Prairies," 462.
- Grenier, Fernand, (ed.) "Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents concernant le conflit anglo-français sur l'Ohio de 1745 à 1756," 193.
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- Griewank, Karl, "Der Wiener Kongress und die europäische Restauration 1814-15," 142.
- Griffin, C. C., (R) 634.
- Griffith, E. S., (R) 995.
- Griffiths, Gordon, "William of Hornes, Lord of Hèze, and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1576-80," 961; (R) 161.
- Grimm, H. J., (R) 651.
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- Grossmann, Walter, (R) 638.
- Groves, H. M., (R) 392.
- Gruening, Ernest, "The State of Alaska," 926.
- Gruhle, H. W., "Geschichtsschreibung und Psychologie," 638.
- Guggenheim fellowships, 1029.
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- Gurian, Waldemar, deceased, 255.
- Hackett, R. F., (R) 114.
- Hafen, LeR. R., (R) 220, 704; *id.* and Hafen, Ann W., "Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fé to Los Angeles," 704.
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- Hall, J. W., (R) 439.
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- Halperin, S. W., (R) 361.
- Hamer, P. M., (R) 447.
- Hamerow, T. S., *History and the German Revolution of 1848*, 27-44.
- Hamilton, Holman, (R) 623, 912.
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- Hamilton, W. B., (R) 983.
- Hammer, Ellen J., "The Struggle for Indochina," 376.
- Hammond, G. P., (R) 704.
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- Hammond, Mason, (R) 71, 939.
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 Handlin, Oscar, "The Am. People in the 20th Cent.," 631; (R) 445; *id.*, *et al.*, "Harvard Guide to Am. Hist.," 115.
 Hanna, P. L., (R) 162.
 Harris, David, *Eur. Liberalism in the 19th Cent.*, 501-26.
 Harris, J. P., "The Advice and Consent of the Senate," 395.
 Harrison, Brian, "South-east Asia," 681.
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 Haskett, R. C., (R) 129.
 Hasluck, Paul, "The Government and the People, 1939-41 [Australia]," 377.
 Hastings, Margaret, (R) 346.
 Hastings, Warren, by Feiling, 903.
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 Hawkinson, Ella A., deceased, 253.
 Hayek, F. A., (ed.) "Capitalism and the Historians," 64.
 Hayes, C. J. H., "Christianity and Western Civilization," 931.
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 Haywood, R. M., (R) 403.
 Hazard, Paul, "Eur. Thought in the 18th Cent.," 599.
 Heaton, Herbert, (R) 399.
 Heckscher, E. F., "An Economic Hist. of Sweden," 895.
 Hedges, J. B., (R) 464.
 Heer, Friedrich, "Europäische Geistesgeschichte," 856.
 Heiser, A. H., "West to Ohio," 1002.
 Helbling, Hanno, "Goten und Wandalen," 638.
 Helmreich, E. C., (R) 369.
 Henderson, W. O., "Britain and Industrial Europe, 1750-1870," 399.
 "Hentys," by Bassett, 414.
 "Heroes, American," by Fishwick, 683.
 Herre, Paul, "Kronprinz Wilhelm: seine Rolle in der deutschen Politik," 432.
 Herrick, Jane, "The Hist. Thought of Fustel de Coulanges," 933.
 Herriott, J. H., (R) 600.
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 Hertzman, Lewis, (R) 431.
 Hesseltine, W. B., (ed.) "Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiog. and Letters," 998; "Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper," 133; (R) 687.
 Hexter, J. H., (R) 411.
 "Hèze, William of Hornes, Lord of, and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1576-80," by Griffiths, 961.
 Hidy, R. W., (R) 160, 1003.
 Higgins, E. L., (R) 956.
 Highet, Gilbert, "Juvenal the Satirist," 869.
 Hill, H. B., (R) 658.
 Hill, J. D., (R) 205.
 Hill, L. F., (R) 470.
 "Hindenburg," by Görnitz, 892.
 Hinrichs, Carl, "Ranke und die Geschichtstheologie der Goethezeit," 855.
 Hirst, L. F., "The Conquest of Plague," 62.
 Hiscocks, Richard, "The Rebirth of Austria," 179.
 "Historian and the Army," by Greenfield, 204.
 "Historians, Books, and Libraries," by Shera, 637.
 Historians and the Federal Government, Com. for 1955, 761.
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- Hitler, Adolf: *Taxpayer*, by Hale, 830-42.
- Ho, Ping-ti, (R) 192.
- Hobbs, Cecil, lists of articles, 682-83, 979-81.
- Hofer, Walther, "Die Entfesselung des Zweiten Weltkrieges," 96.
- "Hokkaido, Report from," by Lensen, 677.
- Holley, I. B., Jr., "Ideas and Weapons," 202.
- Hollon, W. E., "Beyond the Cross Timbers: The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-87," 1004.
- Holm, B. J., lists of articles, 155-57, 409-11, 649-51, 945-47.
- Holmes, O. W., (R) 158.
- Holmyard, E. J., *et al.*, (eds.) "A Hist. of Technology," I, 863.
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 Maehl, W. H., (R) 90.
 "Main Street on the Middle Border," by Atherton, 625.
 Major, J. R., (R) 418.
 "Makah Indians," by Colson, 198.
 Mallory, Stephen R., by Durkin, 689.
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 Manning, T. G., (R) 389.
 Manuel, F. E., (R) 94.
 Marchant, Alexander, (R) 337, 928.
 Marcus, J. R., (R) 211.
 Marcy, Randolph B. See Hollon, W. E.
 Maritime history. See Naval history; Trade and commerce.
 Markham, F. M. H., "Napoleon and the Awakening of Europe," 141.
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- Mathews, S. T., (R) 454; *id.* and MacDonald, C. B., "Three Battles: Arnaville, Altuzzo, and Schmidt," 205.
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 Mills, L. A., (R) 376.
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 Mirsky, Jeannette, "Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier," 194.
 Mississippi Valley Hist. Assoc., 1028.
 Missouri. *See* Primm, J. N.
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 Mollat, M., (ed.) "Les affaires de Jacques Coeur," 154.
 Monaghan, Jay, (R) 219.
 Mood, Fulmer, (R) 194.
 Moore, J. P., "The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs," 1011.
 Moorhead, M. L., (ed.) Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," 462.
 Moos, Malcolm, *et al.*, "Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952," 394.
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 Morgan, E. S., (R) 118, 614.
 Morgan, R. J., "A Whig Emattled: The Presidency under John Tyler," 523.
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 Morris, R. B., (R) 982.
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 Morton, Louis, (R) 124, 613.
 Mosely, P. E., (R) 343.
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 Murdock, K. B., (R) 382.
 Muret, Charlotte T., deceased, 773.
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 Musson, A. E., "The Typographical Association," 357.
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 Napoleon III. *See* Thompson, J. M., "Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire."
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- Nicholson, R. L., "Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa," 943.
- Nicolay, Helen, deceased, 494.
- "Nien Rebellion," by Chiang, 977.
- Noble, David, (R) 632.
- Noether, Emiliana P., (R) 356, 670.
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- Nowell, C. E., (R) 92, 469.
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- Nussbaum, F. L., (R) 62, 931.
- Nute, Grace L., (R) 168.
- O'Flaherty, Daniel, "General Jo Shelby, Undeclared Rebel," 195.
- "Ohio, A Hist. of," by Roseboom and Weisenburger, 463.
- "Ohio, West to," by Heiser, 1002.
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- Ohio Valley. *See* Barnhart, J. D.
- "Oklahoma," by McReynolds, 1004.
- "Old Spanish Trail," by Hafen and Haken, 704.
- Oldfather, C. H., deceased, 493.
- Oliver, J. H., "The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the 2d Century," 71.
- Oliver, J. W., (R) 134, 863.
- Olson, B. J., (R) 178.
- Oost, S. I., "Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania in the Age of the Roman Conquest of Greece," 401.
- Ørvik, Nils, "Norge i Brennpunktet," I, 102.
- Osborn, G. C., (R) 203.
- Owen, David, (R) 598.
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- Palacios Rubios, J. L. de, "De las islas del mar océano," 467.
- Palmer, R. R., (R) 358.
- Papadopoulos, T. H., "Studies and Docs. Relating to the Hist. of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination," 606.
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- "Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson," by Dorris, 196.
- Pargellis, Stanley, (R) 596.
- Parkinson, C. N., "War in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1815," 190.
- Parks, G. B., "The English Traveler to Italy," I, 593.
- Parks, J. H., "General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.," 450.
- Parry, J. H., "The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburgs," 172.
- Patrick, R. W., "Florida Fiasco," 216.
- Patterson, A. T., "Radical Leicester," 161.
- Patterson, R. T., "Federal Debt-Management Policies, 1865-79," 451.
- Paul, R. E., "Taxation in the U. S.," 392.
- Paul, R. W., (R) 705.
- Peake, O. B., "A Hist. of the U.S. Indian Factory System, 1795-1822," 982.
- Pearce, R. H., "The Savages of America," 381.
- "Peek, George N., and the Fight for Farm Parity," by Fite, 136.
- Peel, Albert, and Carlson, L. H., (eds.) "The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne," 158.
- Pelling, Henry, "The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900," 82.
- Pennington, D. H., and Brunton, D. D., "Members of the Long Parliament," 81.
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- "Pepperrell, Messrs. William," by Fairchild, 118.
- "Pericles, Sophocles and," by Ehrenberg, 146.
- Perkins, Dexter, (R) 879.
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- "Peru under the Hapsburgs, The Cabildo in," by Moore, 1011.
- Peter, Hugh, by Stearns, 353.
- "Peter der Grosse," by Wittram, 673.
- Peterson, E. N., "Hjalmar Schacht, for and against Hitler," 367.
- Petry, R. C., (R) 647.
- Pflanze, Otto, *Bismarck and German Nationalism*, 548-66; (R) 668.
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- Picts. See Lethbridge, T. C., "The Painted Men."
- Pinkham, Lucile, "William III and the Respectable Revolution," 412.
- Pinson, K. S., (R) 177, 604.
- "Pioneer's Mission," by Hesseltine, 133.
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- Pogue, F. C., "The Supreme Command," 393.
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- "Point Loma Community in California, 1897-1942," by Greenwalt, 1006.
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- Polybius. *See* Fritz, Kurt von.
- Pomeroy, Earl, (R) 628.
- Pomfret, J. E., (ed.) "California Gold Rush Voyages, 1848-49: 3 Original Narrs.," 705; (R) 652.
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- "Portugal, The Indian Policy of, in the Amazon Region, 1614-93," by Kiemen, 469.
- Posner, Ernst, lists of articles, 180-81, 433-34, 669-70, 967-69; (R) 637, 667.
- Potter, D. M., "People of Plenty: Econ. Abundance and the Am. Character," 380.
- Powell, John Wesley. *See* Stegner, Wallace.

- Powicke, Maurice, "The 13th Century," 1216-1307," 76.
- Prange, G. W., (R) 678.
- Pratt, Fletcher, (ed.) Russell, "My Diary, North and South," 388.
- Pratt, J. W., (R) 135.
- Pratt, W. W., (ed.) "Galveston Island, or, a Few Months off the Coast of Texas: The Jour. of Francis C. Sheridan, 1839-40," 217.
- "Prejudice, War, and the Constitution," by tenBroek, *et al.*, 925.
- Presbyterian Church. *See* Loetscher, L. A.
- "Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952," by David, *et al.*, 394.
- Pressoir, Catts, *et al.*, "Historiographie d'Haïti," 223.
- Preston, R. A., "Gorges of Plymouth Fort," 209.
- Prevelakis, Eleutherios, "British Policy towards the Change of Dynasty in Greece, 1862-63," 437.
- Pimm, J. N., "Economic Policy in the Development of a Western State: Missouri, 1820-60," 460.
- Pritchard, E. H., (R) 371.
- Prizes. *See* Awards.
- "Probing Our Past," by Curti, 906.
- Prophecy and Papacy," by Vidler, 88.
- "Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-48," by Bodo, 618.
- Prothro, J. W., "The Dollar Decade: Business Ideas in the 1920's," 921.
- "Prussia, The Origins of," by Carsten, 95.
- "Prussia, The Social and Political Conflict in, 1858-64," by Anderson, 891.
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- Public opinion: Shulim, The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte: A Study in American Opinion, 214.
- Pulitzer Prizes, 1031.
- Quaife, M. M., (R) 219.
- Quazza, Guido, "Il problema italiano alla vigilia delle riforme (1720-38)," 670.
- Quynn, Dorothy M., (R) 1010.
- Radicati, Alberto, by Venturi, 885.
- Radkey, O. H., (R) 105.
- Ragatz, Lowell, (R) 929.
- Rahill, P. J., "The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884," 197.
- "Rail, L'ère du," by Jouffroy, 167.
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- Rath, R. J., (R) 179.
- Rathbone, P. T., (ed.) "Westward the Way: The Character and Development of the Louisiana Territory as Seen by Artists and Writers of the 19th Century," 1005.
- Ratner, Sidney, (R) 365, 451.
- "Ray, James Brown, Governor of Indiana, Messages and Papers relating to the Administration," ed. by Riker and Thornbrough, 701.
- Read, Conyers, (R) 947.
- Reading, D. K., (R) 141.
- "Réalisations françaises de Cartier à Montcalm," by Lanctot, 168.
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- "Rebels and Democrats," by Douglass, 908.
- "Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485," by Steel, 154.
- "Red Man's America," by Underhill, 381.
- Redfield, Robert, (R) 927.
- Redlich, Josef. *See* Fellner, Fritz.
- Reese, Gustave, "Music in the Renaissance," 349.
- "Reformation in England," by Hughes, II, 80; III, 882.
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- Reinhard, Marcel, "Le Grand Carnot," 87.
- Reischauer, E. O., (R) 373.
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- Reynolds, P. A., "British Foreign Policy in the Inter-war Years," 653.
- Richard, Jean, "Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem," 152.
- Richardson, R. N., (R) 217.
- Riggs, C. T., (tr.) Kritovoulos, "The Hist. of Mehmed the Conqueror," 649.
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- Rippy, J. F., (R) 707.
- Rister, C. C., (R) 703.
- Ritcheson, C. R., "British Politics and the Am. Revolution," 354.
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- Roberts, P. E., "Hist. of British India under the Company and the Crown," 612.
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- Robinson, Howard, "Britain's Post Office," 158.
- "Rochester, The Jewish Community in," by Rosenberg, 211.
- Rodabaugh, J. H., (R) 1002.
- Roebuck, Carl, (R) 938.
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- Romani, G. T., (R) 181.
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- Rosinger, L. K., (R) 192.
- Roskell, J. S., "The Commons in the Parliament of 1422," 78.
- Rosselli, Nello, "Inghilterra e Regno di Sardegna dal 1815 al 1847," 356.
- Rossi, Joseph, "The Image of America in Mazzini's Writings," 969.
- Rossi, M. M., "Storia d'Inghilterra," II, III, 350.
- Rossiter, Clinton, (R) 354.
- Rostenberg, Leona, (R) 969.
- Rostow, W. W., "The Dynamics of Soviet Society," 107.
- "Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, The Question of," by Cassirer, 420.
- Rudin, H. R., (R) 963.
- "Ruiz, Simon, et les 'Asientos' de Philippe II," by Lapeyre, 171.
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- Saks, J., by de Jong, 426.
- "Sallusts Bellum Jugurthinum, Der Aufbau von," by Büchner, 146.
- Salomone, A. W., (R) 350, 885.
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- Saunders, R. M., (R) 168.
- "Savages of America," by Pearce, 381.
- Sawyer, J. E., (R) 852.
- Schachner, Nathan, "The Founding Fathers," 124; (R) 126; communication, 498.
- "Schacht, Hjalmar, for and against Hitler," by Peterson, 367.
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- Schapiro, J. S., (R) 68.
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- Semmes, Raphael, "Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860," 213.
- "Senate, The Advice and Consent of the," by Harris, 395.
- "Sepúlveda, Los fueros de," by Sáez, *et al.*, 152.
- Setton, K. M., (R) 151.
- Severus. *See* Westermann, W. L.
- "Sewanee, Reconstruction at," by Chitty, 999.
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- Sharpe, H. D., deceased, 254.
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- Sherman, C. L., deceased, 774.
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- Shulim, J. I., "The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte," 214.
- Siberts, Bruce, "Nothing but Prairie and Sky," ed. by Wyman, 219.
- Silver, J. W., (R) 127.
- Simkins, F. B., (R) 215.
- Singer, Charles, *et al.*, (eds.) "A Hist. of Technology," I, 863.
- Sionssat, St. G. L., (R) 910.
- Sitterton, J. C., (R) 216.

- Slosson, Preston, (R) 393.
 Smith, C. H., (R) 213.
 Smith, D. M., "Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860," 93.
 Smith, E. B., "Jean-Sylvain Bailly," 658.
 Smith, General Edmund Kirby, by Parks, 450.
 Smith, R. S., (R) 171.
 Smith, Wilson, communication, 497.
 Snyder, L. L., "The Meaning of Nationalism," 580.
 Snyder, W. F., (R) 643.
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 Social Science Research Council, 754; fellowships, 248.
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 Société d'histoire moderne, 243.
 Sontag, R. J., (R) 581.
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 "South African Archival Records," 414.
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 Soviet Union: Notices and lists of articles, 186, 436-37, 673-75, 972-74.
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 Spear, T. G. P., (ed.) Roberts, "Hist. of Brit. India under the Company and the Crown," 612.
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 Spielman, W. C., "William McKinley, Stalwart Republican," 201.
 Spitz, L. W., (R) 933.
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 Srbik, H. R. von, "Metternich," III, 605.
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 Stacey, C. P., (R) 204.
 Starr, C. G., (R) 692.
 Starr, L. M., "Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action," 687.
 Stavrianos, L. S., (R) 187, 437.

- Stearns, R. P., "The Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter," 353.
- Steel, Anthony, "The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485," 154.
- Stegner, Wallace, "Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West," 389.
- Stephenson, Carl, "Mediaeval Institutions: Selected Essays," 587; deceased, 494.
- Stephenson, W. H., (R) 623.
- Stevens, H. R., *Henry Clay, the Bank, and the West in 1824*, 843-48.
- Stevens, J. C., (R) 859.
- Stevens, W. E., (R) 447.
- Stewart, G. R., (ed.) "The Opening of the California Trail: The Story of the Stevens Party," 220.
- Stewart, J. A., deceased, 256.
- Stewart, J. H., (R) 652.
- Stewart, Watt, (R) 1011.
- "Stimson, Secretary," by Current, 138.
- Stockhausen, Max von, "Sechs Jahre Reichskanzlei, von Rapallo bis Locarno," 965.
- Stone, Barton Warren, by West, 685.
- Stourzh, Gerald, "Benjamin Franklin and Am. Foreign Policy," 122.
- "Strategy," by Hart, 641.
- Strayer, J. R., (R) 587.
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- Stromberg, R. N., "Religious Liberalism in 18th-Cent. England," 949.
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- "Sturlungs, The Age of the," by Sveinsson, 153.
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- Swart, K. W., (R) 426.
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- Swisher, C. B., (R) 907.
- Taft, Robert, (R) 451, 1005.
- Talbot, Phillips, (R) 612.
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- Taylor, A. A., deceased, 255.
- Taylor, A. J. P., "The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918," 880; (R) 893.
- Taylor, G. E., (R) 679.
- Taylor, R. J., "Western Massachusetts in the Revolution," 210.
- Teaching, Committee on, 765.
- Teapot Dome Scandal and the Election of 1924*, by Bates, 303-22.
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- Teng, S. Y., (R) 190; *id.* and Fairbank, J. K., "China's Response to the West," 372.
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- Tillmann, Helene, "Papst Innocenz III," 407.
- Tinker, Hugh, "The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan, and Burma," 375.
- Tisdall, E. E. P., "Alexandra," 162.
- "Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy," by Boyd, 345.
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- "Transvaal," No. 5, 414.
- Treadgold, D. W., (R) 104.
- Trevor-Roper, H. R., (ed.) "The Bormann Letters," 367.
- Trombley, K. E., "The Life and Times of a Happy Liberal: A Biog. of Morris Llewellyn Cooke," 988.
- Trotsky, by Deutscher, 105.
- Twyman, R. W., "Hist. of Marshall Field & Co., 1852-1906," 702.
- "Tycoons and Tyrant," by Lochner, 965.
- Tyler, Alice F., (R) 618.
- Tyler, John. *See* Morgan, R. J.
- "Typhoon in Tokyo," by Wildes, 374.
- "Typographical Association," by Muisson, 357.
- Ullmann, Walter, "The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages," 870.
- Underhill, Ruth M., "Red Man's America," 381.
- Undreiner, G. J., (R) 407.
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- Upthegrove, C. L., "Empire by Mandate," 162.
- Utes. *See* Emmitt, Robert.
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- "Valeur de l'histoire," by Hours, 336.
- Van Cleve, T. C., (R) 73, 873.
- van der Kroef, J. M., (R) 112; communication, 775.
- Van Deusen, G. G., "Horace Greeley," 129; (R) 626.
- Van Zandt, C. A., communication, 497.
- Veith, Ilza, (R) 583.
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- Venturi, Franco, "Saggi sull'Europa illuminista," I, "Alberto Radicati di Passerano," 885.
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- Vicens Vives, J., "Juan II de Aragon (1398-1479)," 170.
- "Vichy, Histoire de, 1940-44," by Aron, 889.
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- of Lamennais, the Church, and the Revolution," 88.
- Vilas, William Freeman, by Merrill, 200.
- Vinacke, H. M., (R) 977.
- Vinson, J. C., "The Parchment Peace: The U. S. Senate and the Washington Conference, 1921-22," 987.
- Virchow, Rudolf, by Ackerknecht, 178.
- Vogel, Walter, "Bismarcks Arbeiterversicherung" 668.
- Von Laue, T. H., (R) 972.
- Wabeke, B. H., lists of articles, 174-75, 427-28, 665-66, 961-62.
- "Wales, The Roman Frontier in," by Nash-Williams, 402.
- Walker, R. L., "The Multi-State System of Ancient China," 189.
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- Wall, B. H., (R) 385.
- Wallace, W. M., "Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold," 121; (R) 984.
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- Walters, Thorstina, "Modern Sagas: The Story of the Icelanders in North America," 448.
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- Warmington, B. H., "The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest," 403.
- Warren, Charles, deceased, 492.
- Washington, George, by Freeman, VI, 615.
- Wathen, Sister Mary Antonia, "The Policy of England and France toward the 'Anschluss' of 1938," 642.
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- Weber, B. C., (R) 84.
- Weilenmann, Alex, "Theodore Roosevelt und die Aussenpolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," 453.
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- "Wellington and His Army," by Davies, 160.
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- Westergaard, Waldemar, (R) 648.
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- Whitehill, W. M., (R) 629.
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- Wildes, H. E., "Typhoon in Tokyo," 374.
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- Wiley, W. L., "The Gentleman of Renaissance France," 166.
- Wilgus, C. A., (ed.) "The Caribbean: Its Economy," 707.
- "Wilhelm, Kronprinz," by Herre, 432.
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- Willey, Waitman Thomas, by Ambler, 459.
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- Williams, G. H., (ed.) "The Harvard Divinity School," 458.
- Williams, J. R., (R) 79.
- Williams, K. P., (R) 196.
- Williams, Schafer, (R) 943.
- Williams, T. H., (R) 687.
- Willoughby, C. A., and Chamberlain, J., "MacArthur, 1941-51," 630.
- Wilson, A. M., *Men of Letters and Lettres de cachet in the Administration of Cardinal Fleury*, 55.
- Wilson, C. R., (R) 130.
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- Wiltse, C. M., (R) 125.
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- Wint, Guy, "The British in Asia," 679.
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- Wishy, B. W., (R) 342.
- Wittfogel, K. A., (R) 976.
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- Wittrock, Georg, "Regering och allmog under Kristinas egen styrelse: Riksdagen 1650," 175.
- Wolf, J. B., (R) 58, 933.
- Wolff, Philippe, "Commerces et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350-vers 1450)," 589.
- Wood, H. J., (R) 439.
- Woodbridge, George, (R) 141.
- Woodruff, Philip, "The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders of Mod. India," 109; "The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians," 904.
- Woody, R. H., (R) 688.
- Woolbert, R. G., deceased, 255.
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- Wyllie, I. G., (R) 683.
- Wyllys, R. K., deceased, 1036.
- Wyman, W. D., (ed.) *"Nothing but Prairie and Sky,"* 219; (R) 1004.
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- Yrwing, Hugo, *"Kungamordet i finderup: nordiska förvecklingar under senare delen av Erik Klippings regering,"* 648.
- "Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan," by Bisson, 114.
- Zeller, Gaston, *"De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell,"* 338.
- Zorn, R. J., (R) 449.
- Zornow, W. F., *"Lincoln & the Party Divided,"* 623.